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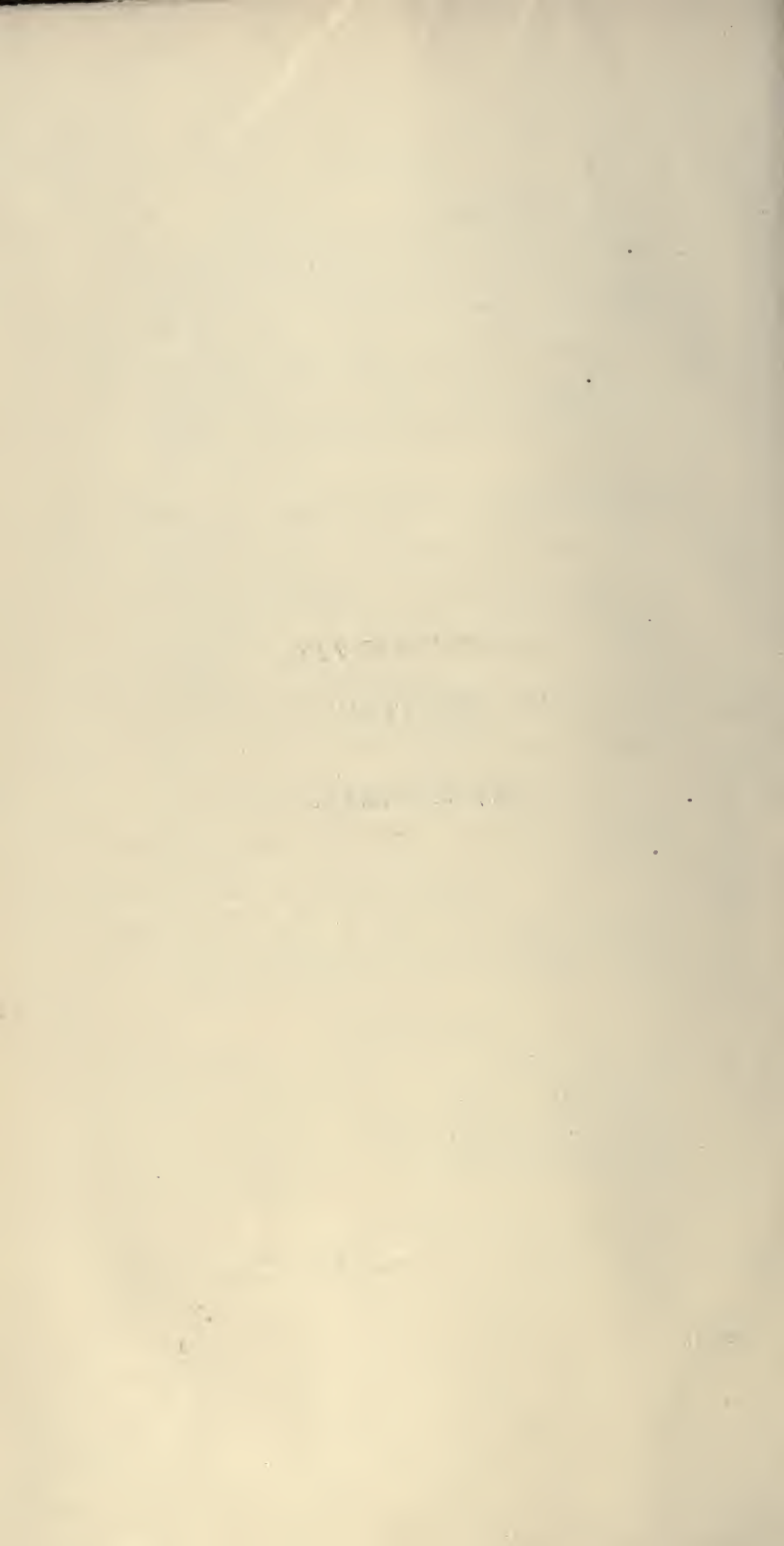
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SECTION III.

SEMITIC.

(A.) GENERAL.



I.

THE SCROLL OF THE HASMONÆANS

(MEGILLATH BENE HASHMUNAI).

BY

M. GASTER, PH.D.

I.—INTRODUCTION.

IT is a peculiar fact that scarcely a trace is to be found in the whole ancient Hebrew literature of the glorious times of the Makkabæans. With the exception of the books now included in the Old Testament Apocrypha, no accurate coherent description of these events is known to exist in Hebrew. Talmud and Midrash are alike silent about Antiochus Epiphanes and his generals, about the various forms of persecution, and the great battles fought at Emmaus and at Eleasa, and of the various treaties with the Spartans and the Romans. Nay, more, Juda himself is scarcely ever mentioned, and the name Makkabee, which is known to the ancient writers of the Church, is absolutely unknown.

This is the more surprising, as the commemoration of the dedication of the Temple had been instituted as a religious ceremony. From the year 164 onward, the twenty-fifth day of Kislev is kept throughout Judaism as the first day of the feast of dedication (Chanukah). The lights are kindled and special blessings are recited.¹

But what is more curious still is, that the only name which is mentioned in connection with that feast is not Juda, nor any one of his brothers, but only and solely Matithya, son of Johanan, their father, and a certain Johanan, high-priest. There must, therefore, be a good reason for this paucity of records, and for the complete ignoring of Juda and his brethren in a piece that was to form part of the liturgy. The events of the past must either have become obscured, through causes which we have to find, or their record must have been purposely preserved in a form greatly at variance with that of the books of the Makkabæans.

¹ The formula and the various liturgical ceremonies are treated in the *Massechet Soferim*, c. xx., § 1-12, ed. J. Müller, Leipzig, 1878, v. p. 283 ff.

The point from which we have to start in this inquiry is the establishment of that Feast of Dedication. This was the turning-point in the whole tragedy, and had therefore become from the very outset the most important memorial of the recovered purity of the worship. Whatever changes may come, this one would remain. It was too firmly rooted in the hearts of the people, and was undoubtedly kept up by the priests. It was the zeal and valour of a priest which that feast commemorated.

Different, however, it was with the person or persons themselves who acted in that drama. They soon deteriorated; they fell from the lofty pinnacle. The Makkabæan princes, the descendants of Matithya, soon became unlike their great ancestor. They committed first the sin to assume the title of kings, and to sit on the throne which tradition and religious feeling kept for the descendants of David alone. The Hasmonæans were priests, and had, as such, no right upon the royal position. It was a presumption which men like the zealous Assidæans of the time could certainly not tolerate, and still less acquiesce in. It remained a blot on the fair memory of the Makkabæans, of which practically only one kept free—Matithya, the Hasmonæan. To this the Makkabæans added another sin, no less heinous in the eyes of the orthodox, strict observers of the law. In the strife of parties which arose soon afterwards, they sided with the Sadducæans, persecuted the Phariseans, the orthodox upholders of the law and the descendants of the Assidæans, who were the first to join Matithya, and to fight the Greeks.

Considering that the Phariseans represented the popular party, and that the legal prescriptions, liturgical forms and ceremonies are mostly institutions fixed by them, one part of the mystery is cleared up. The staunch upholders of the law would not canonise, if I may use that word, men like Alexander Jannai and others whose death they celebrated as a festival, or introduce the name and memory of the Makkabæans, as they called themselves, in the history or in the liturgy of the nation. That explains also to a certain extent why the allusions to the Makkabæans are so scarce in the Talmud and Midrash. This literature is that of the Pharisees, and the Makkabæans were their bitterest foes.

The deliverance was due to divine intervention, but the persons chosen proved afterwards unworthy of the mission intrusted to them.

The result of this feeling was, that instead of having an exact record of those remarkable times, all that we have is, with but one exception (I. Makkabees), a mixture of truth and fiction.

This mutual hatred of the strictly religious and learned party and the Makkabæans, which developed at a very early period of Makkabæan ascendancy, precludes the possibility of so-called Hasmonæan Psalms. Even if psalms should have been composed at that time, for which not a single proof is forthcoming, the Sopherim and learned men, the Pharisees, would certainly not have included them in the sacred canon. If they did not preserve in the ancient contemporary literature any detailed record of the great achievements of Judas Makkabee and his brethren, how much less would they compose encomia in their praise, or include them in the sacred psalter!

But a time came when the Hasmonæans belonged to the past, and their glorification could only tell against Herod, hated by all alike. It is to that period that I ascribe now the only connected description of the rise of the Hasmonæans, of the dedication of the Temple which has survived in its primitive Semitic form. An old tradition, which has been preserved in the Halachoth Gedoloth of Simon Kiyara,¹ says: "The presbyters (elders) of the schools of Shammai and Hillel (first century B.C.) wrote the 'Scroll of the house of the Hasmonæans,' but until now it has not become (canonical) for all times, till there will be again a priest who would wear the *אורים* and *תומים*. They also wrote the 'Scroll of fast-days' in the hall of Hananya ben Hizkiyahu, when they came to visit him, but the succeeding generation (Beth-Din) declared it apocryphal." This last Scroll contained the list of the memorable days from the Makkabæan period. Those days were kept as festival days and called fast days, *i.e.*, in which it was not allowed to fast. With the destruction of the Temple these ordinances became invalidated. The difficult passage from the work of Simeon, which I have translated differently from others, is of the utmost importance for the chronicle with which I deal here. It shows us first the circle where that chronicle was composed. It is exclusively that of the orthodox party. It further points to the probable date of that composition; and thirdly, we learn to know indirectly also the language in which that Scroll was written.

However important the question may be, it is not here the place to discuss in what language were written the apocryphal and pseudo-epigraphical books of the Old Testament. As to the Books of the Makkabæans themselves, the general consensus of opinion is in favour of ascribing a Semitic original to the first, and of considering the others as being written originally in Greek. I doubt this latter

¹ Ed. Venice, 1547, f. 141d.; ed. Hildesheimer, p. 615, Berlin, 1891.

statement very much, as far as the II. Makkabees is concerned. I said a *Semitic* original for the I. Makkabees without specifying the dialect. In all probability it was originally written *not* in Hebrew, though Grimm inclines towards a Hebrew original, but in the vernacular, the Aramaic dialect, which at that time already took the place of Hebrew in all popular writings. Of Tobith¹ and Judith² there can be no doubt that they were written in that dialect. In the same dialect was now written the "Scroll of fast days," and this is the language in which the Scroll of the Hasmonæans in its oldest form has come down to us. A most decisive testimony for the Aramaic as being the original we have in the words of the famous Gaon Saadya, who states most explicitly in his *Sefer hagalui*³ that "the sons of Hashmunai, Juda, Simeon, Johanan, Jonathan, and Eleazar, wrote all that happened to them in a book in the language of the Chaldæans, identical with that of the Book of Daniel." And further on he quotes a passage from it which we find really in our Scroll.⁴ We learn also from Saadya that this book was divided into *verses*, as all the Biblical books are.

Coming from the same school and belonging to the same period, it can be no wonder that both Scrolls were written in the same language. A careful examination of the contents will also show that in tendency and form the Scroll of the Hasmonæans is closer allied to that of Fast days than to the Books of the Makkabæans and to Josephus; but what is more, it seems to have been the *only* source of all the fragments of the Makkabæan history which we find in the Talmud and Midrash, and also of the prayers for the Feast of Dedication. These all agree in the essential portions of the narrative.

Throughout the Jewish literature Juda is almost entirely ignored, and everything is traced back to Matithya and Johanan the high-priest; and exactly so is the narrative of the Scroll. Not a word is further mentioned in the Books of the Makkabæans of the miraculous flask of oil that lasted for eight days,⁵ whilst this alone is recorded in the Scroll of the fast-days and in the Talmudical passages to which I refer anon. One more remarkable point of difference between the Scroll and the Books of the Makkabæans is the era, as the former counts from the year of the building of the Temple, whilst the Books of the Makkabæans have all the Seleucidian era.

It is further to be noted that the name *Chanuka* does not appear

¹ Vide A. Neubauer, *The Book of Tobit*, Oxford, 1878, p. xiv.-xv.

² A quotation in Nahmanides to Deuteron. xxi. 14.

³ Ed. Harkavy, St. Petersburg, 1891, p. 150.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 180.

⁵ Cf. I. iv. 50-59; II. x. 1-8.

at all in this chronicle, though the feast is known from very ancient times under that name, *i.e.*, *The feast of the dedication of the Temple*. This ignorance of the official name goes a long way to prove the antiquity of the chronicle. It must be anterior to the time when this name obtained, otherwise it would be utterly inexplicable why it should not have been mentioned at all.

The following are the places in Talmud, Midrash, and rabbinical literature in which reference is made to the Hasmonæans and to the feast of dedication:—

Megillath Taanith, chap. 9 (month of Kislev). *Tract. Sabbath*, f. 21b. *Tr. Megillah*, f. 2a; *Rosh hashana*, f. 18b. (quotes *Meg. Taanith*), cf. *ib.* f. 19a. *Seder Olam Rabba*, ch. 30. *Seder Olam Zutta*. *Genesis Rabba*, sec. 23. *Exodus Rabba*, sec. 15, f. 113b. *Midrash Psalms*, to Ps. ix. 8, ed. Buber, p. 85, No. 65. *Talkut*, to Kings i. 7, and Psalm xxxvi. *Midrash* quoted by Nachmanides ad Numbers ch. 7. *Sheeltoth*, ch. 26 and ch. 72. *Halachoth Gedoloth*, ed. Hildesheimer, p. 83. *Semag* of Moses of Coucy, ed. Ven., 1547, f. 250c. V. *Rabinowitz*, *Dikduke Soferim* ad Sabbath, p. 39, note 2.

The apparent anomaly in the official forms of thanksgiving which forms part of the liturgy of the feast of dedication finds its only explanation in the narrative of the Scroll. Many a commentator has in vain tried to solve the enigma of the words with which it begins, viz., "In the days of the Hasmonæan Matithya, son of Johanan, the high-priest, and his sons" (as it stands still in the last authorised English edition of the Prayer Book, 1892).¹ This reading is, however, corrupt. The oldest, recorded in a MS. of Masechet Soferim, is: "In the days of Johanan the high-priest, and the Hasmonæan and his sons," which the modern editor of Masechet Soferim did not understand.² In the light of the Scroll, this form is perfectly correct and intelligible. Johanan the high-priest is the man who, according to the Scroll, kills Nikanor, and is a person totally different from Matithya, who is here designated as "the Hasmonæan." He being also the son of *a* Johanan, not *the* Johanan the high-priest, this coincidence led to the confusion which we find in the various texts and in the readings of some of the Prayer Books.

If anything, this is a decisive proof for the authority the Scroll must have enjoyed in the sixth or seventh century, and that it was the *only* source of information for the Talmudic period and for the time when the liturgy was fixed for the Feast of Dedication.

The question may now be urged whether we could not assume

¹ Ed. Singer, p. 52.

² Ed. Müller, p. 287.

that the original language of the scroll was Hebrew, and that it had been translated at a later time into Aramaic, this being like the Targum to other Biblical books. Against this theory there is—(1.) the direct testimony of Saadya; (2.) the old tradition in the work of Simon Kiyara, and the natural inference from the fact that all the other Apocrypha were written in Aramaic; further, that all the quotations in later times are in Aramaic. I have to add to these proofs some more which I have culled from some of the names that occur in the Scroll which we find afterwards in some of the most ancient liturgical pieces.

There is first the name of the Hasmonæans. As already observed, that of Makkabæans, as title of the family, does not occur even once in the old Hebrew literature; only that of Hasmonæans is known. So also does our Scroll not know the former, and bears accordingly the title, "Scroll of the Hasmonæans" (it being the Scroll of the Synagogue). Without entering into the origin of the name (חשמונאי), we find it spelt in the Book of Makkabees Ἀσσανωναῖοι, hence our pronunciation *Hasmonæan*. The Scroll spells the name *Hashmunai* with *u*, and so it occurs in some of the oldest MSS. I have consulted, both in the formula of the prayer which is recited at the feast of dedication and in the poem of Joseph b. Solomon of Carcassonne, Byzantine Mahzor (Cod. Montefiore, Ramsgate, fourteenth century), Roman Mahzor (Cod. Montefiore, fourteenth century), again in a very old unique print of the fifteenth century. All these have *Hashmunai*. The name of the king, Antiochos, is spelt *Antyuchas*, and that of the town *Antochia* in the Scroll and in these MSS. and prints—a coincidence which it is impossible to admit to be the result of mere chance; but one must be dependent on the other.

The reason why this Scroll did not obtain from ancient times to be read in the synagogue like the Scroll of Esther is one proof more that it was originally written in Aramaic, and not in Hebrew. Many centuries elapsed before the Targum was considered of sufficient authority to be recited in synagogue without the Hebrew text. Not before the seventh or eighth century was the authority of the Targum so far established as to be treated as something like a sacred text. About that time also this Scroll must have been invested with a certain liturgical character, and considered to be of some authority.

Thence poets drew the materials for their poems which they composed for the service of the feast of dedication. The Scroll itself formed then also part of the liturgy, and it has been preserved as such in the ritual of the Jews of Yemen. In former centuries

that Scroll must also have been read in the European communities, as various authorities, from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, point to that custom; and we find it in a great number of MSS. together with the five Scrolls or with other Hagiographa. But this Scroll was translated early into Hebrew, which translation follows closely the original, often imitating the idiomatic forms of the Aramaic. From that time on probably it was treated with greater reverence, almost as a sacred writing. It was also inserted in MSS. of the Bible. In a great number of MSS., the list of which is given later on, this Scroll is joined either to the Pentateuch, or more often to the five Megilloth, and in not a few instances to other Hagiographa. In a MS. of the British Museum of the fourteenth century this Scroll follows the Book of Ezra and precedes the Scroll of Esther. In Eastern, specially Yemenite, MSS. it is as a rule accompanied by a literal Arabic translation, each Aramaic verse being followed by its translation, treated thus exactly like the sacred texts.¹ The Arabic translation does not form one consecutive narrative, as is the case with the history of Hanna and her seven sons. This is added as a complete independent tale to the chapter of Jeremia which is read as Haphtara on the ninth day of Ab, the day of the destruction of the Temple; so in an ancient scroll on red leather from Yemen in my possession, and so in the Bodleian MS. and in that of the British Museum, Or. 1127.

That treatment shows the religious character with which the Scroll was endowed in later times, whilst in olden times, as mentioned above, it was considered as the only authentic chronicle of the Makkabæan events. The facts which were related therein were the only facts known in Talmudic and post-Talmudic times, to the exclusion of the books of the Makkabæans and of Josephus also. These were either unknown, which is the most likely, owing to the language in which they were circulated from a very early period, or were not considered of sufficient credibility. The former of the two hypotheses is the most probable.

So the Scroll of the Hasmonæans, which had the sanction of the then highest authorities, the schools of Shammai and Hillel, *i.e.*, the whole orthodox party, was adopted as the only true one, not merely as far as the historical events contained therein are concerned, but also, what is more remarkable, the very peculiar chronology of the Scroll was accepted as true. This chronology is very difficult to reconcile with the real chronology, and yet we find the same

¹ This text has been published by Dr. H. Hirschfeld in his *Arabic Chrestomathy*, London, 1892, p. 1-6.

in the oldest chronological attempt of Rabbi Jose b. Halafta (second century) and in the Talmud (Tractat Aboda Zara, f. 9^a). Rabbi Jose¹ says: "The Persian rule since the rebuilding of the Temple lasted 34 years, and that of the Greeks 180, that of the Hasmonæans 103, and that of Herod 103." This is repeated in the Talmud in the same words. Needless to say that thirty-four years of Persian rule is unhistorical, and that what is assigned here to the Greek period is more by about twenty years than the date given in the I. Book of Makkabees (iv. 52), *i.e.*, if we take as last date the day of Dedication. In whatever way we count, 180 years, or 175, as another text² has it, is inaccurate; and yet it is the very same date that we find in the Scroll (v. 5), "In the twenty-third year of his reign, which was the year 213 after the building of the Temple, he determined to go to Jerusalem"— $213 = 180 + 33$. In one recension of our Scroll we find further the following computation (v. 74): "Thus the sons of the Hashmunæans and their sons' sons kept the kingdom ever since up to the destruction of the Temple for 206 years." Exactly the same number of years is assigned to the Hasmonæans and Herodians in the Seder Olam and in the Talmud. This absolute identity of dates goes far to prove the antiquity and authority of our Scroll. These dates must undoubtedly have been taken from the Scroll as *the* chronicle of that period. It is difficult to decide whether the last verses, with the date of the Hasmonæan kingdom, belonged originally to the text of the Scroll or were afterwards added. If we admit them to have belonged to it, it would settle at once also the question of the *age* of the Scroll; but it seems that they have been added later on, as the *oldest* MSS. available (C. and B.) do not have these concluding verses. They may have been added soon after the destruction of the Temple, for it is to be noted that not a single word about the Romans is to be found in the Scroll, not even an allusion.

We turn now to the sources of the Scroll. After all which precedes here, it is obvious that none of the Books of the Makkabæans served as direct source to this compilation. Nor do I think is any direct written source to be thought of, but the Scroll rests mostly upon oral tradition. In this scroll, the mere outline of the events are given, and in the light in which they appeared in later times.

We can easily understand the reason why only Matithya, Nikanor, and Bacchides have been singled out. These three names stood out prominently; *Matithya*, because he gave the signal of revolt, and

¹ Seder Olam Rabba, ch. 30, ed. J. Meyer, Amsterdam, 1699, p. 91 and 1143.

² Seder Olam Sutta, ib.

he alone had not assumed any regal title or prerogative; *Nikanor*, because the victory over him, recorded I. Makk. vii. 43-49, and embellished II. Makk. xv. 28 ff., was celebrated afterwards by a special day of feasting (13th Adar); and *Bacchides*, because Juda fell in the battle against him at Berea, when his whole army was destroyed (I. Makk. ix.). On these three names the popular fancy fastened, and these three alone are the chief personages in the narrative of the Scroll.

The salient points of the persecution and the names of those persons who were the representatives of persecution and deliverance have thus been preserved, and are embodied in the narrative of the Hasmonæans, but in a peculiar form. The relation between the Scroll and the first Book of Makkabees may be said to be akin to that of Hagada and simple text. Legendary embellishment can be traced already in the second Book of Makkabees, and still more in the Syriac translation of it. It is the same spirit, though not exactly the same tendency, in the Scroll as in the second Book of Makkabees. In the contents the Scroll approaches also more the second Book of Makkabees than the first Book, and uses often the same expressions as the Syriac paraphrase. The compiler of the second Book mentions now Jason of Cyrene as the author of the work from which he drew the materials for his own compilation. It is still doubtful whether Jason's work was written in Greek, or possibly in Hebrew or Aramaic. Should this latter have been the case, we could then see in that work the remote source for our Scroll. It is safer, however, to consider oral tradition as the foundation of this narrative of the Scroll, which served also to embellish the narrative of the second Book and the Syriac translation or paraphrase. In the footnotes to the English translation of the Scroll I have indicated the parallel passages from the Books of the Makkabæans.

It would have carried me too far should I have attempted to add the Syriac parallels to the text. I will point out, however, two or three of the more important parallels, especially the almost identical forms of the proper names. First, the very significant change from *Bacchides* into בַּכְרִיּוֹס, Bakrios or Bikrios or Bikris (so in the three passages in which that name occurs, I. Makk. vii. 8; ix. 26; II. Makk. viii. 30), to which corresponds בַּגְרִיס (Bagras or Bagris) in our text. The name מַכְבִּי is spelt identically in both versions, מַתִּיתָא Syr. and מַתְתִּיָּה in our text, not *Matatya*, as in Greek and Latin; besides many other similarities of language which one notes easily when reading both texts side by side.

In the Targum to the Song of Songs, dating probably from the

seventh century, we find also (ch. 6, v. 7-9) a short tale about the wars of the Makkabæans, which has, however, a thoroughly legendary character. The king whom the Hasmonæans fight is Alexander, and Matithya is called high-priest. Not one of his sons is mentioned by name; the whole credit of the victory is given to Matithya. Therein lies the identity with the recension of the Scroll, whence also the minor detail of the elephants and the warriors clad in coats of mail must have been borrowed.

For a few details, however, the Scroll of Esther served as model, and a few verses are almost identical. It is, however, noteworthy that the expressions used in our Scroll are totally different from the Targum of the corresponding verses in the Scroll of Esther. The one is therefore independent of the other.

Our Scroll being thus written or sanctioned by men of authority who lived in the first century before the Christian era, is of undoubted great value for historical as well as for philological researches. We have here one of the oldest writings in Aramaic, possibly older than the Targumim, which has been preserved, on the whole, in the original form. The quotations from it in other Talmudical writings, and by Saadya Gaon, agree exactly with the text of the Scroll, especially with the Eastern recension. As we shall soon see, we have two recensions of it, an Eastern and a Western. The former is the best and most accurate. It helps us also, as I think, to settle now finally the correct spelling of the name Makkabee.¹ If any one, those persons who lived nearest to the times when Makkabi flourished ought to know what that name meant, and how it was to be written. The Greek texts write uniformly *Makkabai* with two *k*'s; the Syriac translation of the second Book of Makkabees, which, as already observed, comes nearer to our Scroll, has always *q*, and in the Scroll we find in all the Eastern MSS. מקבי, with the epithet קטל חקיפין, killer of the powerful, *i.e.*, hammer or hammerer; and so in the poem of Josef of Carcassone, and in the Commentary דאבישונה, in the Roman Mahazor.²

II.

I turn now to the consideration of the text itself.

The Scroll of the Hasmonæans has come down to us in two forms, Hebrew and Aramaic. Of these two, the Hebrew version is the younger, it being in most recensions a literal translation from the Aramaic original. This translation was known only in Europe, and must have been made here at a time when the knowledge of the

¹ Cf. S. T. Curtis, the name Macchabee, Leipzig, 1876.

² Ed. Bologna, 1541, f. 152^a.

Aramaic declined and the reading of the Targum began to be discontinued. There are two recensions of this version: one, A., the simple translation of the Aramaic text,¹ and another, B., that is also based upon the same text, but the subject is treated with some liberty.² Besides, there is also another amplified recension, C., into which have also entered elements of the Judith legend.³ As this recension had been versified by Joseph b. Solomon of Carcassonne (in his liturgical poem, *אורח כי אנפת*, in the Roman and Italo-Germ. rite, v. Zunz, Litgesch. S. P., p. 123), who is older than Rashi, it must have been known in Europe, and specially in France, already in the eleventh century. Another poet, named Moses, probably of the same period, makes use of this recension in his poem, but with the omission of Judith and Holofernes.⁴

We must therefore admit that the recensions A. and B. belong to a somewhat later period, twelfth or thirteenth century.

The Aramaic text shows also differences in the various MSS. Those from the East, I., are far more correct, and more free from interpolations, mistakes, and omissions than those which were written in the West.⁵ The copyists of the Western group of MSS., II., are not free from blame. Their copies abound in blunders, and are not so trustworthy as those copied in the East. Here they formed part of the liturgy, and, moreover, were treated with veneration and care. Like the other Targum texts in Eastern, especially Yemen MSS., they have the vowels added, the system used being the Babylonian or superlinear, whilst the Western or European texts have no vowel signs, and are in consequence thereof much easier exposed to changes and to mistakes. Hitherto only the Western recension has been published, and this, too, from different MSS. Not one of these is satisfactory from a strictly scientific point of view. No other texts have been collated, no variants marked, no mistakes pointed out, and not even the relation that exists between those texts that were published has been so far indicated.

I have therefore decided, for the new publication of this Scroll, to start not from the corrupted MSS. of group II., but from the far superior MSS. of group I. Being part of the liturgy, this Scroll is found, as a rule, in all the prayer books of the Jews of Yemen. Besides, it has also found a place in copies of the Bible. It is in such a copy from the fourteenth century that we find the oldest

¹ All the editions and Mahazorim.

² Hemdath Hayamim and Jell., i.

³ Jellinek, i. 132-136.

⁴ *זכור מעלליה*, in Roman and Byzantine rite.

⁵ These formed the basis of the Hebrew translations, which have those defects in common with the Aramaic recension.

extant text of the Scroll. Unfortunately almost one-third is missing, as two leaves of the MS. are lost.

The basis of my publication is a comparatively modern copy of the Prayer Book (eighteenth century) in my possession. Though a recent copy, it seems to be the most carefully executed of all I could compare. It is the only one in which the Daggesh is to be found at all. I do not wish to discuss here whether that Daggesh is everywhere correctly put where we find it in that MS. The others have no trace of it. With this I have compared another MS. of the Prayer Book of the fifteenth or sixteenth century, also in my possession (B.), and a text from the fourteenth century (C.), giving in the footnote all the variants, not only of words, but also of vocalisation.

It is an undoubted fact that the vocalisation of the Targum in all our printed editions is decidedly wrong, it being a transcript from the Babylonian to the Palestinian system (as they are called), which has been deteriorating from one edition to the other. Only the texts with the Babylonian punctuation have preserved to us the correct pronunciation of the Aramaic language in which the Targumim were composed. Minute attention must therefore be paid to vocalisation of the Yemen MSS., and every variant carefully noted, as we shall otherwise never come to fix satisfactorily the true pronunciation of that language. The MSS. vary also among themselves, and one can show that changes took place in the course of time even in the system of vocalisation itself. So, for instance, we find in Cod. C. a sign of רפה on כ and נ, in the form of a small curved stroke over the letter, which disappears completely in subsequent MSS. On the other hand, we do not find one single instance of (״) against later MSS., where we find this complex sign over קבל קרם, and לקבל.

These peculiarities must not be undervalued, nor the interchange between Holem (◌̇) and Kamez (◌̈), as this may show how these vowels were actually pronounced at the time of the scribe of each MS. All these variants have therefore been carefully noted. I have further collated the text with two MSS. from group II. (D.), the text published by Jellinek from a MS. of 1559; and (E.) a MS. from the fifteenth or sixteenth century (Cod. 219, Montef. College); and further (F.), Cod. Brit. Mus. 2212, a Yemen MS. from the fifteenth century, the copy of which I owe to the kindness of Rev. G. Margoliouth. I have transcribed the vowel signs, and added to the text an English translation, and in the notes to it I have adduced the parallel passages from the Books of Makkabees.

I will now give here the literature of our subject—a list as com-

plete as possible of all the editions and MSS. known, both of the Hebrew versions and Aramaic originals, as well as the bibliography of the studies that have appeared hitherto about this Scroll.

HEBREW.

*Editions.*¹—In Mahazorim: Italo-Germ. rite, Venice, 1568, folio, i. f. 56a, 56b. ס'תפלת ישראל, Venice, 1750, 8vo, f. 105a, 107b; ib. 1772, 8vo, f. 105a, 107b; *ib. 1666, 8vo. Sabionetta, 1557, 4to, f. 24-25. Sefhardi סדר תפלות, Amsterdam, 1661, f. 197a-199a; ib. 1716, 8vo, f. 184a-185a; ib. 1728, 8vo, f. 196a-198a. *Salonica, *Wien, 1819, f. 202. In the Prayer book עבודת ישראל, ed. Baer, Roedelheim, 1868, p. 441-445.

Independently printed: added to the Pentateuch, from the Sp. Prayer-book; reprinted by Bartolucci, Bibliotheca Magna Rabbinica, i. 383 ff., with a Latin translation (Rome, 1675). *Neapel, 1491. Constantinople, 1505. *Mantua, 1557; ib. 1725. Hamburger Altona, 1720. Berlin, 1766. Farhi, ערשה פלא, Livorno, 1870, I. f. 13a-14b.

Reprinted: Jellinek, בית המדרש, i. p. 142-146. With the Aramaic text, Filipowski, London, 1851 (together with מבחר הפנינים, p. 73-100). Slutzki, Warsaw, 1864.

B. חמרת הימים, ed. Constantinople, in the year ואתנם, ii. f. 61c ff., reprinted by Jellinek, *l.c.*, i. p. 137-141.

C. Jellinek, *l.c.*, i. p. 132-136 (from the Leipzig MS.), vi. p. 1-3 (Cod. Munchen, No. 117, 4).

MANUSCRIPTS.—British Museum, Harley, 5713 (published by Filipowski), Or. 1480, Hebrew and Aram. Yemen MS.

Oxford, Cod. 30 (Neubauer) ad. Pentat., 1480; Cod. 32 ad. Pentat. and Haphtaroth of 1483; Cod. 94 ad. Hagiographa, 1305, Spanish hand; Cod. 174 ad. Onkelos; Cod. 2229, 6, Collectanea from the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries (?); Cod. 2305 m. id., Italian cursive characters.

Paris, Cod. 43 (Zotenberg) at the end of Pentat. and Megilloth; 46, also at end of Pentat., middle of fourteenth century, Spanish hand. This MS. seems to be the original from which a copy was made for Wagenseil, now Cod. Leipzig, No. 32. Cod. 716, 10, fourteenth century.

Parma, De Rossi, Cod. 850, Pentat. etc. from 1469. Hebrew and Aram., Cod. 414, Pentat. and Hagiogr. sec. xiii.

Hamburg, Cod. 19 (Steinschneider), Hagiogr. 1480, formerly Hinckelman (Wolf, i. 204, No. 336).

Rome, Cod. 26, Vatican, before 1438.

Leipzig, Cod. xxxii. 4 (Delitzsch), Wagenseil's copy, with the *variae lect.* of the ed. Bartolucci.

ARAMAIC.

Editions.—H. Filipowski, London, 1851, from Brit. Mus. Harley, 5686 ff. 18a, 19b. (ס'תהדר, written 1466, Prayer book), with the Hebrew parallel

¹ A star marks those editions which I have not seen.

and with an English translation. The MS., however, is incorrect, and Filipowski has completed lacunæ, &c., from the Hebrew, retranslating them into Aramaic. This edition has been reprinted by *D. Slutzki*, Warsaw, 1863, who has added a short introduction.

J. Lewinsohn retranslated the Aramaic text into Hebrew (Hamagid, 1873, vol. xvii. f. 61 ff.).

A. Jellinek, Beth-hamidrash, vi. 4-8, from a Cod. of 1559.

J. Taprower, Mainz, 1874; the Cod. Leipzig, II. (v. Harkavy, p. 207, No. 5).

MANUSCRIPTS.—*A. Western: British Museum*, Harley, 5686 (ed. by Filipowski).

Ramsgate, Cod. Montefiore, 219, f. 49a-50b, Italian cursive hand (sixteenth century?).

Paris, Cod. 20, Pentat. from 1301; Cod. 47, id. circa 1350, Spanish hand.

Parma, De Rossi, Cod. 414, end of thirteenth or fourteenth century; Cod. 989 of 1400; Cod. 951, fifteenth century; Cod. 1026, from 1474; Cod. 535, from 1484.

Florenz, Cod. 52 (Biscioni, p. 143), thirteenth century.

Leipzig, Cod. II. (Delitzsch), Pentat., formerly Wagenseil; Cod. xxxii. 3, a copy of it made by Wagenseil, who added a Latin translation to it.

B. Eastern recension, all MSS. from Yemen.—Brit. Mus. Or. 2377, Hagiogr., fourteenth century; Or. 2212, id., fifteenth century. Prayer books, Or. 1479 from 1674; Or. 1480, seventeenth century; Or. 2417 from 1650; Or. 2418 from eighteenth century, and Or. 2673 from 1663. In Or. 2227 the scroll is *not* included.

Oxford, 2333, 5, the five Megilloth and scroll; 2498, Yem. Prayer book.

Berlin, Cod. 89 (Steinschneider f. 55b), sixteenth to seventeenth century, and Cod. 91, seventeenth century, both Prayer books. To these I add the two MSS. in my possession.

TRANSLATIONS.—Besides the Hebrew translation, which in its turn served as original for other translations, the Aramaic text has been translated into *Persian*, Paris Codex, No. 130, 4 (seventeenth or eighteenth century), written with Hebrew characters, and into *Arabic*. This translation accompanies the text in all the Eastern MSS. following each verse. So, at any rate, in all the MSS. I have been able to see.

The *Hebrew* text, as I have just remarked, has been translated into

1. *Latin*, by Bartolucci, *l.c.* (v. above), reprinted by Fabricius, Cod. Pseud-epigr. Vet. Test., i. 1165 ff., and Scip. Gambato Archiv. V. Test., p. 511 ff. Wagenseil added his translation to Cod. Leipzig, xxii.

2. *German*, Anonymous translation, Venice, 1548 (from this B. Frenk made a Hebrew translation, Wien, 1822). *Jacob b. Abraham* made a translation in prose, Amsterdam, s. l. and a. (eighteenth century); a translation in verse appeared s. l. and a., probably in Prag. (eighteenth century).

3. *Spanish*, under the title נס חנוכה, s. l. and a. (nineteenth century), together with Judith.

LITERATURE.—Zunz, Gottesdienstliche Vortraege, p. 124, note f.

M. Steinschnieder, Catal. Bodl., col. 206, 207.

C. L. W. Grimm, Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zu den Apokryphen. Das Buch d. Makkabäer, Leipzig, 1853, p. xxx. (who declares the book valueless for the study of the book of the Makkabæans, and decides that it was not composed before the war of Hadrian).

A. Jellinek, Beth hamidrash, i. p. xxii.-xxv.; vi. p. vii.-ix.

A. Harkavy, Studien u. Mittheilungen aus der K. Bibliothek zur Petersburg, v. 1, 1891, p. 205-209.

C. Josephson, Die Sagen über die Kämpfe der Makkabäer gegen die Syrer. Breslau, 1889.

This is, so far as I have been able to ascertain, the bibliography and literature of the Hasmonæan scroll. Should I have omitted any MS., or edition, or translation, I trust a critical reader will be able to fill up that lacuna.

מגלת בני השמונאים

A. My codex (Yemen), No. 6, f. 136b-143a.—XVIII. Century.

B. My codex (Yemen), No. 4, f. 117b-120b.—XVII. Century.

C. Brit. Mus. Or., 2377 f. 88b-93.—XIV. Century.

D. Ed. Jellinek Beth hamidrash VI., pp. 4-8.—XVI. Century.

E. Cod. Montefiore, No. 219, f. 49a-50b.—XVI. Century.

F. Brit. Mus. 2212 f. 224b-227b.—XVI. Century.

(1) וְהָיָה בְּיוֹמֵי אֲנָטוֹיֻכְס מַלְכָּא דִּינֹן מֶלֶךְ רַב וְתַקִּיף הָיָה וְחָסִין בְּשִׁלְטָנוּתִיהָ

וְכָל מַלְכֵּינָא יִשְׁתַּמְעוּן לָיָה: (2) הוּא כְּבִשׁ מְדִינָן סְגִיָּאן וּמַלְכִּין תַּקִּיפִין בְּאַיְסוֹר

אַסֵּר⁴ וְאַצְדֵּי בִּירְנִיתָהוֹן וְהִיכְלִיהוֹן אֹמִיר בְּנוֹרָא⁵ וְנִבְרִיהוֹן⁶ בְּאַיְסוֹר⁷ אֶסֶר:

(3) הוּא⁹ בָּנָא מְדִינָתָא רַבָּתָא¹⁰ עַל סְפָר יִמָּא לְמַהֲוֵי לֵיהּ לְבֵית מַלְכוֹ¹¹ וּקְרָא לָהּ¹²

אַנְטוֹכִיָּא¹³ עַל שְׁמִיהָ: (4) וְאַף בְּנֵרִם¹⁴ תְּנִינִיָּה בָּנָא¹⁵ לֵיהּ¹⁶ מְדִינָתָא אוּחְרִנְתָּא¹⁷

לְקַבְלָהּ וּקְרָא לָהּ מְדִינָתָא¹⁸ בְּנֵרִם¹⁹ וְכֹן²⁰ שְׁמָהּ תְּהוֹן עַד דִּנְא: (5) בִּשְׁנַת עֶסְרִין

¹ om. E.

C. E. בְּשִׁלְטָנוּתִיהָ B. F. בְּשִׁלְטָנִּי

³ B. F. om.

³ and ⁴ D. E. om.

⁵ B. om. probably by mistake, as it is in the Arabic translation.

⁶ B. C. F. וְנִבְרִיהוֹן

D. E. באסור⁷

⁸ E. adds here: מוֹיִשִּׁי אֵלֵיכֶם נִדְרוּס מַלְכָּא לֹא קָם כּוּוּתִיָּה בְּכָל עֵבֶר נְהָרָא

⁹ והוא D.

¹⁰ רבא E.

¹¹ E. מלכות

D. E. לרא מדינה¹²

¹³ D. E. אנטוכיא

so throughout, D. and E. בנרים¹⁴

¹⁵ D. בנה

¹⁶ D. E. om. ליה

¹⁷ C. D. F. אחר¹⁷

¹⁸ E. om.

¹⁹ D. and E. add על שמה

²⁰ C. וכן

ותלת שְׁנֵי לְמַלְכוּתֶיהָ¹ הָיָה שְׁנַת מָאָתוֹ וְתַלְתָּ עֶסֶר שְׁנִין לְבָנָן בֵּית אֱלֹהָא דִּיר²
 שְׁנֵי אַנְפּוּהִי³ לְמַסַּס לִירוּשָׁלַם: (6) עָנָה⁴ וְאָמַר לְהַדְבָרוֹהִי הָלָא יִדְעָתוֹן⁵ עָמָא
 דִּיהוּדָאִי⁶ דְּאִית⁷ בִּינְתָנָא לְאֱלֹהָנָא לָא⁸ פְּלִחִין⁹ וְנִימוּסָנָא לָא עֲבָדִין וְדָתִי מְלָכָא
 שְׁבָקִין לְמַעַבְד¹⁰ דְּתִיחוּן: (7) וְאַף אֲנִין¹¹ מְסוּבְרִין לְיוֹם תְּבַר מְלָכָא וְשִׁלְטוֹנָא
 וְאֲמַרִין¹² אֲמַתִּי¹³ יְמַלֹּךְ עָלֵנָא מְלָכָא¹⁴ וְנִשְׁלוּט בִּימָא וּבִיבִשְׁתָּא וְכָל עָלְמָא¹⁵
 יתְמַסֵּר¹⁶ בִּינְדָא לִית רַבּוּת מְלָכוּתָא¹⁷ לְמַשְׁבַּק אֱלִין עַל אֲפִי אַרְעָא: (8) כְּעַן¹⁸ אִיתוּ
 וְנִסַּס עָלֵיהוֹן וּנְבָטִיל מִנְהוֹן קִנְיָא דְגִנְזִיר עָלֵיהוֹן שְׁבָתָא וְיִרְחָא וּמְהוּלְתָּא: (9) וְיִשְׁפַּר
 פְּתִנְמָא דְנָא¹⁹ בְּעִינֵי רַבְרָבְנֵיהִי וּבְעִינֵי כָל חִילּוֹתֶיהָ²⁰: (10) בַּה שְׁעָתָא קָם
 אֲנִיּוּכְס מְלָכָא וְשִׁלַּח בְּנִיקְנוֹר²¹ תְּנִיגִיה בְּחִיל רַב וְעַם סְגִי וְאָתָא לְמַדְינְתָּא²²
 יְרוּשָׁלַם: (11) קָטַל בַּה קָטָלָא סְגִי²³ וְנִצַּב צִלְמָא²⁴ בְּבִיתָא דְּמַקְדָּשָׁא²⁵ בְּאַתְרָא דִּי
 אָמַר אֱלֹהִי שְׁרָאֵל²⁶ לְעַבְדוּהִי נְבִיא²⁷ תָּמֹן אֲשֶׁרִי שְׁבִינְתִי לְעֵלָם²⁸: (12) בִּיה
 וּמָנָא²⁹ נְכַסֵּי חִזְרָא וְאוֹבִילוֹ מְדָמִיָּה לְעֶזְרָתָא דְּקוֹדֶשָׁא³⁰: (13) וּבְדִי³¹ שְׁמַע יוֹחָנָן
 בַּר מַתְתִּיָּה יָת פְּתִנְמָא הָדִין³² עָמַת לִיה לַחְדָּא³³ וְאָתְמָלִי רוּגְזָא וְחַמְתָּא³⁴ וְצִלִּים
 אַנְפּוּהִי אֲשֶׁתְּנִי וְאָתְמָלִיךְ³⁵ בְּלָבִיָּה מָא³⁶ לְמַעַבְד עַל דְּנָא: (14) בְּאֲדִין יוֹחָנָן עֲבַד

1 B. לְמַמְלָכִיָּה.

2 D. E. F. דִּין רַךְ.

3 B. E. אַפּוּהִי.

4 B. עָנָא D. עָנָא.

5 F. D. and E. add יִדְעָתוֹן.

6 B. דִּי בִיהוּד E. F. יְהוּדָאִי דִּי בִיהוּד D. יְהוּדָאִי דִּי בִירוּשָׁלַם.

7 B. D. E. F. om. דָּאִית.

8 D. E. לְרַחֲלָתָנָא לִית אִינוּן.

9 D. מַקְרָבִין E. מַתְקָרָבִין.

10 D. לְמַעַבְד E. לְמִיבַר.

11 B. D. F. מְסוּבְרִין.

12 B. אֲמַרִין E. דָּא.

13 B. אֲמַתִּי.

14 D. E. מְלָכָא.

15 B. in the text, on the margin it is corrected into עָלְמָא.

16 D. אַתְמַסֵּר.

17 D. לְמָלִי.

18 B. om.

19 D. F. om.

20 D. חִילּוֹהִי F. חִילּוֹתֶיהָ.

21 D. E. נִיקָּ.

22 D. E. לְקִרְתָּא דִּי יְהוּד לִירְ F. om. לְמָ.

23 so throughout D. E. סְגִיָּא.

24 D. E. וּבִנְנָא פְּרַכָּא.

25 D. E. בְּבֵית מִקְּדָשׁ.

26 B. שְׁמִיָּא D. E. דִּישִׁיר.

27 D. E. נְבִיאִיָּא.

28 D. E. F. לְעֵלְמָא.

29 D. E. בְּאַתְרָא.

30 E. om.

31 D. E. כָּל קָבִיל דְּנָא כְּדִי.

32 B. om. יָת פִּי הָדִי F. פְּתִנְמָא.

33 F. om. כְּהִנָּא רַבָּא דִּי דְּנָא עוּבְרָא עֲבַד B. has instead יָת לַחְדָּא.

34 B. D. F. רַגְזָא וְחַמְתָּא.

35 B. וְהִשִּׁיב.

36 D. מָה דִּי יוּכֹל.

לִּיה חֲרָבָא תַרְתִּין וְרִתִּין¹ אֹרְכָה וּפְנִיתֶיה וְרֵת הָדָא וְתַחְתּוֹת לְבוּשׁוֹתֵי עֲטָפָה:
 (15) וְלִירוּשָׁלַם אָתָּא וְקָם בְּתַרְעָא² בְּרֵתָא וְאָמַר³ לְתַרְעָא וְנָטְרָא⁴ וְאָמַר לְהוֹן^{4a}
 אָנָּא יוֹחֶנְזִן בֶּר מִתְתִּיָּה כְּהֵנָּא רָבָא דִּיהוּד⁵ בְּעֹן⁶ אֲתִיתִי לְמִיעַל קִנְתָּ⁷ נִיקְנוֹר:
 (16) אֲדִין⁸ עָאֲלִין⁹ תַרְעָא וְנָטְרָא¹⁰ וְאָמַר¹¹ לְנִיקְנוֹר¹² כְּהֵנָּא רָבָא דִּי יְהוּד קָאִים
 עַל תַרְעָא¹³ וְאָמַר לְהוֹן יִיעוֹל¹⁴: (17) אֲדִין הוּעַל יוֹחֶנְזִן קָדָם¹⁵ נִיקְנוֹר אֲתִיבִיה¹⁶
 נִיקְנוֹר¹⁷ וְאָמַר¹⁸ אַנְתָּ¹⁹ הוּא חַד מִן מְרוֹדָא דִּי מְרַדֵּי בְּמַלְכָּא וְלֹא בְּעֹן שְׁלָם
 מַלְכוּתִיָּה: (18) עָנָה²⁰ יוֹחֶנְזִן²¹ וְאָמַר לִיה²² בְּעֹן אֲתִיתִי²³ לְקַדְמָךְ²⁴ לְמַעַבְדָּךְ כָּל
 מָא דְתַצְבִּי²⁵: (19) עָנָה²⁶ נִיקְנוֹר וְאָמַר²⁷ הָא²⁸ כְּמַצְבִּי²⁹ אַת בְּעִי³⁰ סָב הַזִּידָא
 וְנַכְסִיָּה לְצַלְמָא³¹ וְאוֹבִיל מְדָמִיָּה לְעוֹרְתָא דְקוֹדֶשָׁא³² וְאַלְבִּישְׁנָךְ³³ לְבוּשָׁא דְמַלְכוּתָא³⁴
 וְאַרְכִּיבְנָךְ³⁵ עַל סוּסָא³⁶ דְּמַלְכָּא וְכַחַד מִן רַחֲמֵי³⁷ מַלְכָּא תַהוּי: (20) וְכִנְיָמָא
 פְּתַנְמָא שְׂמַע³⁸ אֲתִיבִיה³⁹ יוֹחֶנְזִן וְאָמַר⁴⁰ מְרִי⁴¹ אָנָּא דְחִיל מִן בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל דְלָמָּא

¹ F. וְרֵתָא D. זָרִין² D. בתרעי³ B. D. וקרא⁴ F. D. om. וְנָטְרָא^{4a} F. om.⁵ B. די יהוד⁶ D. E. F. om. כהנא כאן⁷ B. D. E. F. קדם⁸ D. E. אֲדִין C. (so throughout).⁹ B. C. D. E. F. עלין¹⁰ C. F. נְטוֹרִיא וְתַרְעָא D. נטוריא E. נטרויה¹¹ B. D. E.—D. F. add ליה ¹² D. E. F. om.¹³ D. E. בתרעא ענה ניקנור¹⁴ B. D. E. F. עול ייעול¹⁵ C. קדם ¹⁶ C. D. E. F.—B. om. ענה ¹⁷ B. om.¹⁸ C. D. add ליוחנן—E. וגם ליוחנן F. ליה יוחנן¹⁹ B. C. F. אנתא²⁰ B. עני²¹ C. D. F. add ניקנור קדם²² D. E. F. om.²³ D. E. איתתי²⁴ C. D. E. F. קר²⁵ E. די אנת צבי וכ' D. די אנת בעי אנתא עביר C. F. קא די אנת בְּעִי: כ' מ' ד'²⁶ B. עני²⁷ C. D. F. add ליוחנן²⁸ D. E. הן²⁹ B. F. כמצבי³⁰ D. E. אנת עביר F. את עביר³¹ D. E. ונכוס על פרכא B. לצלמיה C. לצל³² om. E. וואביל דקוד³³ B. C. F. ואלבשך D. E. ולבוש³⁴ D. E. דמלכא³⁵ D. E. ורכוב F. וארכבך³⁶ B. סוסא³⁷ E. חברי³⁸ D. E. F. om.³⁹ D. התיביה⁴⁰ D. om.⁴¹ C. D. מארי

יִשְׁמְעוּן¹ דִּי עֲבָדִית² בֶּן³ וִירְמוּנִי בָּאֲבִנְיָ⁴ כְּעַן⁵ יִפְקֹון כָּל אֲנָשׁ מִן מְדָמָר דְּלִמָּא
 יְהוּדֵינוּ⁶ לְבִנֵּי⁷ יִשְׂרָאֵל⁸: (21) בְּאֲדִין⁹ נִיקְנוֹר הַנְּפִיק כָּל אֲנָשׁ¹⁰ מִן קְדֻמוֹהִי:
 (22) בֵּיה¹¹ זְמָנָא זָקָה יוֹחֲנָן בֶּר מִתְתִּיָּה¹² עֵינוֹהִי לְשִׁמְיָא¹³ וְסִדְר¹⁴ צְלוּתִיה קֳדָם
 רַבּוֹן עֲלָמָא¹⁵ וְאָמַר אֱלֹהִי וְאֱלֹהָא¹⁶ דְּאֲבָהִיתִי¹⁷ אֲבִרְהָם יִצְחָק וְיִשְׂרָאֵל: (23) וְבֶן¹⁸
 אָמַר¹⁹ לָא תִמְסְרִנִי²⁰ בְּיַד עֲרָלָא²¹ הָדִין דְּלִמָּא²² יִקְטִלְנִי וְיִהְיֶה²³ וְיִשְׁתַּבַּח²⁴ בְּבֵית²⁵
 דְּגֻזֹּן טְעוּתִיה²⁶ וְיִימַר²⁷ טְעוּתִי מִסְרַתִּיה בִּידִי: (24) בַּהּ יִשְׁעָתָא פֶּסַע לְוִיתִיה²⁸
 פֶּסְעִין תִּלְתָּא²⁹ וְדָקֵר³⁰ חֶרְבָּא בְּלָבִיה וּרְמָא יְתִיה קְטִילָא³¹ בְּעִזְרָתָא³² דְּקוֹדֶשָׁא:
 (25) עֲנָה³³ יוֹחֲנָן קֳדָם אֱלֹהֵי שְׁמִיָּא וְאָמַר³⁴ אֱלֹהִי³⁵ לָא תִשְׁנִי עָלִי חוּבָא³⁶ דְּקַטְלִיתִיה
 לְעֲרָלָא הָדִין³⁷ בְּבֵית³⁸ מְקִדָּשָׁא³⁹ כְּעַן⁴⁰ תִּמְסַר כָּל עַמְמִיָּא דִּי אֲתוֹ⁴¹ לְמַטְעֵי בְּנֵי
 יִשְׂרָאֵל דִּי בִירוּשַׁלַּם⁴²: (26) אֲדִין נִפְקֵי יוֹחֲנָן⁴³ בְּיוֹמָא הַהוּא⁴⁴ וְאֲנִית קֶרְבָּא

- | | | | |
|----|--|----|-----------------------|
| 1 | F. יִדְעוּן C. יִדְעוּן B. דִּישַׁתְמַעוּן | 2 | B. עֲבָדִית |
| 3 | B. F. בֶּן | 4 | D. E. בָּאֲבִנְיָ |
| 5 | E. om. F. אֲשָׁאֲלָךְ | 6 | B. C. F. יְהוּדֵינוּ |
| 7 | C. F.—D. E. om. בית | 8 | D. E. om. |
| 9 | C. E. F. וְאֲ אֲדִין | 10 | C. E. אֲנָשׁ |
| 11 | D. E. F.—B. om. כל קביל דנא ביה | | |
| 12 | F. עֵינוֹהִי C. מִתְתִּיָּה B. אֲדִין יוֹחֲנָן זָקָה עִי | | |
| 13 | D. לְשִׁמְיָא מְרוּמָא | 14 | E. וְסִדְר C. וְסִדְר |
| 15 | D. E. add עֲנָה | 16 | Om. E. |
| 17 | D. אֲבִי F. וְיִצְחָק | 18 | B. F. וְבֶן |
| 19 | om. E. וְאֲ | 20 | E. תִּמְסְרִנִי |
| 21 | D. E. עֲרָלָא | 22 | D. די הון |
| 23 | D. E. יִהְיֶה | 24 | E. יִשְׁתַּבַּח |
| 25 | B., in the Arabic translation, however, פי בית | | |
| 26 | C. טְעוּתִיה (so also the second time). | | |
| 27 | C. וְיִימַר | 28 | D. E. עֲלֻוֹהִי |
| 29 | C. תִּלְתָּא פֶּסְעִין om. F. ת | 30 | E. וְחָקַע |
| 31 | E. קְטִילָא | 32 | C. בְּעִזְרָתָא |
| 33 | B. F. עֲנָה | | |
| 34 | D. E. קֳדָם אֱלֹהֵי שְׁמִיָּא עֲנָה יוֹחֲנָן וְאָמַר | | |
| 35 | C. F. מְרוּמָא | 36 | B. C. D. E. F. חוּבָא |
| 37 | om. C. D. E. F. לֵי הֵי | 38 | Om. E. |
| 39 | C. מְקִדָּשָׁא D. בְּקוֹדֶשָׁא | 40 | E. כְּעַן כֵּן |
| 41 | C. F. אֲתוֹ | | |
| 42 | D. E. אֲתוֹ עֲמִיה לְאֶעְקָא לִיהוּד וְלִירוּשַׁלַּם | | |
| 43 | B. D. E. add בֶּר מִתְתִּיָּה | 44 | D. E. דְּנָא |

בַּעֲמִמָּיָה הָאֵנוֹן¹ וְקָטַל בְּהוֹן קָטַלָּא סָנִי וְעָרְקוּ עָמָּא דִּי אֲשִׁתִּיּוֹבוּ מִן חֶרְבָּא בַּסְפִּינְתָּא
 לְוֹת מַלְכָּא אַנְטִיּוֹכֹס²: (27) וּמִנֵּן³ קָטִילָּא⁴ דִּי קָטַל⁵ בְּיוֹמָא חֲהוּא⁶ שְׁבַעִין וַתְּרִין
 אֲלָפִין וְשִׁבְעָה מָאָה⁷ דִּי הוּוּ⁸ קָטִילִין⁹ נָבֵר בְּחֶבְרִיָּה¹⁰: (28) בְּמוֹתְבוּתִיָּה¹¹ בְּנָא
 מְנַרְתָּא¹² וְקָרָא לָהּ מַקְבִּי¹³ קָטוּל¹⁴ תְּקִיפִין: (29) וַבְּדִי שְׁמַע אַנְטִיּוֹכֹס מַלְכָּא דִּי
 אַתְקָטִיל¹⁵ נִיקְנוֹר תְּנַגִּיָּה עַמַּת לִיָּה לַחֲדָא וְשָׁלַח וְקָרָא¹⁶ לְבִנְרִם חִיָּבָא מַטְעִי עַמִּיָּה:
 (30) עָנָה אַנְטִיּוֹכֹס מַלְכָּא¹⁷ וַאֲמַר לְבִנְרִם הֲלָא יָרַעְתָּא¹⁸ אִם לֹא שְׁמַעְתָּא¹⁹ מָא
 רַעְבְּדוּ²⁰ לִי בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל קָטְלוּ חִילִי וּבְזוּ מִשְׁרִיתִי²¹ וְרַבְרַבְנִי²²: (31) כְּעֵן עַל
 נִכְסֵיהוֹן²³ אַתּוֹן רְחִיצִין אוּ עַל בְּתִיכוֹן²⁴ דִּי לָכוֹן²⁵ כְּעֵן²⁶ אֵיתוּ וְנִסְק²⁷ עֲלִיהוֹן
 וּנְבַטִיל מִנְהוֹן קִמָּא²⁸ דְּנִזִּיר²⁹ עֲלִיהוֹן שְׁבַתָּא וִירְחָא וּמַהוּלְתָּא³⁰: (32) אֲדִין
 קָם³¹ בְּנִרִם חִיָּבָא וְכָל מִשְׁרִיתִיָּה³² וַאֲתָא³³ לְמַדְיָנְתָּא³⁴ יְרוּשָׁלַם³⁵: (33) קָטַל
 בָּהּ קָטַלָּא³⁶ סָנִי וְנִזִּר בָּהּ נְזִירֶת³⁷ נְמִירָא עַל שְׁבַתָּא וִירְחָא³⁸ וּמַהוּלְתָּא: (34) כָּל
 קָבִיל³⁹ דָּנָא מִן דִּי מָלַת מַלְכָּא מְהַחֲצָפָא כָּל⁴⁰ דִּי יִנְזֵר בְּרִיָּה אֵיתִיו⁴¹ גּוֹבְרָא

¹ C. F. D. E. om. הָאֵלִין

² B. D. E. om. וְעָרְקוּ אַנְטִיּוֹכֹס

³ B. וַהוּוּ מִנֵּן

⁴ C. קָטִילָּא

⁵ B. דָּאֲתָקִטִּילוּ

⁶ E. דִּין D. דָּנָא

⁷ B. D. שְׁבַע מָאָה שְׁבַעִין וַתְּרִין אֲלָ

E. שְׁבַעַה אֲלָפִין שְׁבַעַה

⁸ B. אַרִי הוּוּ

⁹ D. E. add אֵלִין לֵאלִין

¹⁰ C. חֶב' חֶבְרִיָּה

¹¹ B. D. E. בְּמוֹתְבוּתִיָּה C. F.

¹² D. E.—F. מְדִינְתָּא.—B. D. add עַל שְׁמִיָּה

¹³ C. F. D. E. מַקְבִּי

¹⁴ B. C. D. F. קָטִיל E. קָטִיל

¹⁵ D. אַתְקָטִיל E. דָּאִיקָטִיל

¹⁶ D. adds לִיָּה לִיָּה לִיָּה E. לִיָּה לִיָּה

¹⁷ D. E. om.

¹⁸ C. E. יָרַעְתָּ

¹⁹ C. E. שְׁמַעְתָּ

²⁰ E. עַבְדוּ

²¹ B. מִשְׁרִיתִי C. מִשְׁרִיתִי E. מִשְׁרִיתִי

²² C. וְרַבְרַבְנִי E. רַבְרַבְנִי

²³ B. C. D. F. and the Arabic translation: נִכְסֵיהוֹן

²⁴ D. E. om. ע' ב'

²⁵ D. E. add אֵינוֹן

²⁶ C. D. E. om. וְכֵן

²⁷ C. F. וְנִסְק

²⁸ C. F. (so also ver. 36 twice). קִמָּא

²⁹ E. דִּינִזִּיר

³⁰ D. E. (so throughout the text). מַהוּלְתָּא

³¹ D. E. om.

³² C. מִשְׁרִיתִיָּה E. מִשְׁרִיתִיָּה

³³ E. אַתָּא עֲלִיהוֹן

³⁴ B. C. D. E. F. om.

³⁵ B. C. D. E. לִירוּשָׁ

³⁶ B. קָטוּל

³⁷ C. נְזִירָא

³⁸ E. עַל יְרַחָא

³⁹ C. F. קָבִיל E. קוֹבֵל

⁴⁰ D. E. נִבְרָא

⁴¹ C. אֵיתִיו E. אֵיתוֹן

וְאַתְּחִיָּה ¹ וּצְלָבוֹנוֹן ² לְקַבֵּל ³ יְנוּקָא ⁴ : (35) וְאַף אֶתְחָא ⁵ יְלִידָת ⁶ בַּר בְּתַר דְּמִית ⁷
 בַּעֲלָה וּנְזֻרְתִּיהָ לְתַמְנָא יוֹמִין וּסְלִיקַת עַל שׁוּרָא דְּמִדִּינָתָא וּבִרְהָ דְּגִנְזֻרְתִּיהָ ⁸ בִּידָה :
 (36) עָנַת ⁹ וְאַמְרַת לָךְ אֲמִרִין בְּגַרְס חֵיבָא ¹⁰ קִימָא דְּאַבְהָתָנָא לָא יַפְסוּק ¹¹ מְנָא ¹²
 וְלָא מִבְּנֵי בְּנָא ¹³ וְאַפִּילַת יַת ¹⁴ בְּרָה לְתַחוּת שׁוּרָא ¹⁵ וּנְפִלַת בְּתֻרוּהִי וּמִיתוּ
 תַּרְוִיהוֹן ¹⁶ וְסִינְאִין מִבְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל הוּוּ ¹⁷ עֲבָדִין כְּדִין ¹⁸ וְלָא מְשֻׁנוֹן קִים אֲבָהָתָהוֹן :
 (37) בִּיה זְמָנָא אֲמִרִין בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל גִּבְרָ לְחִבְרִיהָ ²⁰ אִיתוּ ²¹ וְנִשְׁבּוּת בְּמַעְרָתָא דְּלָמָא
 נְחָלִיל יַת ²² יוֹמָא דְּשִׁבְתָּא וְאַבְלוּ קַרְצִיהוֹן ²³ דִּי יְהוּדָאִי ²⁴ בְּגַרְס בְּגַרְס : (38) אֲרִין
 שְׁלַח בְּגַרְס בְּגִנְזֻרְתִּיהָ ²⁵ מְרִי זִינָא ²⁶ וְאַתּוּ לְפּוּם ²⁷ מַעְרָתָא וְאַמְרִין ²⁸ בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל ²⁹
 פּוּקוּ לְתַנָּא אֲבָלוּ ³¹ מַלְחָמָנָא ³² וּשְׁתוּ מִן חֲמַרְנָא וְעוֹבְדָנָא ³³ אֲתוּן ³⁴ עֲבָדִין :
 (39) עָנִין ³⁵ בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וְאַמְרִין חֲדָ לְחִבְרִיהָ דְּכִירִין אֲנַחְנָא מָא דְּאַתְפַּקְדָּא ³⁶ עַל
 טוּרָא דְּסִינֵי שְׁיִתָּא ³⁷ יוֹמִין ³⁸ תַּעְבְּדוּן עֲבִידָתָא ³⁹ וּבִיּוֹמָא שְׁבִיעָאָה ⁴⁰ תְּנִיחוּן כְּעֵן טַב

¹ D. E. ואף אנתחיה.

² D. F. בינון—E. וצלבונון.

³ E. לקבול C. לקבל.

⁴ C. D. E. F. B. C. F. add בְּתָא יְנוּקָא.

⁵ D. E. אנתחא.

⁶ D. E. די יל.

⁷ D. E. מיתת.

⁸ D. E. נזירא.

⁹ B. ענת C. F. ענת.

¹⁰ E. adds אנתון מסרבין לבטלה מנא קיימא דינור עימנא.

¹¹ E. פסיק C. יפסוק.

¹² D. E. add לא עדיין מביני בניהון לא עדיין.

¹³ D. E. om.

¹⁴ D. E. om.

¹⁵ D. E. לארעא ל' ש'.

¹⁶ D. F. om. ו' ת' D. כחדא B. תמן.

¹⁷ D. E. דיהוו.

¹⁸ D. adds ביומא האינן.

¹⁹ D. E. אמרו.

²⁰ D. E. (so also ver. 39). אלן לאלן.

²¹ D. E. add ונהך.

²² C. D. om.

²³ C. קרצ'.

²⁴ B. C. D. F. om.

²⁵ D. גיברין E. גבורין.

²⁶ D. E. F. om. מ' ז'.

²⁷ D. ו ויתבו על D. דאולין ויתבין על.

²⁸ D. E. add להון.

²⁹ B. D. E. om. לבני.

³⁰ D. E. יהודאי.

³¹ C. ואיבולו.

³² B. C. D. E. מן לחמנא.

³³ C. F. ועוב'.

³⁴ D. E. תהון.

³⁵ B. C. ענין.

³⁶ F. adds ביה.

³⁷ B. C. F. שְׁתָּה.

³⁸ D. adds תפלח.

³⁹ B. C. F. עבירכו.

⁴⁰ B. C. דְּשִׁבְתָּא.

לָנָא דְנִמּוּת מִדְּנִחִלִיל¹ יֵת² יוֹמָא דְשַׁבְּתָא: (40) כָּל כְּבִיל³ דְנָא כְד⁴ לֹא כְבִילֹ
 לְהוּם⁵ אֵיתִיּוֹ⁶ אָעִין רְטִיבִין וְאוֹקִידוּ⁷ עַל פּוּם מְעָרְתָא וְאַתְקָטִיל⁸ כְּאַלְף גְּבִר
 וְאַתָּא⁹: (41) בְּתֵר דְנָא¹¹ נִפְקוּ חֲמִשָּׁא¹² בְּגֵי מִתְתִּיהָ יוֹחֲנָן וְאַרְבַּעָה¹³ אַחֵוּהִי
 וְאַנְיָוֹ קְרָבָא בְּעִמְמִיָּא הָאֲנֹן¹⁴: (42) קְטָלָא סְנִי¹⁵ קְטִלוּ¹⁶ בְּהוֹן וְעֶרְקוּ דִּי
 אִשְׁתָּאֲרוּ מְנַהוֹן¹⁷ לְאַפְרָכִי¹⁸ יִמָּא דִּי אֶתְרַחֲצוּ¹⁹ עַל אֱלֹהִי²⁰ נְשִׁמְיָא: (43) אֲדִין²¹
 יִתִּיב²² בְּנֵרס חִיבָא בְּסִפִּינְתָא וְעֶרְק לֹת אֲנִמְיוּכְס²³ מִלְכָּא וְעִמְיָה נֹבְרִין דִּי
 אִשְׁתִּיזְבוּ²⁴ מִן חֶרְבָּא: (44) עֲנָה²⁵ בְּנֵרס וְאָמַר לְאַנְמְיוּכְס מִלְכָּא אֲנִתָּה²⁶ מִלְכָּא
 שְׁמָתָא²⁷ טָעִים לְכְּטָלָא מִן יְהוּד שְׁבַתָּא וְיִרְחָא וּמַהוּלְתָּא וְאַשְׁתַּדּוּר²⁸ רַב²⁹ בְּנִנְה
 וְאַלּוּ אֲתוֹן³⁰ עָלִיהוֹן³¹ כָּל עִמְמִיָּא אוּמִיָּא וְלִישְׁנִיָּא לֹא כְהִלִין לְחֲמִשָּׁא בְּגֵי מִתְתִּיהָ דִּי
 אֲנֹן מִן אֲרִיגֹן מִסִּפִּין וּמִן נִשְׁרִין³² מְלִילִין וּמִן דּוּבִין³³ חֲצִיפִין³⁴: (45) כְּעֹן מִלְכָּא

¹ D. E. מן די נח.² C. D. om.³ E. קוביל.⁴ D. E. כרי C. כיר.⁵ D. E. נפקו לותהון: ק' ל.⁶ D. E. איתבו E. אותיאו C. F. איתיאו.⁷ D. om.⁸ D. E. ואתקטילו.⁹ B. C. D. E. F. ואיתתא D. ואנתתא B. C. ואיתא.¹⁰ D. has here the following passage:—

בְּתֵר כֵּן גִּזְרַת עֲלִיהוֹן בְּנֵרִיס הֵיבָא דְלֹא תִיעוּל עוֹלֻמְתָּא לֹת בַּעֲלָה אֱלֹהִין עַד דְּתִיעוּל
 לֹת מִלְכָּא: וְהוּת לְחִשְׁמוֹנָא עוֹלֻמְתָּא חֲדָא וְהוּו סְבִירִין דִּי יִיתוֹן יֵתָה לֹת בְּנֵרִיס
 חֵיבָא: וְכִדִּי חוּת עוֹלֻמְתָּא דְהוּו סְבִירִין לְמַעְבַּד כֵּן צוּחַת צוּחַת רַבְתָּא וּמִרִידָא וּבִזְעָת
 לְבוּשְׁתָּא וְאַמְרַת קִדְם אַבוּהָ וְאַחוּהָ: אַחִי כְדִין אֲתוֹן סְבִירִין לְמַעְבַּד עִמִּי לְמַמְסַר יֵתִי
 בִּיד גְּבִירָא עֲרָלָא וְלֹא תַעֲבִדוֹן אֲתוֹן כְּמָה דְּעַבְדוּ אַבְהַתְכוֹן וְתַקְנִיאוּ אֲתוֹן כְּמָה דְּקִנִּיאוּ
 עַל אַחְתְּהוֹן דִּינָה וְדִי בְרָא שְׁמִיָּא וְאַרְעָא יִסְעֲדִינְכוֹן עַל דְּנָא:

¹¹ D. כן.¹² B. (and so in ver. 44). חמשה.¹³ C. וְאַרְבַּעָה.¹⁴ B. C. F. D. E. om. האלִין.¹⁵ D. סניא.¹⁶ E. קטילו.¹⁷ B. C. D. E. om. בהון-מנ' D. E. והפרכינן.¹⁸ C. D. E. להפ' C. לְאַפְרָכִי.¹⁹ B. C. F. דִּי יִמָּא F. דִּי יִמָּא.²⁰ E. לאל'.²¹ B. C. D. F. בְּאֲד'.²² B. C. יתיב.²³ C. אנמיכס.²⁴ C. F. D. E. משובו D. E. דִּי אִשְׁ.²⁵ B. C. F. עני.²⁶ B. D. E. אנתא C. F. אנת.²⁷ D. E. שמת.²⁸ B. C. F. ויש' D. ויש'.²⁹ D. adds דעבדין E. ומרד ומרד דעבדין.³⁰ B. C. F. ולו D. E. די הן אזלין.³¹ D. E. אינון קל'.³² C. אליהון.³³ B. C. F. חצי'.³⁴ D. E. אנון חצי'.

מֶלֶכִּי¹ יִשְׁפָּר עָלָךְ הֵן² תְּנִיחַ קָרְבָּא³ עִמָּהוֹן⁴ בְּמִשְׁרִיתָא הָאֵלִין⁵ תַּתְּכֵהִית⁶ בְּאַנְפִּי
 כָּל מַלְכֵיָא: (46) לָבוּ שְׁלַח⁷ אֲנִתָא⁸ בְּכָל⁹ מְדִינַת מַלְכוּתְךָ וַיִּתְּיֹאוּ¹⁰ רַבְרָבֵי¹¹
 חִילּוֹתָא¹² וְעִמָּהוֹן כָּל עִמָּמִיָּא¹³ וְאַף פִּילֵיא¹⁴ מְלוּבְשֵׁי שְׂרִינָא¹⁵: (47) אֲדִין יִשְׁפָּר
 פִּתְנָמָא¹⁶ בְּעִינֵי אֲנִיּוּכָם מַלְכָּא וְשִׁלַּח וְקָרָא לְרַבְרָבֵי חִילּוֹתִיה וְאִיתִיאוּ כָּל עִמָּמִיָּא
 וְעִמָּהוֹן פִּילֵיא¹⁷ מְלוּבְשֵׁי שְׂרִינָא¹⁸: (48) תְּנִינּוֹת¹⁹ קָם בְּגַרְס חִיבָא וְאַתָּא
 לִירוּשָׁלַם²⁰ תֵּרַע בַּה תֵּלַת עָסָר תֵּרַעִין²¹ וְסִנְרָ נִהְרָא דְמִדִּינָתָא וְשִׁרְף אַבְנָה עַד
 דְּהוּהָ כַּעֲפָרָא²²: (49) חֲשִׁיב²³ בְּלָבִיָּה וְאָמַר בְּזִמְנָא הָדָא לֹא כְּהִלִּין²⁴ לִי אֲרִי²⁵
 רַב חִילִּי וְתַקִּיף²⁶ יְדֵי²⁷ וְאַלְהָ שְׁמִיָּא לֹא חֲשִׁיב בֵּן: (50) וּכְדִי שְׁמַעוּ חֲמִשָּׁה בְּנֵי
 מִתְּתִיָּה קָמוּ וְאָזְלוּ²⁸ לְמַצְפִּיא²⁹ דְּנִלְעָד בְּאַתְרָא³⁰ דִּי הוּהוּ³¹ לָהוֹן³² שְׂיֻבָּא בְּיוֹמִי
 שְׁמוּאֵל נְבִיא³³: (51) נִזְרוּ צוּמָא וִיתִיבוּ עַל קִטְמָא לְמַבְעֵי רַחֲמִין מִן³⁴ אֱלֹהֵי שְׁמִיָּא:
 (52) בְּאֲדִין נָפַל בְּלָבָהוֹן מַלְכָּא טָבָא וְהוּוּ שְׁמַתָּהוֹן³⁵ יְהוּדָה בּוּכְרָא שְׁמַעוּן
 חֲנִינָא³⁶ יוֹחָנָן תְּלִיתָאָה יוֹנָתָן רַב־עֲזָא אֶלְעָזָר חֲמִישָׁאָה: (53) כְּרִיד יְתָהוֹן אָבוּהוֹן

1 D. E. add טבא

2 D. E. ולא B. לא

3 D. om.

4 D. E. בהון

5 D. E. add די הן תניח בהון בנוברין זעירין

6 D.—E. om. תתפחת

7 D. E. כתובו

8 B. F. איגריין D. אנרן B. F. איגריתא

9 B. F. לכל

10 B. F. וייתון D. E. וייתיו

11 D. רברבני

12 F. חילותא D. E. חיליאי B. פחותא

13 B. adds these words after ע'מ' ולא ישתאר מנהון חר: ו' כ' ע'

14 F. פ'י

15 D. E. add להון בהון

16 F. פתגמוהי

17 D. E. בכל מדינת מלכותיה ואתו רברבנוהי עם מעם ומלכו ממלכו

18 F. פוליא ופיליא

19 D. E. add עמהון הו

20 D. תני הוי

21 B. למדינת ירושלם

22 B. adds בשור בית מקדשא

23 D. E. תרעכעפרא עשר תלת במקדשא ותרע אבוליה ונתק שורא פינר

24 E. om. אביליה כעפרא הו די עד פנר אבנא מן ואף תרעתא

25 D. חושב E. ח' F. חושב

26 D. יכלין E. יכלין

27 D. E. די

28 E. תקיפת

29 B. adds סני

30 B. D. E. F. ואתו

31 D. פיה E. מעפייא

32 D. E. om.

33 B. F. הות E. דהנה

34 D. E. תמן

35 B. E. נביאה D. נביא

36 F. adds קדם

37 D. E. om. ו' ש'

38 D. תניניה

קדם דִּישְׁלַח יְתֵהוֹן לְקִרְבָּא ¹ וְאָמַר לְהוֹן ² יְהוּדָה בְּרִי אוֹדִי עוֹבְדָךְ ³ כִּיהוּדָה בֶּר
 יַעֲקֹב דְּמִתִּיל בְּאַרְיָא ⁴: (54) וְאֵת ⁵ שְׁמֵעוֹן בְּרִי אוֹדִי עוֹבְדָךְ כְּשִׁמְעוֹן בֶּר יַעֲקֹב
 דְּקִטְל יֵת ⁶ יְתִבִּי שְׁכֵם דְּחָבּוּ עַל דִּינָה אֶחָתִיהָ ⁷: (55) וְאֵת יוֹחָנָן בְּרִי אוֹדִי עוֹבְדָךְ
 בְּאַבְנֶר ⁸ בֶּר גֵּר רַב חֵילָא דִּישְׂרָאֵל: (56) וְאֵת יוֹנָתָן בְּרִי אוֹדִי עוֹבְדָךְ כְּיוֹנָתָן בֶּר
 שְׂאוּל דְּקִטְל ⁹ יֵת ¹⁰ פִּלְשֶׁתִּי: (57) וְאֵת אֶלְעָזָר בְּרִי אוֹדִי עוֹבְדָךְ כְּפִינְחָס בֶּר
 אֶלְעָזָר דְּקִנִּי ¹¹ קִדְּם ¹² אֱלֹהִיהָ ¹³ וְשִׁיבִיב יֵת בְּנִי יִשְׂרָאֵל ¹⁴: (58) עַל דְּנָה קָמוּ ¹⁵
 חֲמִשָּׁה בְנֵי מִתְתִּיהָ ¹⁶ וְאֶזְיָחוּ קִרְבָּא בְּעַמְמִיָּא הָאֲנֹנִי ¹⁷ וקִטְלוּ מִנְהוֹן ¹⁸ קִטְלָא סְגִי ¹⁹
 וְאֶתְקִטִּיל מִנְהוֹן יְהוּדָה: (59) בַּה שְׁעָתָא ²⁰ כֶּר ²¹ חֹזֵן ²² דִּי אֶתְקִטִּיל ²³ יְהוּדָה תְּבוּ
 וְאֵתוֹ לָנֹת אֲבוּהוֹן וְאָמַר לְהוֹן לָמָּא תִּבְתּוֹן: (60) עֲנֹ ²⁴ וְאֶמְרִין ²⁵ יְהוּדָה אֲחוּנָא
 אֶתְקִטִּיל דִּי הָהּ מִתְחַשִּׁיב ²⁶ בֹּת כּוּלָּנָא: (61) עֲנָה ²⁷ מִתְתִּיהָ ²⁸ וְאָמַר לְהוֹן אָנָּא
 אַפּוֹק עִמְכוֹן ²⁹ וְאֶזְיָח ³⁰ קִרְבָּא בְּעַמְמִיָּא ³¹ הָאֲלִין ³² דְּלָמָּא יְהוּדָה ³³ בְּנִי ³⁴ יִשְׂרָאֵל
 וְאֵתוֹן תִּתְנַחֲמוֹן ³⁵ עַל אֲחוּבוֹן: (62) וּנְפַק מִתְתִּיהָ ³⁶ בְּיוֹמָא הַהוּא ³⁷ עִם בְּנוֹהִי
 וְאֶזְיָח ³⁸ קִרְבָּא בְּעַמְמִיָּא הָאֲנֹנִי ³⁹: (63) וְאֵלָה ⁴⁰ שְׁמִיָּא מִסַּר כָּל גִּבְרֵי ⁴¹ עַמְמִיָּא

¹ E. om. D. E. om. ק' ד' י' ל'.

² D. E. om. אורמינך D. אודה מנך: א' עוב'.

³ D. E. om. דהוה מתיל כא'.

⁴ D. E. om.

⁵ B.

⁶ B. D. E. עם

⁷ D. E. om.

⁸ B. F. add מְרִנָּא; so also in the Arabic translation in A. and B.

⁹ D. E. add [בְּיוֹמָא הַהוּא] וּנְפַקוּ B. F. add דְּנָא D. E. add נַפְקוּ

¹⁰ D. om.

¹¹ D. E. F. סניא

¹² D.

¹³ B. C. דְּאֶתְקִטִּיל

¹⁴ D.

¹⁵ B. C. עני

¹⁶ D. E. חשיב

¹⁷ D. adds אבוהון

¹⁸ D. E. om.

¹⁹ B. D. בית

²⁰ C. מתתיה

²¹ D. E. om.

²² B. C. D. F. om.

²³ B. C. D. E. om.

²⁴ B. C. D. E. om.

²⁵ B. C. D. E. om.

²⁶ B. C. D. E. om.

²⁷ B. C. D. E. om.

²⁸ B. C. D. E. om.

²⁹ B. C. D. E. om.

³⁰ B. C. D. E. om.

הָאֵלֶּין בִּידְהוֹן¹ וקטלו מְנָהוֹן² קטלא סְנִי כָל שְׁלִיף חֲרָבָא וְכָל אֶחָיד מִשְׁתָּא וְרַבְרָבִי
 פְּחֻתָּא³ וְלֹא⁴ אֶשְׁתָּאֵר מְנָהוֹן מְשִׁיזִיב⁵ וְעָרַק מִן דְּאֶשְׁתָּאֵר⁶ מְנָהוֹן לְאַפְרָכִי⁷ יִמָּא⁸
 וְאַלְעָזָר הָוָה מִתְעַסִּיק בְּמִטְלָא⁹ דְּפִילָא¹⁰ וטבע בְּפֹרְתָא דְּפִילָא: (64) ובעוהי¹¹
 אַחוּהִי¹² בֵּין חִיָּא וּבֵין מִיתָא וְלֹא אֶשְׁכְּחוּ יְתִיה¹³ וּבְתֵר בֵּין אֶשְׁכְּחוּ יְתִיה טְבִיעַ¹⁴
 בְּפֹרְתָא דְּפִילָא¹⁵: (65) וְחָדָו בְּנֵי¹⁶ יִשְׂרָאֵל דִּי אֶתְמָסְרוּ סְנֵאִיהוֹן בִּידְהוֹן¹⁷ מְנָהוֹן
 קָלוּ בְּנוּרָא¹⁸ וּמְנָהוֹן צָלְבוּ עַל אֵילָנָא¹⁹ וּבְנָרָם חִיָּבָא מִטְעִי עֲמִיה קְלוּהִי בְּנוּרָא
 עֲמָא בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל: (66) וְאַנְטִיּוֹכָם²⁰ מַלְכָּא כֹד שְׁמַע דִּי אֶתְקַטִּיל בְּנָרָם תְּנִינְיָה²¹
 וְכָל רַבְרָבְנוּהִי²² דְּעֲמִיָּה יְתִיב²³ בְּסַפִּינְתָא וְעָרַק לְאַפְרָכִי²⁴ יִמָּא וְכָל אֶתֶר דִּיִּיתִי²⁵
 מְרִדִּין²⁶ בִּיה וְאַמְרִין לִיה עָרִיקָא²⁷ עָרִיקָא וּרְמָא בְּנַפְשִׁיה לִימָא²⁸: (67) בְּתֵר דְּנָא
 עָאֵלוּ²⁹ בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל³⁰ לְבֵית מַקְדָּשָׁא³¹ וּבְנוּ תַרְעִיָּא³² וְדָכִיאוּ בֵּית³³ מַקְדָּשָׁא³⁴ מִן
 קְטִילָא וּמִן סְאֻבְתָּא³⁵: (68) וּבְעוּ מִשְׁחָא דְּוִיתָא³⁶ רַכְיָא לְאַדְלָקָא בּוֹצִינְיָא³⁷
 וְלֹא אֶשְׁכְּחוּ אֶלְהִין³⁸ צְלוּחִית חֲדָא דְּהוֹת חֲתִימָא בְּעֻזְקָת³⁹ כְּהֵנָּא רַבָּא⁴⁰ מִיּוּמִי

- 1 F. בִּידְהוֹן. 2 D. E. בהון. 3 C. פְּחֻתָּא. 4 D. E. כל אחדי סיפא וכל ננדי קשתא רברבני חילא וסנניא לא: כל שליוף- ולא.
 5 C. מְשִׁיזִיב. 6 B. C. F. דְּאֶשְׁתָּאֵר. 7 C. לְאַפְרָכִי. 8 D. E. להפרכי. E. ווערקן שאר עמא להפרכי ימא.
 9 D. E. לקט'. 10 B. F. דְּפִילָא. 11 D. E. om. 12 D. E. om. 13 B. D. E., both times so. 14 C. טְבִיעַ. 15 D. E. om. 16 בית. 17 B. F. בִּידְהוֹן.
 18 B. adds רְמָא בְּסַפִּינְתָא. C. D. E. F. בחרבא. (is missing in the Arabic translation in A as well as in B). 19 D. E. צְלוּבָא. 20 E. באדין אנטי.
 21 D. E. om. 22 C. רַבְרָבְנוּהִי. 23 B. C. F. יְתִיב. 24 C. לְאַפְרָכִי. 25 C. דִּי יְתִי. 26 D. F. add: לְתַמְנִין. 27 D. עָרִיקָא. 28 D. E. om. ע- לימא.
 29 B. C. E. F. עָלוּ. 30 D. בית חשמונאי. 31 C. F. תַרְעִיָּא. 32 D. E. תַרְעִין וסנרין תרעתא. 33 D. E. om. 34 C. מִקְדָּשָׁא. 35 C. סְאֻבְתָּא. 36 E. om. 37 D. E. לאדלקת אנהרותא.
 38 C. F. אֶלְהִין. 39 D. להון. 40 C. om. and C. D. E. F. add וירעו דְּהִיא רַכְיָא.

שְׁמוּאֵל נִבְיָא¹: (69) בְּאֶדְלָקוֹת² יוֹמָא חַד הָהּ בֵּה³ וְאַלְהָ⁴ שְׁמִיָּא⁵ דִּי שְׁבִין
 שְׁמִיָּה⁶ תִּמְזֵן יִתֵּב בֵּה בִּרְבָתָא⁷ וְאַדְלִיקוּ מִנָּה⁸ תִּמְנִיָּא יוֹמִין: (70) עַל כֵּן⁹ מִיִּמּוֹ
 בְּגִי חֲשִׁמוֹנָאִי¹⁰ הֲדִין¹¹ קִנְמָא¹² וְאַסְרוּ הֲדִין אֶסְרָא אֲנֹן וּבְגִי יִשְׂרָאֵל בּוֹלְהוֹן¹³:
 (71) לְהוֹדְעָא לְבְּגִי יִשְׂרָאֵל לְמַעַבְדַּד הֲדִין¹⁴ תִּמְנִיָּא יוֹמִין חֲדָא וְיִקְר¹⁵ כְּיוֹמֵי מוֹעֲדֵיָא
 דְּכַתְּיָבִין בְּאוֹרֵיתָא לְאֶדְלָקָא בְּהוֹן¹⁶ לְהוֹדְעָא לָמֵן דִּיִּתִּי מִכְּתָרֵיהוֹן אֲרִי עֲבַד לְהוֹן
 אֶלְהֵהוֹן פּוֹרְקָנָא מִן שְׁמִיָּא¹⁷: (72) בְּהוֹן לֹא לְמַסְפַּד וְלֹא לְמַבְבִּי¹⁸ וְלֹא לְמַנְזַר
 צוֹמָא¹⁹ וְכָל גִּבְרָא דִּיהִי עֲלוֹתִי נִדְרָא יִשְׁלַמְנִיה²⁰: (73) בְּרַם חֲשִׁמוֹנָאִי וּבְנֵיהִי
 וְאַחֵיהִי לֹא גִזְרוּ בְּהוֹן לְמַשְׁבַּק עֲבִידָתָא וּפְלִחָנָא²¹ מִן עֲדָנָא דְנָא לֹא הָהּ שׁוּם²²
 לְמַלְכוּת יוֹן: (74) וְכִבְּלוּ מַלְכוּתָא בְּגִי חֲשִׁמוֹנָאִי אֲנֹן וּבְגִיָּהוֹן²³ וּבְגִי בְּגִיָּהוֹן מִן
 עֲדָנָא דְנָא וְעַד חֲרָבֹן בֵּית אֶלְהָא תִּנְיָנָא²⁴ מָאֲתָן וְשִׁית שְׁנִין: (75) עַל כֵּן²⁵ בְּגִי
 יִשְׂרָאֵל נְטַרִין לְיוֹמִיָּא הָאֵלִין²⁶ בְּכָל גְּלוּתָהוֹן וְקִרְן²⁷ לְהוֹן יוֹמֵי חֲדָא²⁸ מַעֲסֵרִין וְחַמְשָׁא
 יוֹמִין לְיִבְחָא כִּסְלוֹ²⁹: (76) וְעַד עֲלָמָא לֹא עֲדִין³⁰ מִנְּהוֹן דִּי בֵּית מִקְדָּשָׁא³¹ בְּתִנְיָנָא
 וְלִיּוֹנָא וְכָל חֲכִימָהוֹן³² מִיִּמּוֹ עֲלִיהוֹן וְעַל בְּגִיָּהוֹן³³ וְעַל³⁴ בְּגִי בְּגִיָּהוֹן עַד עֲלָמָא³⁵:

¹ D. E. om. F. om. מ' ש' נ'

³ C. בֵּה B. D. בִּיה

⁵ B. D. om.

⁷ B. C. D. F. בִּרְבָתִיָּה

⁹ B. F. כֵּן

¹¹ E. om.

¹³ ותקיפו אסרא ורשמו בני ישראל כחרא [עמהון E.] למעבד D.; קימא-כולהון

¹⁴ D. אלן ¹⁵ D. E. חדותא ¹⁶ D. adds אנהרותא

¹⁷ ל' די להוון ש' D. להודעא די עבדין להון שמיא נצחנין: להודעא למךשמיא

¹⁸ E. נצ'

¹⁹ D. E. om.

¹⁹ D. E. צום ותענית

²⁰ להן כל אנש די איתי עלוהי מן קרמת דנא יודה ויצלה קדם אלהיה: וכל-ישלמ'

²¹ D. E. om. יודה

²² E. adds די מקדשא

²² D. adds רשות

²³ D. E. om.

²⁴ D. adds דך E.

²⁵ E. עד יומיא האילין

²⁶ D. ליומא דנא

²⁷ D. וקרין

²⁸ D. E. חדו

²⁹ D. E. adds תמנייא יומין D. יומא לירחא דכ'

³¹ בבית מקדשהון

³² D. וחכמ'

³³ D. om. ו' ב'

³⁴ D. עדי

³⁵ E. om. וליואי-עלמא E. concludes ופסוקין יוונית המגלה נשלמה

עד וסימן וארבעה

TRANSLATION.

(1) And it came to pass in the days of Antiochas, king of Yavan. He was a mighty and powerful king, and potent in his realm, and all the kings obeyed him. (2) He conquered many countries, and powerful kings he bound in fetters; he destroyed their castles, burned their palaces with fire, and bound their inhabitants (valiant men) in fetters. (3) He built a mighty town close to the shore of the sea, which should be for him the residential house, and he called it *Antochia* after his own name.¹ (4) Also Bagras (Bakchides), who was second in command, built another town opposite and called it the town of Bagras after his own name. (5) In the seventy-third year of his reign, which was the year two hundred and thirteen after the building of the house of God, he determined to go up to Jerusalem. (6) He spoke to his councillors and said: Do you not know the nation of the Jews who live among us? They do not worship our God, nor do they observe our laws; they neglect the ordinances of the king in order to fulfil their laws.² (7) They also hope for the day of the destruction of the kings and rulers, and say: when will our king reign over us, when we shall rule over sea and land, and all the world will be delivered into our hand? It is not for the greatness of the kingdom to leave these upon the face of the earth. (8) Now let us rise and march against them, and let us abolish the covenant that has been made with them to observe sabbath, new moon, and circumcision.³ (9) And this word was pleasing in the eyes of his councillors, and in the eyes of his army. (10) In that hour the King Antiochas rose, and sent Nikanor his second, with a great army and large multitude, and he came to the town of Jerusalem.⁴ (11) There he made a great slaughter, and placed an idol in the sanctuary on that spot where God had said to his servants the prophets: 'There I will rest my Shekina for ever.' (12) In that time they slaughtered a swine and brought its blood to the hall of the sanctuary. (13) And when Johanan, the son of Matityah, had heard of this thing, he felt sorely grieved and he was filled with anger and wrath, and his countenance was changed, and he meditated in his heart what to do in consequence thereof. (14) Johanan made him a sword two spans long and one span in breadth, and he girded it under his raiment.⁵ (15) And he went up to Jerusalem and stood in the gate of the town. And he called to the porters and guards, saying: 'I am Johanan son of Matityah, the high priest of the Jews; I have now come to appear before Nikanor.' (16) The porters and guards went up and said to Nikanor: The high-priest of the Jews is standing at the gate. And he said to them: Let him come in. (17) Then Johanan was brought before Nikanor. Nikanor answered and said: Thou

¹ Probably Charax-Spasina, at the mouth of the Karun, v. Pliny, vi. xxvii.

² Cf. Esther iii. 8.

³ 1 Mak. i. 44-50; cf. 2 Mak. vi. 5-6.

⁴ The general Nikanor; cf. 1 Mak. vii. 26 ff; 2 Mak. xv. 6 ff (not at all like to this Nikanor of the text).

⁵ Cf. Judges iii. 16.

art one of the rebels who revolt against the king, and do not desire the peace of his kingdom. (18) Johanan answered and said: I have now come before thee to do what thou wishest. (19) Nikanor¹ answered and said: If thou desire to fulfil my wishes, take a swine, sacrifice it to the idol, and take its blood into the hall of the sanctuary, and I will array thee in the royal apparel, and I will cause thee to ride on the king's horse, and shall be as one of the king's beloved.² (20) When he had heard that word, Johanan replied and said: My lord, I am afraid lest the children of Israel might hear that I have done so, and they would kill me with stones. Let therefore all [that stand] before thee go out, so that they should not make it known to the children of Israel. (21) Then Nikanor let every man go out, who stood before him. (22) At that time Johanan, son of Matityah, lifted his eyes to heaven, and offered his prayer to the Master of the Universe, and said: 'My God, and the God of my forefathers Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. (23) (and he said) Do not deliver me into the hands of this uncircumcised, lest he would kill me and go and offer praises in the temple of Dagon, his false god, and he will say: My idol has delivered him into my hand.' (24) At that time he walked up to him three steps and thrust his sword into his heart, and cast his corpse into the hall of the sanctuary. (25) Johanan answered and spake to the God of heavens: My Lord, put no guilt on me, for that I have slain this uncircumcised in the sanctuary. So mayest thou deliver [into my hand] all the heathen that come to Jerusalem to cause the children of Israel to err. (26) Then, on that day, Johanan went out and he arrayed battle against the heathen, and he made a great slaughter among them; and those that escaped from the sword fled in boats to the king Antiochas. (27) The number of the slain, that were killed on that day was of seventy-two thousand and seven hundred, for they slew each other. (28) In his residence (place), he erected a minaret [pillar] and called it after his own name, *Makbe, killer of the powerful*. (29) And when Antiochas heard that Nikanor, his second, had been slain, he was sorely grieved; and he sent and called Bagras the wicked, the misleader of his nation. (30) And Antiochas, the king, answered and said to Bagras: Knowest thou not, or hast thou not heard, what the children of Israel have done unto me? They have killed my army and have spoiled my troops and commanders. (31) Will you now rely upon your substance or upon the houses that you have? Let us get up and rise against them, and let us abolish the covenant that has been made with them (to observe) Sabbath, new moon, and circumcision. (32) And Bagras the wicked rose with all his army and came to the town of Jerusalem. (33) He made there a great slaughter, and decreed a strong decree against Sabbath, new moon, and circumcision. (34) Thus when the command of the king³ was urgent against every one who would circumcise his son,⁴ they brought a man and his wife and hanged

¹ Cf. 1 Mak. ii. 17-18.

² Cf. Esther vi. 8.

³ Cf. Dan. iii. 22.

⁴ V. 34-36. Cf. 1 Mak. i. 61; 2 Mak. vi. 10.

(crucified) them against the child. (35) And a woman who had given birth to a son after the death of his father had him circumcised when he was eight days old. She went upon the wall of Jerusalem and her circumcised son in her hand. (36) She answered and said: To thee, Bagras the wicked, be it said, the covenant of our forefathers will not cease from among us, nor from our children's children. And she threw her son down to the bottom of the wall, and she fell after him, and both died.¹ And many of the children of Israel did likewise, and would not change the covenant of their forefathers. (37) At that time the children of Israel said to each other: Let us go and retire into a cave, lest we should violate the Sabbath. And the Jews were betrayed before Bagras. (38) Then Bagras sent armed men, and they went to the entrance of the cave and said: Children of Israel, come out to us, eat of our bread and drink of our wine, and do what we do. (39) The children of Israel answered and spoke to each other: We remember what we have been commanded on Mount Sinai: six days shalt thou do all manner of work, but on the seventh day you must rest. It is therefore better for us to die than to violate the Sabbath. (40) Therefore as they did not accept them (their proposals), they brought green wood and lit it at the entrance of the cave; and there died about a thousand men and women.² (41) Thereupon the five sons of Matityah, Johanan and his four brothers, went out and arrayed battle with the heathen. (42) They made a great slaughter among them; and those that remained escaped to the sea-provinces, for they trusted in the God of heavens. (43) Then Bagras the wicked mounted a vessel and escaped to King Antiochas, and with him those who had escaped the sword. (44) Bagras answered and said to King Antiochas: Thou, O king, hast proclaimed a decree to abolish from among the Jews Sabbath, new moon, and circumcision, and there is great rebellion in their midst; but even if all the nations, peoples, and tongues should go against them, they will not prevail against the five sons of Matityah, who are stronger than lions, quicker than eagles, and more daring than bears. (45) If now, O king, my advice be acceptable to thee, for if thou wouldst array battle against them with this thine army thou wilt be ashamed before all the kings. (46) Therefore, send letters to all the provinces of thy kingdom, and let come the captains of the armies and with them all the nations, and the elephants clad in coats of mail. (47) Then this word was acceptable in the eyes of King Antio-

¹ Cf. 2 Mak. vi. 10.

² V. 37-40; cf. 2 Mak. vi. 11-16.

From D. E.: "After that, Bagras the wicked decreed that no virgin should be married unless she came first to the king. The Hasmonæans had a daughter, and they intended to bring her to Bagras the wicked. When the girl saw what their intention was, she cried bitterly and loudly, tore her garments, and said to her father and to her brothers: My brothers, are you thinking to do that unto me and to deliver me into the hands of that uncircumcised; instead of acting as your forefathers have acted, and be zealous as they were zealous on behalf of their sister Dinah; and He who created heaven and earth will assist you therein."

chas, and he sent and called the captains of the armies; and they brought all the nations, and with them the elephants clad in mail. (48) For a second time rose Bagras the wicked, and came to Jerusalem. He made into it thirteen breaches, and he stopped the water of the city and burned her stones until they became like unto dust.¹ (49) He thought in his heart and said: This time they will have no power to resist me, for my army is numerous and my hands strong; but the Lord of heavens did not think so. (50) And when the five sons of Matityah heard it they went to Mizpah in Gilead, the place where they had had salvation in the days of Samuel the prophet.² (51) They ordained a fast day, and sat on ashes in order to obtain mercy from the Lord of heavens. (52) Then there fell into their hearts a good advice. Their names were: Juda the first born, Simeon the second, Johanan the third, Jonathan the fourth, Elazar the fifth.³ (53) Their father blessed them before sending them to battle, and he said to them: Judah my son, I praise (compare?) thy actions, as those of Judah the son of Jacob who was likened unto a lion. (54) And thee, Simeon my son, I praise thy actions as that of Simeon the son of Jacob, who slew the inhabitants of Shechem, who had sinned against Dinah his sister. (55) And thee, Johanan my son, I praise thy actions as those of Abner, son of Ner, the commander of the hosts of Israel. (56) And thee, Jonathan my son, I praise thy actions as those of Jonathan the son of Saul, who slew the Philistines. (57) And thee, Elazar my son, I praise thy actions as those of Pinehas the son of Elazar, who was zealous before his god and saved the children of Israel. (58) Thereupon the five sons of Matityah arose and entered into battle against those heathen and made a great slaughter; and Judah was killed from among them.⁴ (59) At that time, when they saw that Judah was slain, they turned back and went to their father, and he said to them: Why did you come back? (60) They answered and said: Our brother Judah has been killed, who was considered alone to be equal to all of us. (61) Matityah answered and said to them: I will go out with you and join battle against these heathen, lest the children of Israel be lost; and ye be comforted concerning your brother. (62) And Matityah went out that day with his sons and fought those heathen. (63) And the Lord of Heavens delivered into their hands all the mighty of those heathen and they made a great slaughter among them, all who drew the sword or held a bow, and the captains and governors, and none escaped. And those who remained fled to the sea provinces. And Elazar was occupied in killing the elephants, and he fell (in) under the belly (dung) of an elephant. (64) And they searched for him among the living and the dead and could not find him. Afterwards they found him sunk under the belly (in the dung) of an elephant. (65) And the children of Israel rejoiced that their enemies

¹ 1 Mak. i. 31; Josephus, Antiqu., xii. 4, 5. Cf. 1 Mak. vi. 62; x. 2.

² Ver. 50 ff.; 1 Mak. iii. 46 ff.

³ Cf. 1 Mak. ii. 2-5, different order.

⁴ Cf. 1 Mak. ix. 18 ff. (totally different account.)

had been delivered into their hands; some of them they burned with fire, others they hung on trees. And Bagras the wicked, the misleader of his people, the children of Israel burned with fire. (66) When King Antiochas heard that Bagras his second was slain, and all the captains that were with him, he embarked into a vessel and fled to the sea provinces. And wherever he came, they revolted against him and called him: fugitive, fugitive. And he threw himself into the sea.¹ (67) Thereupon the children of Israel went up to the sanctuary, and built the gates and cleansed the sanctuary from the slain and from the pollution.² (68) And they sought after pure olive oil in order to light the lamps, and they did not find anything but one bottle, sealed with the seal of the High-Priest, from the times of the Prophet Samuel. (69) Therein was sufficient for the lighting of one day; but the Lord of heavens, who caused his name to dwell there, gave a blessing therein, and they lit with it (the lamps) for eight days.³ (70) Therefore the Hashmunæans ordained and enjoined upon them and the children of Israel (71) to make it known to the children of Israel, that they should keep those eight days with mirth and gladness, similar to the days of festivals prescribed in the Law;⁴ to light (the lamps) on them, so as to make it known to those that may come after them, that their God had wrought salvation to them from heaven. (72) On those days they are not to mourn, nor to wail, nor to ordain any fast; only the man who has previously made a vow must pay it.⁵ (73) But the Hashmunæan and his sons and brothers did not decree that on them work or worship should cease. From that time on the Greek kingdom had no name any more there.⁶ (74) The sons of Hashmunai kept the kingdom, they and their sons, and their sons' sons, from that time on until the second destruction of the House of God, for 206 years. (75) Therefore the children of Israel keep those days in all the Diaspora and call them days of mirth from the 25th day of the month of Kislev. (76) And for ever will not cease from the sanctuary priests and Levites; and all their sages ordained upon them and their children and their children's children for ever. Blessed be the Lord for ever. Amen and Amen.

¹ 1 Mak. iv. 36 ff. *cf.* 6, 7.

² *Cf.* 1 Mak. iv. 50.

³ *Cf.* 1 Mak. iv. 59.

⁴ v. 2 Mak. i. 9, which is now clearly explained by this passage.

⁵ 70-72 v. Esther ix. 27 ff.

⁶ This means probably that the Seleucidian era was thenceforth abolished.

II.

VERNACULAR SYRIAC AS SPOKEN BY THE EASTERN SYRIANS.

BY

THE VERY REV. ARTHUR JOHN MACLEAN, M.A.

Dean of Argyll and the Isles.

I.

THE Eastern Syrians, whose vernacular it is the object of this paper to discuss, represent the Christian Church of the Persian Empire, which in the early centuries of our era had its headquarters at Seleucia-Ctesiphon, and by its missionary enterprises spread a knowledge of the Christian religion, and thereby of the Syriac language, over most of the countries of Asia. Driven from their ancient home by successive persecutions, the Eastern Syrians now inhabit the mountains of Kurdistan and the plains of North-Western Persia and of Mosul, their country being bounded, roughly, by the Sea of Van on the north, the Sea of Urmi on the east, by Mosul on the south, and the Bohtan Su or Eastern Tigris on the west. Their language is a form of Syriac, not (it would seem) directly derived from the classical language, but still a regular development on analytical principles of an Aramaic speech which was twin-brother to that of St. Ephrem. It must not therefore be assumed that every form which is found in the vernacular but not in the classical Syriac is of modern introduction; it may represent what was anciently spoken by the Eastern Syrians, although they may not have used it in writing. They have apparently for many centuries always used the language of the Pshitta in their books and letters (although they pronounced it somewhat differently from the Jacobites or Western Syrians), and to this day they use it for their religious services and for writing; while only those who have studied in the European missionary schools are able to write their vernacular. It thus appears that the term Old Syriac, though equivalent to the name used by the East Syrians themselves, *the old language*, is somewhat of a misnomer; and similarly the terms Modern Syriac and Neo-Syriac are liable to misapprehension. Many of the forms

in the vernacular may be more ancient than corresponding forms in the classical language.

The number of dialects of the vernacular is very great. Every district, almost every village, speaks differently. The dialects are sufficiently different to make it difficult for a man to understand another of a distant district; sufficiently alike to argue a common origin. A study of their peculiarities leads us to divide the people into four divisions, the dialects of each division showing the same features. It is possible that these represent four separate migrations from the plains of Mesopotamia and Assyria. (1.) Our first division is the *Urmi dialect*, spoken by the inhabitants of the great Urmi plain (which lies to the west of the sea of the same name), and of the smaller plain of Solduz, to the south. (2.) Then comes what we may call the *Salámas dialect*, spoken with variations in the plain of Salámas, which is at the north-west corner of the Sea of Urmi, and in the "Rayat" or "Subject" districts of Northern Kurdistan, those, that is, which are entirely under the government of the Turks; especially in the high table-land of Gawar, the mountains of Jilu, and the district round Qudshanis, the village of the Patriarch Mar Shimun. Both these chief divisions differ greatly from the two which follow. (3.) The principal group of dialects is that of the Ashiret or semi-independent tribes of Kurdistan, over whom the Turks only exercise a nominal sway. The principal tribe is Tiári (which uses two, or even three, quite distinct dialects), and somewhat smaller are Tkhuma, Tal, Baz, Diz, Waltu. In this group we must also place the dialects of some districts wedged in between the plains of Gawar and Urmi, which philological considerations (confirmed by local tradition) show to be peopled by colonies from Tiari, viz., Mar Bishu, Shamsdin, Tergawar, Mergawar, Bradust, all on the Perso-Turkish frontier. There are also one or two villages in the plain of Urmi said to be peopled by emigrants from Kurdistan, and this is confirmed by the fact that they use several words and forms peculiar to this group. (4.) The last division is called the *Alqosh dialect*, from the village which contains the reputed tomb of "Nahum the Elkoshite," and near which is the famous monastery of Raban Hurmizd. This dialect is spoken by the East Syrians of the Mosul plain (who by religion are Roman Catholic Uniats, and are usually known as Chaldeans), as well as by the Jews of Zakhu. The other three groups of Syrians are almost all adherents of the Patriarch Mar Shimun, the Catholicos of the East; they usually call themselves Syrians, but are best known in Europe by the name Nestorians.



Attempts were made as long ago as the seventeenth century to reduce the Alqosh dialect to writing, and some vernacular poems of that district are now extant, written on the baldest phonetic principles. In the last century the liturgical Gospels were written phonetically in the vernacular; but the first scientific attempt to reduce any of these dialects to writing was made by Dr. Perkins, an American Presbyterian missionary, in the year 1836. He translated the Bible and other books into the Urmi dialect, and in 1856 his colleague, Mr. Stoddard, printed a grammar of the same dialect,¹ in which he inserted a very few forms from the Kurdistan Mountains, though, unfortunately, he did not say from which of the many mountain dialects they came. Other works in the Urmi dialect, one or two in the Salamas dialect, and a copy of the Gospels in the Alqosh dialect, followed from the presses of the American (Presbyterian) and French (Roman Catholic) missions at Urmi; and with these materials Professor Nöldeke wrote in 1868 his very valuable "*Grammatik der Neusyrischen Sprache*," which analyses the vernacular of Urmi in a most scientific manner. The learned writer necessarily only goes as far as his materials take him, and therefore he hardly touches any but the Urmi and Salamas dialects, and confines himself, indeed, almost entirely to the former. The present writer has, therefore, set himself, during five years' residence among the East Syrians, to collect materials for comparing the dialects of Kurdistan, Salamas, and Alqosh (that is, of nine-tenths of the East Syrian people), with that of Urmi, which is already known. A comparative grammar of all these dialects, which is the result, should throw light on the origin of much that is dark in the speech of Urmi. A comparison of various methods of speech shows the origin of grammatical forms, one district supplying links which point to the origin of forms used in other districts. A consideration of accent also (in a language so regular in its accentuation as Syriac), leads us to the discovery of etymology. A word, for example, which is oxytone, contrary to rule, is conjectured to have dropped a syllable, which a search among other dialects will usually supply.


II. VARIATION OF THE DIALECTS.

The East Syrians are all practically of one social class, and there is not the difference between polished and vulgar speech which we find in other languages. The variations of speech, therefore, are geographical, and are not due to class or education. The chief differences are as follows:—(1.) In vocabulary, especially in foreign words,

¹ American Oriental Society's Journal, vol. v.

each district naturally borrowing from the neighbouring foreign languages. Thus the Urmi dialect borrows chiefly from Persian and Azerbaijani Turkish (a much rougher dialect than that of the Osmanlis); the Ashiret dialects borrow chiefly from Kurdish, but also largely from Arabic; the Alqosh dialect borrows very largely from the Arabic, which language, indeed, the Syrians who live in the city of Mosul habitually speak.¹ (2.) In aspiration. While all agree in the aspiration of Beith, Gâmal, and Kâp, and in seldom aspirating Pe, except in a diphthong, yet they differ in Dâlath and Tau, the first two groups never aspirating them, the last two aspirating them more freely than the classical Syriac does, the Tiari dialect even turning a *th* into *sh* in many cases. In practice, this separates the groups more than any other difference. (3.) The pronunciation of long Zlama. This varies even in the same district, where it is *ê* (in *fête*) in one word, and *é* (in *île*) in another. The latter pronunciation is by far the more common, and in the plains of Urmi and Salamas the former is uncommon. But in Kurdistan (Ashiret districts) and Alqosh it is very frequently found in the various grammatical forms. Attention to this fact will often enable us to spell a word so as to represent entirely different pronunciations. Thus

, they reveal (=  of the classical Syriac), is pronounced

gâli in Urmi, *gâlé* in Kurdistan. (4.) The forms of the plural. Nouns whose plural ends in Kurdistan (Ashiret) and Alqosh in *âthâ*, end in Urmi with long zlama, thus, *âti*; and in Salamas and cognate dialects simply in *â*, the *thâ* being dropped, and the accent accordingly falling on the last syllable. (5.) The inflections of *š* verbs, especially in the imperative, where the last two divisions closely follow the classical language, and the first two have a plural form in , which is of very doubtful origin. (6.) So the in-

flexion of *y* verbs, which are usually treated as *š* verbs, but in a few dialects are conjugated regularly. (7.) The irregular verbs vary very greatly according to dialect, as do also the forms of the pronouns, and the terminations of the first present tense (= present participle + pronoun), which can only be treated in detail. (8.) The Ashiret dialects are more synthetic than the others in the method of expressing the pronominal object of the preterite (the formation of which is described below), the other dialects following here a very free analytical method. (9.) The genders of nouns differ somewhat in different districts.

¹ In a few Syrian villages of the Urmi and Solduz plains, Syriac is not spoken at all, but Azerbaijani Turkish.

III. THE GRAMMATICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE LANGUAGE.

We may notice the results of the development, and this will enable us to come to some conclusion as to the genealogy of the language.

(1.) The *states* of the nouns are, with a few exceptions, abolished, the definite state serving all purposes. There was a tendency this way in the classical language, the definite state with a preposition taking the place of the construct state, and the absolute state being very little used, especially in the later ecclesiastical Syriac. The absolute state is only now used in the participles (and therefore, as will be seen, in the formation of the tenses of the verb in the vernacular), in some of the numerals, in some feminine nouns whose absolute state ends in *Âlap*, and therefore looks like the definite state, and in a few other words. The construct state is only used in a few well-known words, such as **ܒܢܐ**, *son of*; **ܡܠܝܚܐ**, *lord of*;

ܒܝܬܐ, *house of*, and in certain compound substantives. The Ashirets, however, also use it in the singular present participle

(masculine and feminine) with any verb, as **ܡܪܕܐ ܕܢܦܬܐ** = *a killer of men*. The East Syrian grammarians looked on the definite as the normal state, and called the others "abbreviations,"

ܕܡܬܐ.

(2.) The plurals of nouns show a considerable development. The ordinary plural of feminine nouns in *ta* is now *yâthâ* (*yâti*, Urmi; *yâ*, Salamas¹), not *âthâ*, as in the classical language, though this is found also, but more usually as the plural of nouns of either gender not ending in *tâ*, when it is very common. In the classical Syriac this was rare. Other very common endings are *-i*² (the most common of all, as in O.S.), *âni*, *âwâthâ* (*âwâti*, Urmi; *âwâ*, Salamas), *wâthâ* (id.), and in some nouns the last latter is reduplicated, thus

ܡܪܕܐܢܐ from **ܡܪܕܐ**, *a frog*. Several nouns have very irregular

plurals. The O.S. plural in *ayâ* has disappeared.

(3.) A simplification has taken place by feminine plural forms being dropped (with one or two exceptions), in pronouns, verbs, and adjectives, the masculine doing duty for both genders; also in some districts by dropping all the feminine numerals, and in all districts

¹ This term includes the kindred dialects of Gawar, Jilu, Qudshanis.

² Long Zlama.

by dropping those above ten. On the other hand, in a few forms the feminine seems to have taken the place of the masculine, and to be in sole possession.

(4.) The vernacular is very rich in pronominal forms; among the demonstrative pronouns, for instance, there are different forms for *yonder* (a short way off), and *yonder* (a good way off), and *yonder* (a long way off). Variations in the personal pronouns are due partly to a desire for emphasis, partly to an excessive love of aspiration in some Ashiret districts, and partly to false analogies being followed (of which there are many cases in the language), the possessive and personal pronouns being confused. On the other hand, there is a simplification due to the abolition of the distinction between "singular" suffixes and "plural" suffixes. The same do duty for all nouns. But here also there is much variation in the different districts.

(5.) The verbs are greatly simplified by the dropping of the old synthetic tenses, except the imperative, and the passives. The only parts of the old verbs retained are the two participles, the imperative, and verbal nouns. The old infinitive has entirely disappeared. The tenses are formed by the help of auxiliary verbs. The substantive verb *I am*, &c., is the most noteworthy development. It is irregular and obscure. The first two persons seem to be formed by a conjunction of the old verb ܐܝܢ, *there is*, with the present of the verb ܕܡܝܬ, *to be* (present participle + pronoun); the third person by the conjunction of ܐܝܢ with the preposition ܕ and affix. Having formed their substantive verb, the Syrians were at once able to form a large number of tenses; the past *I was* being formed by simply adding the word ܕܡܝܬ, without change, to *I am*; they thus get *I am a-going*, *I was a-going*, *I am having gone* = *I have gone*, *I was having gone* = *I had gone*, and so forth; the English "a-going" being the verbal noun with or without a preposition. The first present tense, common in classical Syriac, formed by simply adding the present participle to the personal pronouns, appears also in the vernacular, although (as will be noticed) the contractions differ in important particulars. Thus *I going* = *I go*. This tense is used also to express a variety of ideas; with one particle (derived from ܕܡܝܬ, *to wish*; cf. English *will*, Modern Greek *θα*) it is a future, with another a habitual present, with

a third a preterite (but this last is not very common). The word ܠܐܝܬܐ added as before gives us a conditional and a habitual imperfect. There only remains the preterite, which is formed in a very curious manner from the absolute state of the past participle. This has either an active or a passive sense; and for the active preterite the passive sense is taken, and the phrase inverted; thus *I struck him* is rendered by *he was struck by me*. This is one of the few awkward constructions in the language. The passive is formed by the help of the verb ܐܬܐ to remain. The past participle of any verb is added to the various tenses of this auxiliary, and a complete passive is obtained. A very few verbs remain which are relics of the old passive verbs, but which are now conjugated like the active conjugations.

A further simplification takes place in the conjugations. In the vernacular there are two only; the first corresponds to P'al, the second to Pa'el, Aph'el, and Shaph'el.

As the old past and future have disappeared, the objective pronominal affixes have been greatly simplified; and even in the imperative, which remains, the affixes of O.S. are not used. It must have been found at an early age that they were too complicated for vernacular use.

The disuse of the old past and future further leads to a great simplification in the variations due to weak radicals. The only verbs which remain at all complicated are the ܐܠ and ܝܠ verbs, and these are much less complicated than the ܐܠ verbs of O.S.

The letters ܐ ܡ ܕ lead to no variations in the vernacular; and the pthakha forms of the P'al imperative find no place, all first conjugation (P'al) verbs except those which are ܐܠ and ܝܠ making their imperative in Rwsa or Rwakha, ܐܠ or ܝܠ. The result of all this is the greater regularity of the vernacular.

(6.) The vocabulary has been developed greatly by the introduction of foreign words, chiefly from Persian, Azerbaijani Turkish, Kurdish, and Arabic, especially in nouns and particles. These importations are inflected exactly like Syriac words; they take terminations and form plurals and derivatives very freely in the Syriac manner. Foreign verbs are conjugated exactly like Syriac verbs. Indeed, except for two Turkish plural nouns in the Urmi dialect and a few Arabic plural nouns in the Alqosh dialect, the foreign words have almost entirely dropped their foreign dress.

The Greek words, which are so common in the classical language, are very little used in the vernacular, being with very few exceptions confined to ecclesiastical technical terms.

But putting aside foreign words, the vernacular differs very considerably from the classical Syriac in its vocabulary. In many cases words used in O.S. have acquired a different meaning under influence of Arabic; in others, different meanings are found which agree with the case of Chaldee, but not of Syriac. In many cases words, especially verbs, are used which are found in other Aramaic dialects, but not in classical Syriac. There can be but little doubt that these have long formed part of the spoken language of the people. The vernacular thus helps us to old meanings to which the written Syriac gives no clue.

The vernacular is especially rich in quadriliteral verbs. The method of formation is the same as in the classical Syriac, but it is resorted to much more freely. Triliteral roots which contain one weak letter drop it and reduplicate; almost every first conjugation (P'al) verb forms a causative corresponding to Aph'el—the causative frequently having a secondary sense, and being practically a different verb in meaning—or one of the letters of a triliteral root is reduplicated, or an extraneous letter is introduced, either at the beginning, as in the case of Shaph'el and Saph'el verbs, or in the middle, or even sometimes at the end. Moreover, a very large number of onomatopoeitic quadriliterals are used; and foreign nouns also furnish a large number.

But even so the number of verbs is too few for practical requirements, and the Syrians have in consequence to use auxiliaries like

ܡܫܬܐܬܐ, *to strike*, ܥܬܐ, *to eat*, ܕܬܐ, *to do*, ܕܬܐ, *to pour*, very freely with substantives. A long list of these shows many curious idiomatic phrases.

A very great development has also taken place in nouns denoting the agent and the action of a verb. Of the former, the O.S. nouns

of the form ܦܬܐ are only used to a very limited extent, and chiefly in secondary meanings; the form ܦܬܐ also is little used

except in the Alqosh dialect, where every P'al verb makes an agent on this model. Every first conjugation (P'al) verb, however, makes

an agent of the form ܦܬܐ (except in the Alqosh dialect), and every second conjugation (Pa'el, Aph'el, Shaph'el) verb makes

one of the form **ܡܦܬܠܝܢ**, though the preformative *Mim* is silent (as throughout the second conjugation) in the Urmi and Salamas dialects. Nouns denoting the action are formed by every verb thus—(a) **ܦܬܠ** and **ܦܬܠܐ**; (b) **ܡܦܬܠܐ** or **ܡܦܬܠܐ** and **ܡܦܬܠܐ** or **ܡܦܬܠܐ**.

Other derivatives are formed with great freedom; abstracts in **ܐܬܐ** (*uthā*) from both Syriac and foreign words, even from some particles; diminutives in **ܐܬܐ** (*unā*), **ܐܬܐ** (*untā*), and a few foreign ones in **ܠܐ** (*chā*); these diminutives, however, have frequently no diminutive force, and sometimes entirely replace their originals. Adjectives also are formed very freely; and if there is no constructional adjective corresponding to any substantive, the word **ܠܐ**, *lord of*, prefixed will always make it one; thus, *lord of water* = *watery*.

A great practical gain to the vocabulary, also, is the indefinite article, for which the numeral *one* does duty. The demonstrative pronouns are, however, not much used for the definite article.

(7.) The vernacular presents several alphabetical peculiarities. The rules for aspiration are greatly simplified by the fact that if a letter is aspirated or not aspirated in the normal form, it remains the same in all the grammatical changes. This applies also to the formation of causatives; if a letter is aspirated in the original verb, it is also aspirated in the causative, and *vice versa*. In the Urmi and Salamas dialects, Tau and Dâlath are never aspirated. In the Ashiret dialects the terminations *aita*, *auta* of O.S. become *aitha*, *autha* (pronounced *éthā*, *ôthā*). The rules for aspiration of the masculine present participle of verbs, which we may take as the normal form, follow generally the classical language; but there are many exceptions, and foreign verbs naturally follow their etymology in this respect. Another simplification in the matter of aspiration is due to the fact that preformative letters do not aspirate the first letter of a word in vernacular, as in classical Syriac. The letter *Pe* is very seldom aspirated except in a diphthong, when it becomes almost *u*.

The East Syrians seem always to have pronounced *zqapa* *a*; and it is noticeable that in the vernacular there is a great tendency to substitute this for the short *a*, *pthakha*. Even in reading the classical language they will pronounce a *pthakha* of Pa'el as a *zqapa*

if Resh follows ; occasionally a half-ptakha is pronounced full zqapa, and accented. They dislike doubling letters ; if, however, they do so, chiefly in foreign words, they pronounce both distinctly and separately. In a great many nouns, especially dissyllables, a short zlama replaces an O.S. ptakha. Vowels are added to facilitate pronunciation where O.S. has a half-vowel, or where three consonants come together. These added vowels frequently have the accent. An otiose Yudh or Wau in O.S. will correspond to full syllables in the vernacular ; for **ܡܠܟܐ**, *my king*, we have

ܡܠܟܐ ; for **ܩܬܝܬܐ**, *cut ye*, we have **ܩܬܝܬܐ**.

Among the consonants, the most prominent difference between the vernacular and the O.S. is the presence in the former, perhaps under the influence of Arabic and other neighbouring languages, of the softened forms of Gâmal and Kâp, called respectively Jâmal and Châp (= *j* and *ch* as in *church*). These appear not only in foreign words, but to replace a Syriac Gâmal or Kâp, or as equivalent to combinations such as *tsh*, *sh*, *shk*, and the like. Of other letters, Tau and Teth are most frequently interchanged ; sometimes also Qôp and Kâp. Liquids frequently give place to one another, or to other letters, and metathesis is extremely common. But we must also notice the very great tendency of letters to drop, especially Nun at the end of a word, and He, Dâlath, and Tau in the middle, particularly in the Urmi and Salamas dialects. The sounds of Dâlath and Teth or Tau are occasionally interchanged, also of Pê and Bêith.

IV. ORIGIN OF THE VERNACULAR.

Is the spoken Syriac derived from the classical language ? The following considerations seem to decide this question in the negative :—

(I.) Some of the grammatical forms show less development than O.S. Thus, for example, we find in the vernacular the forms

ܩܬܝܬܐ or **ܩܬܝܬܐ**, **ܩܬܝܬܐ** or **ܩܬܝܬܐ**,

to represent **ܩܬܝܬܐ**, **ܩܬܝܬܐ**, *we kill*, though these forms are not all found in the same dialect, and there is now no difference of gender in them. But the O.S. shows a further contraction, the Kheth having entirely disappeared—**ܩܬܝܬܐ** : **ܩܬܝܬܐ**.

Generally, the contractions in the tenses of the vernacular show independence of those of O.S. They were made straight from the original unshortened forms, and not from the O.S. contractions.

For example, **ܩܬܝܠܐܢܝ**, *I kill*, becomes **ܩܬܝܠܝܐ** in the vernacular, while the O.S. short form is **ܩܬܝܠܢܝ**, which, however, is also found in one dialect of the vernacular.

(2.) The presence of words not found in classical Syriac, but found in Chaldee and other Aramaic dialects, as observed above.

(3.) It has been noticed that the construct state is not now used except in certain phrases which have survived. Yet some of these phrases have words used in senses not found in the classical language,

e.g., **ܩܝܪܝܢܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ** or **ܩܝܪܝܢܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ** (the **ܐ** in these feminine forms being always silent). This is used for *the larynx*

i.e., that which makes bread descend (**ܩܪܝܬܐ**, *to descend*, a word not used in this sense in O.S.). So too it has been noticed that the

nouns denoting the agent which are of the form **ܩܕܝܬܐ** are not commonly used now, a totally different formation being substituted. Yet we find among the exceptions words not derived from O.S.

roots; e.g., **ܩܕܝܬܐ** (for **ܩܕܝܬܐ**), *a coward*, from **ܩܕܝܬܐ**, *to fear*, a word not found in O.S. These considerations point to

the fact that words like **ܩܕܝܬܐ**, **ܩܕܝܬܐ**, were in use before these now almost obsolete constructions and formations were given up—but they are not found even in the latest classical Syriac.

(4.) The vernacular has a past participle in the second conjugation of the form **ܩܕܝܬܐ**, with absolute state **ܩܕܝܬܐ**, which

are quite unlike the O.S. **ܩܕܝܬܐ**, **ܩܕܝܬܐ**, and can hardly be derived from them. The same may be said of the verbal noun

of the second conjugation, which is of the form **ܩܕܝܬܐ**.

This is used very considerably in the formation of the verb.

(5.) Similarly the prepositions **ܕ**, **ܕ** take affixes in a way which shows independence of O.S. Thus **ܕܝܢܐ** or **ܕܝܢܐ** = O.S. **ܕܝܢܐ**, *in*

us, **ܕܝܢܐ** or **ܕܝܢܐ** = O.S. **ܕܝܢܐ**, *of us*.

For these and many similar reasons we must conclude that the vernacular of the Eastern Syrians is not a lineal descendant of the classical Syriac. It would rather lead us back to the Aramaic spoken in Assyria and Babylonia in the early centuries of this era.

V.

Enough has perhaps been said to show that the spoken language of the Eastern Syrians is an interesting and useful study. If it is disfigured by the large admixture of foreign words, it at least is worthy of examination for its development of grammatical forms, and, it may be added, of syntax. And the best way to examine it is to have before the eye, in as complete a form as possible, a list of the forms used in the various dialects and the different peculiarities of syntax, arranged side by side. Light may also be thrown on the subject by an examination of the vernacular of the Jews of Azerbaijan, which very closely resembles that of the Eastern Syrians, and indeed is doubtless derived from the same original. In the comparative grammar referred to, an appendix gives a specimen of this Jewish dialect. A fairly complete list of the verbs now in use in the various districts of the East Syrians, with their meanings in English, has been compiled by the present writer and published by the Archbishop of Canterbury's Mission Press at Urmi.

One practical question remains to be considered. How is the vernacular, which is only now being reduced to writing, to be spelt? If it were only a matter of laying the language before European scholars, the representation of the sounds by the Roman alphabet would suffice. But the missionaries working among the East Syrians have the task of providing books for the people. These must necessarily be in the East Syrian or Nestorian character, to which they are accustomed. But many difficulties present themselves. Are words to be spelt on exact phonetic principles? And if so, what dialect is to be chosen? How is a man of one district to understand a book printed in the dialect of another? It is impossible to print the books in every dialect, and one must therefore aim at spelling so as to make the books intelligible to the greatest number of readers possible. The Archbishop of Canterbury's Mission Press at Urmi has, therefore, laid before itself the following principles: (1.) The vernacular must be treated as a historical language, not as one invented in the present generation; in other words, etymology must be considered. (2.) The spelling of classical Syriac is taken as a basis. Thus, when Old Syriac spelling gives the vernacular

sound, it is adopted, although some other perhaps simpler spelling also gives the sound. (3.) When some districts follow Old Syriac and some depart from it, the words are spelt in preference according to the former. (4.) But when all the dialects differ from Old Syriac, or all except perhaps one small district, the vernacular sound is followed, not Old Syriac. (5.) Words not generally understood except in one dialect—and especially foreign words, which, as noticed above, are often used in one district only—are used as sparingly as possible. (6.) The mark *talqana*, which denotes a silent or fallen letter, is retained to a considerable extent, both because a letter thus marked may be sounded in some dialects though it has fallen in others, and also because a Syriac word thus marked may often be made intelligible to those who do not use it by the fact of its resemblance (to the eye) to the corresponding word in the classical language, which all who can read and write understand to some extent. (7.) The same remark applies to etymological spelling. A word thus spelt is easily recognised, even if not used in speaking; and, moreover, it is found that a word spelt etymologically is frequently capable of more than one pronunciation, and therefore suits the speech of several dialects.

There is, of course, no royal road to the end desired of making the books intelligible to all the East Syrians, and the method here advocated will not give the exact colloquial language of any one dialect; but it aims rather at producing a literary style which will make communication between the various districts easier.

III.

THE SUPERLINEAR PUNCTUATION,

ITS ORIGIN, THE DIFFERENT STAGES OF ITS
DEVELOPMENT, AND ITS RELATION TO OTHER SEMITIC
SYSTEMS OF PUNCTUATION.

BY

REV. G. MARGOLIOUTH

(*British Museum*).

INTRODUCTORY REMARK.

THE title prefixed to this paper represents an ideal sequence of the different parts of my subject, whilst in the paper itself a practical arrangement will be adopted. In an ideal order the origin of a system would come first, but for practical purposes it will be more serviceable in this case to divide the subject before us into the two following parts:—

I. The superlinear punctuation in the different stages of its development.

II. The origin of this vowel-system and its relation to other Semitic systems of punctuation.

PART I.

The first part of my subject I must summarise as briefly as possible, in order to leave more time for the second part.

§ 1. There are two principal forms in which the superlinear punctuation is known to us. The oldest known MSS. which exhibit the "simple" form of this vowel-system are the British Museum Or. MSS. 1467 and 2363, and the chief representative of the "composite" style is the famous Codex Babylonicus Petropolitanus.

§ 2. Of the "simple" system itself there are later stages which show a *partially* composite development. The Yemenite scribe

דוד בן בנייה, to whose able hand Or. 1470—besides other well-written MSS.—is due, exhibits, like several other scribes of the fifteenth century, the חמף קמץ in the Aram. word קָדָם which, notwithstanding Professor Merx' Targumic Chrestomathy, is never found in the twelfth century MSS. Or. 1467 and 2363. In *e.g.* Or. 1472 of A.D. 1513, the same composite sign is found in קָדָםִי, and in Or. 2227, written by a son of דוד בן בנייה—who, by the way, presents us with a colophon which shows his pedigree of seven successive generations of Yemenite scribes—the חמף קמץ also appears in words like קָדָםִי, קָדָםִי, and there is also a חמף פתח in words like קָדָםִי, קָדָםִי, &c.

§ 3. The following further remarks must necessarily be made before we pass on to the “composite” style of this punctuation:—

a. The oldest known MSS., namely, Or. 1467 and 2363, only use the דגש in the Hebrew, but not in the Targum, a fact which seems to show that the דגש is not a part of the superlinear punctuation as such, but that it was adopted into the Hebrew text from the other system of Hebrew punctuation, which one may fitly call the “sublinear” vowel-system.

b. Or. 1467 and 2363 have a special sign for the רפי over the letters בנרכפת (*e.g.* ב, נ); but in later MSS. in which the דגש is largely adopted in the Targum, the sign of the רפי is dropped as being no more very necessary.

c. It had been suggested that the signs פ and פ represent in form the letter א in different stages of modification. It is, however, much more likely that פ is a modified form of the Jacobite Syriac Pethôhê (ⲱ). This appears to me pretty certain; but in my conjecture concerning the derivation of פ I may perhaps not be able to gain your assent as easily. I am inclined to think that it is nothing but a modification of the ω, which in ancient Syriac MSS., *e.g.* the Brit. Mus. MSS. Add. 14,429 of A.D. 719 and Add. 14,667 of the tenth century, stands for ⲱ. If the Greek letter in question is written with its opening to the left, the sign פ would be obtained by cutting away the lengthening of the two sides, and it is not at all unlikely that such a modification should gradually take place in the application of a letter as a vowel-sign.

d. It is well known that the sign פ represents both פ and פ. It does not follow, however, that there were no variations in the pronunciation of the sign in question. On the contrary, the modifications of sound to which the Arabic Feth is subject, clearly warrants the opposite conclusion. Take the word מִלֵּךְ = מִלֵּךְ as an instance. It is at once clear that neither in the one system nor in

the other were the two syllables pronounced alike. The strong accentuation of the first as compared with the secondary character of the ultimate vowel precludes the idea of equality of sound. It would follow, therefore, that neither the "Pathah" nor the "Segol" had a sufficiently fixed sound, but that their pronunciation depended partly on the accent, and partly on considerations which might be worth a separate and special investigation.

e. From the fact that the long Qāmeṣ and the hāṭef-Qāmeṣ are both represented by the same sign, it may safely be inferred that the originators of this vowel-system pronounced the Qāmeṣ as the Western Syrians pronounced their o, and not like the Nestorian o. The same remark applies of course equally to the sublinear Qāmeṣ, and it follows therefore that the originators of both systems were at one with regard to this point.

f. It is also noticeable that both systems of punctuation agree with the Nestorian differentiation of ֻ and ֹ in Syriac. In the Jacobite pronunciation there is, as is well known, no sign corresponding to the ֹ; and if this circumstance be taken together with the fact of the Hebrew Qāmeṣ being pronounced like the Jacobite o, it will be seen that we are here confronted with a mixed Jacobite-Nestorian pronunciation.

g. A noteworthy feature meets us here in connection with the copulative ָ. The Shewā following it is, strictly speaking, not ָ, as one is accustomed to pronounce it in Hebrew, but is everywhere without the ָ sign, so ָ, ָ, &c. This fact fully accounts for the absence of the "Methegh" under the ָ in connection with the sublinear system. The ָ is indeed not a long vowel, but must be classed with the so-called "half-open" or "loose" syllable, like the ָ in ָ, or the ָ in ָ.

§ 4. It is due to a strange freak in the fortunes of literature that the later and composite form of the superlinear punctuation is mainly known to us by a MS. of much earlier date than Or. 1467 and 2363, the oldest known representatives of its simpler form. The Codex Babylonicus Petropolitanus, which must now engage our attention for a little time, has had the advantage of a very minute treatment by Simcha Pinsker; but whilst acknowledging his excellent powers of observation and analysis, I find myself opposed to him in some of his principal results. I of course assume a knowledge of this "composite" style of punctuation, in which a line *over* the vowel-signs indicates a following ָ, whilst a following resting consonant is indicated by a line *under* the vowel-sign; and I will now proceed to mention a few of the most striking

characteristics exhibited in the punctuation of the Codex Babylonicus.

a. The use of the same sign, namely $\bar{\text{נ}}$, for both נע רפי , and נח נח is very inconvenient, and must be looked upon as a retrograde step, if compared with the pointing of, *e.g.* Or. 1467, where the רפי is represented by $\bar{\text{פ}}$, and נע נח by $\bar{\text{נ}}$, whilst the נח is not indicated at all. The explanation of this unsatisfactory fusion of signs must be sought in the design of assimilating the superlinear as much as possible to the sublinear punctuation. The sign $\bar{\text{נ}}$ was made to represent both kinds of נח simply because the sign $\bar{\text{נ}}$ was found to serve both purposes, and as the רפי of the sublinear system is also $\bar{\text{פ}}$, this sign thus chanced to obtain a threefold signification in the vowel-system exhibited in the Codex Babylonicus.

b. The דנש is not only indicated by the form of the preceding vowel-sign, but also by the point within the letter. This is really not necessary, and can only be explained by the adoption into the superlinear system of a feature belonging to the sublinear punctuation.

c. It is generally thought that the punctuation of the Codex Babylonicus shares with the simpler system the entire absence of a sign corresponding to the sublinear $\bar{\text{פ}}$, but there is no reason why the $\bar{\text{פ}}$ in words like מלך , דור , ותא , &c., should not be treated as the equivalent of $\bar{\text{פ}}$ in a certain limited measure. Time would not allow me to enlarge upon this point in this condensed form of my paper, and I will only state that the sign $\bar{\text{פ}}$ appears to be another approach to the sublinear system in the direction of representing the $\bar{\text{פ}}$ in some small limited way.

d. It should also be briefly noticed that there is no "furtive pathah," and no מחנ in the Codex Babylonicus; also that the ו , when attached to words beginning with במ , is pointed with נח and not with ו , except when these letters are themselves pronounced with נח . The differentiation of, *e.g.* מפני for the third person singular from מפני for the first person plural is well known, but special attention must be drawn to the fact that sublinear signs are often found in the Masora of this Codex, as also in the text in פן , אתר , פל . This latter circumstance seems to point to a previous prevalence of the sublinear punctuation, and inclines one to think that the superlinear system was grafted upon the text later on.

§ 5. The school of punctuators who attempted to adapt the superlinear system to the traditional pronunciation of the Hebrew text did not, however, stop at the approach made in the Codex Babylonicus, for a farther advance in the same direction is notice-

able in MSS. of a later date, of which the St. Petersburg Codices 132 and 133 are at present the best known representatives. In these MSS. the "furtive pathah," which is absent in the Codex Babylonicus, is regularly used; the divine name יהוה has the sublinear ֿ under the ו when pronounced like אדני; and, contrary to the well-known usage of Codex Babylonicus, there is also a רנש in the ך of the suffixes נהֿֿ, נֿֿ, &c. The ו conjunctive has the *u* sound before, במק, even in those cases in which Codex Babylonicus uses a Shewā for it; and the מתו is also occasionally used. The design of adaptation to the sublinear system is indeed so clear in these MSS. that even Pinsker could not help acknowledging the fact; but it appears to me that it is only a further advance on the system of adaptation that is already apparent in the Codex Babylonicus.

PART II.

§ 6. Having now completed this very fragmentary survey of the superlinear punctuation in the different forms known to us, an attempt must be made to use the facts thus gained, together with such other information as may yet remain to be gleaned, as a basis of further investigation into the origin of these signs and their place among other Semitic methods of punctuation. For this purpose it will be necessary in the first place to discuss three different theories that have been propounded on the subject:—

a. The theory which ascribes the origin of the superlinear punctuation to the Ẕaraitees must be considered as a pardonably false guess, suggested by the fact that MSS. so punctuated were first discovered in the Crimea, famous for its Ẕaraite settlements. But even this scanty sort of evidence is more than counterbalanced by the fact of there being no trace of this punctuation in the large, and partly very ancient, collection of Ẕaraite MSS. in the British Museum; and it should also be remembered that Or. 1467 and 2363, which are the oldest known Codices of the "simple" style of this vowel-system, are in all probability of Persian origin and have no connection with the Crimea.

It is quite unnecessary in the present state of the controversy to offer a refutation of the Ẕaraite tradition, according to which Rab Aḥa of 'Irāḳ invented this system of vocalisation at the commencement of the sixth century, and you will not expect me either to enter into a serious discussion on the meaning and merits of the statement made in Pinner's "Prospectus" to the effect that the Ẕaraitees only adopted the so-called Palestinian punctuation in the

year 957. It is of course very likely that a sect which professed to take their religious stand upon the plain sense of the Scriptures should take a very great interest in the work of providing graphic signs for the reading of the sacred books, and there is also the significant fact that the distinguished family of Masorites and Punctuators, whose last and best known scion was the famous Aaron ben Moses ben Ascher, is by the best authorities reckoned among the Karaites. But if Derenbourg's view that vowel-signs were first used to facilitate elementary school teaching be correct, it would be quite as natural for the Rabbanites as for the Karaites to interest themselves in the origination and elaboration of such signs; and the fact at any rate remains, that of actual evidence in favour of a Karaite origin for the superlinear punctuation there is absolutely none.

b. The theory which identifies the originators of the superlinear punctuation with the Masoretic schools of the *מדרגה* or "Easterns" rests partly on an epigraph in the Parmese Codex de Rossi 12 of A.D. 1311, and partly—or rather chiefly—on the internal evidence afforded by the readings and marginal rubrics of the Codex Babylonicus.

According to a subscription in the Parmese MS. just mentioned, a certain Rabbi Nathan of Ancona transcribed the Targum with the sublinear pointing contained in that Codex from a MS. that had been brought *מארץ בבל*, and was *מנקד למעלה בנקוד ארץ אשור*. But even if the term *נקוד ארץ אשור* could unquestionably be taken as identical with *נקוד בבלי*, Dr. Wickes' objection to this evidence is quite strong enough to deprive it of the weight given to it by Pinsker and others. "Can we trust," so he justly asks, "the unsupported testimony of a single copyist? Is it likely that an Italian Jew of the fourteenth century should have known the origin of the system, when scribes living in the East were ignorant of it?" It is certainly a remarkable fact that a writer like Sa'adyah Gaon, who was called to occupy the chief place in the academy of Sura some years after the completion of Codex Babylonicus, should not even so much as mention the superlinear punctuation when treating on subjects that are very closely connected with problems offered in the peculiarities of this vowel-system; and if it be considered that Sa'adyah's silence is shared by literally all the writers of his time, we cannot help doubting the inference that is commonly drawn from the colophon of Codex de Rossi 12, and one even feels inclined to think that the superlinear vowel-system could not have been an "authorised" mode of punctuating the Hebrew Old Testament text in the time of Sa'adyah.

The argument from the very considerable agreement of Codex B. with the readings of the *מסורה* has two weak points. In the first place, Codex B. can now no more be looked upon as practically co-extensive with the superlinear vowel-system. It is only one MS., representing a certain highly-developed phase of this punctuation, but in our attempt to discover the origin of the system we must go back to the primary and simpler forms in which it appears. Supposing, therefore, that conclusive evidence could be furnished to show that Codex B. emanated from the Eastern Masoretic schools, the same evidence could not, without further proof, be held to apply equally to the earlier forms of the system, which, for ought we know, might have been connected with the Western schools. And secondly, it is important to remember that Codex B. itself can by no means be described as agreeing with the Eastern schools entirely. The Western readings are, it is true, in a minority; but it is a minority which is numerous enough to negative the exclusive Eastern origin of the MS. in question.

c. The third view which one is bound to consider is that recently put forth by Dr. Wickes in an appendix to his work on the prose accents. The superlinear punctuation, says Dr. Wickes, "stands outside the system common to the Oriental schools, and would seem to have been an attempt to simplify and introduce regularity into the older system;" and, lower down on the same page, he says that "it was *an* Oriental, but not *the* Oriental system."

Now it is quite true that the silence of Sa'adyah and others would be less startling if the superlinear punctuation was only *one* of the systems used in the "East" for the Hebrew text of the Bible; but it must be admitted that even so, Dr. Wickes' own *argumentum e silentio* would still retain a considerable amount of force. If this vowel-system was *one* of the acknowledged methods of Bible punctuation in the "East," one can hardly suppose Sa'adyah Gaon to have been ignorant of it; and if he had knowledge of it, it seems strange that he should not have referred to it in passages where a reference would naturally be expected.

Dr. Wickes says that the superlinear punctuation "seems to have been an attempt to simplify" the older system. But the question must be asked, What style of the superlinear system was an attempt at simplification? If the "composite" system of Codex B. is meant, one cannot help wondering how a vowel-system which is itself a highly "composite" development of an older style of punctuation can be looked upon as the simplification of a system which exhibits a different arrangement altogether. A complicated development

which is at the same time a simplification is a notion that is not easy to grasp. And if it is the older and simpler style that Dr. Wickes had in mind, how is it that a movement towards fresh complication began almost immediately after the accomplished simplification? But the very idea of simplification in connection with a Semitic vowel-system is open to a serious objection. If a single authentic instance of such a step could be brought forward, one should perhaps feel obliged to subject the whole subject to a fresh examination; but it appears that the tendency is all in the opposite direction, and one is therefore forced to dissent from Dr. Wickes' view on this point, however much regard one may feel obliged to pay to his excellent studies on the accents.

§ 7. The fact seems to be that the origin of the superlinear punctuation is not to be sought in a sectarian body like the Karaites, or in a special Masoretic school like the Babylonian, but rather in the branch of Semitic speech which is known by the name of Jewish-Aramaic. The arguments in favour of this view may be arranged as follows:—

a. The superlinear punctuation, as exhibited in Or. 1467 and 2363, presents us, as Professor Merx has so ably pointed out, with a grammatically consistent vocalisation of the Targum; whilst the all but hopeless state in which it appears in printed editions and many MSS. is apparently due to vocalised transcriptions from the superlinear into the sublinear system.

b. Another important observation is that the simpler form in which this system appears is not sufficient to express the traditional pronunciation of Biblical Hebrew as used in the liturgical readings from the Scriptures. The absence of the *דגש* in the superlinear system as such has already been remarked upon. Another important want is the differentiation of *שוא* into the simple *שוא נע* and the three semi-vowels, *חטף פתח*, *חטף קמץ*, and *חטף סגול*; and one also misses the traditional sharp differentiation of *פתח* from *סגול*, which already consistently appears in Or. 4445 of probably the ninth century, and was no doubt known for centuries before.

But it might be argued that although the superlinear punctuation does not express *all* the nuances of the traditional pronunciation, it may represent an earlier important stage of the same vocalisation, and that it is only natural that greater perfectness should be the result of further elaboration and development. But even if this be so, it would, at any rate, follow that the simpler superlinear style was insufficient as an expression of the traditional Hebrew pronunciation, and that whilst the vocal requirements of the Jewish-Aramaic would

be perfectly satisfied with it, an onward movement in the vocalisation of the Hebrew text of the Scriptures was likely to be felt very strongly.

c. The correctness of the theory proposed here becomes more apparent still if a comparison be instituted between the superlinear punctuation and the two kinds of vowel-signs used in another branch of Aramaic, namely, the Syriac. It has been already shown that the superlinear — is only a variation of the Jacobite — , and it has been also suggested that — probably represents the letter ω , which is sometimes used in Syriac instead of — . These two vowel-signs, therefore, appear to have been borrowed from the Jacobite or Edessene system. A further glance at the subject will reveal the fact that the signs — , — and — bear a very close resemblance to the Nestorian system of punctuation. It seems therefore clear that the simple superlinear system is nothing but a modification of the mixed Jacobite-Nestorian punctuation, and what more natural than to assume that chiefly, at any rate, it was originally intended for a dialect that also stands in a very close linguistic relationship with the Syriac, that dialect, or rather group of dialects, being the Jewish-Aramaic?

d. Several other points of argument must be summarised very briefly. If this theory be correct, the shrinking from applying the profane superlinear signs to the sacred name יהוה would at once be explained; and a reason would also be furnished for the motive which prompted so many scribes to vocalise in the same MSS. the Hebrew text after the sublinear, and the Targum after the superlinear method. The absence of the סגול would also appear less strange, for the distinction between — (= ě, ĭ) and — (= ê) is by no means uniformly observed in the Nestorian system, and the sign — has to do duty for both \bar{e} and ě in the Edessene punctuation, so that a certain indefiniteness about the e sound appears to obtain in all the Aramaic systems of vocalisation. The term נקוד אשור, furthermore, in the colophon of Cod. de Rossi 12 need not, strictly speaking, mean more than the vocalisation used with the Aramaic branch of Semitic speech, especially considering that the designation "Syrians" is merely an abbreviation of "Assyrians." It should also be remembered that, besides the shrewd scholarly guess to the same effect made several years ago by Professor Derenbourg, this theory is also confirmed by the testimony of Jacob Sappir as to the traditional custom of the Yemenite Jews themselves on the subject. In the second part of his *Reisebeschreibung*, entitled אבן ספיר, he says: "Und sie (i.e., die Juden in Yemen) sagten mir,

dass man diese Punktation zu profanen Zwecken anwende und mit ihr nur das *Targum* und die *Gebetbücher* versehe, nicht aber die Bibelcodices." Evidence of this kind may not be very weighty in itself, but if such testimony is found supported by several other important considerations, it is impossible not to accord to it its proper recognition in a critical inquiry like the one before us.

§ 8. A system of graphic signs derived from combined Jacobite-Nestorian sources could not be formed before the beginning of the eighth century, or, at the earliest, before the end of the seventh century. At first only Jewish-Aramaic, or perhaps also non-Biblical Hebrew, would be thus vocalised. Half a century or so might elapse before the natural prejudice against the intrusion of vowel-signs into the sacred Hebrew text would be overcome. Elementary schools would probably lead the way, and from these they would pass into *general* use. It is then that the need of a more expressive vowel-system for the traditional pronunciation of the Hebrew text would be felt, and the sublinear punctuation may be looked upon as the result. The sign — is probably only a modification of ≡ , and ⏟ is in all likelihood the same as ≡ ; and all the other sublinear signs are clearly of Nestorian origin. The sublinear position was most likely chosen partly in order to prevent confusion with the accents, and partly in order to differentiate the vocalisation of the sacred text as much as possible from that of the profane dialect.

§ 9. The sublinear vowel-system thus became the "authorised" style of punctuation for the Scriptures, and there is no ground whatever for thinking that its use was confined to the Palestinian schools. But here the problem of the Codex Babylonicus comes in. The whole force of the arguments employed in this paper urges us to look upon the punctuation of this Codex as an attempt, under evident Arabic influences, to adapt the superlinear punctuation to the pronunciation of the Hebrew Scriptures; but it was an "unauthorised" attempt. Only so can the silence of Sa'adyah Gaon and his contemporaries be explained, and only so can the consistent shrinking from providing the sacred name with the superlinear signs, besides several other phenomena, be explained.

§ 10. Various other remarks of some importance might yet be made on the punctuation as well as on the *accentuation* of the Codex Babylonicus, but I must now conclude with a brief summary of the results to which the train of my argument has led us. The sequence in which the different styles of punctuating the Hebrew and the Jewish-Aramaic are to be taken is as follows:—

I. The "simple" superlinear punctuation, as exhibited in Or. 1467 and 2363, of which the styles of Or. 1470 and 2227 are later *partial* developments.

II. The sublinear punctuation, as—barring the כרת—is already shown in Or. 4445.

III. The punctuation of the Codex Babylonicus.

IV. The style of vocalisation exemplified in the St. Petersburg MSS., Nos. 132, 133.

In a larger view of the subject, all these styles of vocalisation are to be traced to the combined elements of the Jacobite-Nestorian punctuation, and these are, as is well known, in their turn derived from Greek vowel-letters on the one hand, and from the ancient diacritic signs already found in Syriac MSS. of the fifth century, on the other hand.

Note.—A longer paper on the same subject, containing tables of vowel-points and accents, as well as numerous illustrations from Biblical texts, appeared in the "Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology" for February 1893, vol. xv. part 4.

IV.

THE VARIORUM SEPTUAGINT.

A PROPOSAL FOR A FUTURE EDITION OF DR. SWETE'S
OLD TESTAMENT IN GREEK.

BY

PROFESSOR E. NESTLE, OF ULM.

THE Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint," edited for the Syndics of the University Press (Cambridge) by H. B. Swete, D.D., is drawing to its close by the publication of the third volume, which we may expect very soon. It is a fit time and place, in such an international gathering, to render the most hearty thanks to all who were and are concerned in this undertaking—to Dr. Scrivener, who as far back as 1875 represented to the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press the necessity for such a work, and submitted a scheme for its accomplishment—to the Committee nominated by the Syndics in 1883, consisting of the Regius Professors of Divinity and Hebrew, the Hulsean Professor of Divinity, and Mr. (now Professor) R. L. Bensly, all of whom the editor thanks in his preface, especially Dr. Hort—and above all, Dr. Swete himself. Dr. Swete's name will for all time be connected with the Septuagint: his edition will be for a long future the one most generally used, and scholars and booksellers may with equal propriety call it "Dr. Swete's Septuagint" or "The Cambridge Septuagint."

Excellent, however, as it is, it does not yet satisfy all our wants, and it ought to be supplemented as soon as possible. We do not refer to those wants which can be met only by the larger edition, "a labour of many years and of a variety of hands," to prepare which is one of the tasks of this smaller or manual edition, but those which might have been kept in view by the latter without essentially altering its scope and size.

A few words will be sufficient. The plan ultimately adopted by

the Syndics included the preparation of two editions with a common text: the larger one with a full critical apparatus, from manuscripts, versions, quotations; the smaller one, which we have in hand, confining itself to the variations of a few of the most important uncial codices, the text being in both cases the same, that of the Codex Vaticanus, or, where the Vatican MS. is defective, that of the Alexandrine MS., and in the very few instances where both these MSS. fail us, the uncial MS., which occupies the next place in point of age or importance.

Now it is very clear that a text which merely represents a single MS. must be in many places faulty, as even our oldest MSS. are so to a very large extent.

Nobody would be able to use now-a-days an edition of the New Testament based upon a single MS., say the Vatican, or the Sinaitic, or the Alexandrian, for each one of them is full of clerical errors and wrong readings, which creep in, as everybody knows, in various ways. If it is so with the New Testament, how much more with the Old! There are many instances where the true reading of the Alexandrian version was preserved in some other MSS. than the above named, or in no MS. at all, but in one of the ancient versions, or not even thus, but where it nevertheless can be restored with certainty, or has already been restored by former scholars; and this is the point where I find the Cambridge edition defective, and where it ought to be supplemented, as it seems to me, at the earliest opportunity. My idea is not that from the various sources just mentioned readings ought to be received into the text—the plan to give the exact text of the Vatican MS. was certainly the best—but for what purpose do we have the outer margins? Why should the excellent example which has been given in this country, in England, by the Authorised Version, by Grabe in his edition of the Alexandrinus, last, not least, by Westcott and Hort in their edition of the New Testament, not be followed in the Septuagint, where marginal readings are most necessary? The Cambridge edition is stereotyped, as far as I know. A second edition will, no doubt, soon be necessary. Why not seize the opportunity at once, and put into the margins those readings which beyond any doubt are the true ones?

A few examples may show what we mean.

1. Isaiah viii. 21, the Cambridge edition will read, like all others, *κακῶς ἐπεῖτε τὸν ἀρχόντα καὶ τὰ πατρία* (without any variation, except the note in the Appendix that A wrote *ἐπειταί*). The corresponding Hebrew text is וְקָלָל בְּמַלְכוֹ וּבְאַלְהֵיוּ. I am sure very few, if

any, will make out how to combine *τα πατρια* and *וְהָאֵלֹהִים*. Those who have access to Holmes and Parsons will find there, that one single MS., 93, has *και τα παταχρα*, and this is the *true* reading. But even this is not easily understood, as is perhaps shown by Parsons himself, who marked it with a *sic*! But it will be clear, when we turn to Theodoret, who writes: *ενια των αντιγραφων παταχρα εχει και αυτη η διανοια και τω Εβραιω συμφωνος και τοις αλλοις ερμηνευται· το γαρ παταχρη Συρων μεν εστιν ονομα, σημαινει δε τη ελλαδι φωνη τα ειδωλα, ταυτα δε ο Εβραιος βελο αυ καλει. δι ο δη και οι τρεις Α και Σ και Θ ουτως ηρμηνευσαν “και καταραται εν βασιλεια [write βασιλει] αυτου και εν θεοις αυτου.”*

Of course it is not the task of a manual edition of the Septuagint to write out a passage like this in full. But would it not be worth while to put on the outer margin of Isa. viii. 21 the only true reading, *παταχρα*, with a mark of reference to an Appendix similar, in character if not in extent, to that of Westcott and Hort, “Notes on Select Readings”? In this case it would only contain the words “Cod. 93; Theodoret 2, 230, Lagarde, Mittheilungen 2, 354,” and the many who use the Cambridge Septuagint would be in the position, in which are few at present, of having the true reading of the LXX., and at the same time of getting information about a word of the highest interest for the religious and linguistic history of Israel.

2. Another example:—Esdras *a* iv. 40, we read without any variation: *καὶ αὕτη ἡ ἰσχὺς καὶ τὸ βασίλειον καὶ ἡ ἐξουσία*, &c., “and *she* is”—it is spoken of the personified *Truth*—“the strength, kingdom, power,” &c. Ball, in his *Variorum Apocrypha*, quotes under the various readings, “*hers* is the strength,” as the reading of the Syriac version. He ought to have quoted Lucian, for Lucian reads, as edited by Lagarde, *καὶ αὐτῆς ἡ ἰσχὺς*, &c., and the Syriac version of the Greek Esdras is made from a MS., which contained Lucian’s recension of the Septuagint.¹ Now, would it be too much if we were to read in the margin *αὐτῇ*? In this case the true reading, as it consists merely in change of accentuation, wanting in the uncial MSS., might, according to the adopted plan, even have found a place in the text itself.

3. How splendidly has Ball restored the corrupt text of Judith

¹ The second various reading given by Ball to this verse from the Syriac, *peoples* for *ages*, is better omitted, for *ܡܠܟܐ* is, as already Thorndyke saw, a clerical error for *ܡܠܟܐ*. Compare the same case in Peter β ii. 1, where “*syr bodl in mundo*” pro *εν τω λαω*, ought to be deleted from Tischendorf’s editio octava, the Williams MS. giving correctly *ܡܠܟܐ*.

xvi. 2 (3): ὅτι εἰς παρεμβολὰς αὐτοῦ, by inserting a single letter, ὁ τιθεὶς παρεμβολὰς αὐτοῦ! Put it in the margin of the Cambridge Septuagint, and it will be made known and better appreciated than it can be where it now stands.

Many more examples might be quoted from Ball's *Variorum Apocrypha*, and other works of ancient and modern times, but I shall only mention a few.

In Ps. lxxvii. 36 ALL our MSS.—more than a hundred have been collated for Holmes and Parsons—as well as the Latin and Syriac versions of the LXX.—have ἡγαπησαν αὐτον ἐν τῷ στοματι αὐτῶν καὶ τῇ γλῶσση αὐτῶν ἐψεύσαντο αὐτον. This ἡγαπησαν is nothing but a mis-spelling for ἡπάτησαν = H. 𐤇𐤍𐤔𐤁. Already Grabe put it into the text; why not now, 190 years after him, in the margin? How common this confusion is between ἀγαπᾶω and ἀπατᾶω, may be seen from Bagster's "Handy Concordance," or from that of Hatch and Redpath, in which latter, however, as I may be allowed to remark, one example of this confusion is missing.

Prov. xv. 9 has S¹ ἀπατα instead of ἀγαπα, which variation is not mentioned on p. 6, nor the whole passage on p. 119.¹

Sirach vii. 18, xxvii. 1, xlii. 5, Swete prints always ἀδιαφόρον, where the true reading is διαφόρον; in the first place the true reading is given by no MS. at all; in the second, by the first hand of N, against ABN², in the third by NAC, and only B is wrong. Every one felt the difficulty of the reading ἀδιαφορον, "a thing indifferent"—compare the notes of Ball—and demanded a word meaning "money, property, riches." Now in later Greek διάφορον has this very meaning,—compare, for instance, Schweighäuser on Polybius iv. 18, 8—and there is not the least doubt that we must read it so, as I pointed out in a little note in the *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, vol. xiv. p. 256.

Sirach xxxiv. (xxxii.) 5, the same διάφορα, as already Grotius saw, became διαφθοράν, and in Esdras a iv. 39, the question arises whether this διάφορα or διαφορά is the true accentuation.

Sirach ix. 12, μὴ εὐδοκῆσης ἐν εὐδοκίᾳ ἀσεβῶν; the connection shows that it must be εὐοδία; *vice versa*, εὐδοκία pro εὐοδία in xx. 9; ² xvi. 26, ἐν κρίσει, write ἐν κτίσει, &c.

¹ To mention by the way another omission of a various reading in this most excellent work, for which theological scholars of the whole world will be thankful to this country and the University of Oxford: in the very first article, aa, it is forgotten to state that in Jud. xi. 35 A reads οἰμοὶ instead of it. A reference to the "Handy Concordance"—a most conscientious book of G. M.—would have helped to avoid it.

² The same εὐοδία must be restored with Grotius instead of εὐωδία, Esdras a I. ii (12); s. Ball, who quotes for it Lupton. See the same mis-spelling, Sirach xx. 9.

Bevan in his "Short Commentary on Daniel" has put together on p. 47 f. quite a number of what he correctly thinks Greek corruptions. I wonder that he did not add the strange ἐπέτεινον in LXX. vii. 6 for πετεινοῦ.

Cornill, in his edition of Ezekiel, states everywhere in his apparatus where he believes he sees an "inner-greek" corruption; it is a pity that he did not put them together on p. 102. Compare, for instance, x. 15, ἡραν pro ἡσαν.

Bos, who died in 1717, has a special chapter of animadversiones ad loca quædam LXX. interpretum . . . quorum alia emendantur alia explicantur aut illustrantur. The same may be said of Grabe. Of course, not all emendations are equally good, but why should we scruple to exercise our own judgment in the selection of the emendations proposed by others? It would not be desirable to encumber the margins with a mass of doubtful conjectures; better a few certain ones than many which are questionable.

My proposal would therefore be: if Dr. Swete be not able or willing to undertake the task himself, that some scholar or scholars be charged with the task, in co-operation with and due submission to Dr. Swete, of selecting the various readings from old or new sources, where the present Greek text is without any doubt faulty, and that those which are considered true and happy restorations of the original be put on the margin when a second edition of the Old Testament in Greek is printed.

Perhaps it would even be desirable to make an appeal, through some public paper, to all interested in this subject, requesting them to send to a given address those readings which they think fit for this purpose.

V.

THREE SMALL CONTRIBUTIONS TO SEMITIC PALÆOGRAPHY.

BY

PROFESSOR E. NESTLE, OF ULM.

(1.) The Hebrew vowel-system. The first discoverer of the so-called Babylonian or superlinear system of Hebrew vocalisation observed that it was based on the use of the *matres lectionis* for the designation of the vowels, $\bar{a} = \aleph$, $i = \imath$, $\bar{u} = \upsilon$. A little later it was remarked that the sign for \check{a} was a small γ , and Professor Moore (in a paper in the Journal of the American Oriental Society) has pointed out that this is the same system which was followed by the Arabian grammarians, and that it probably took its rise under their influence.

The other so-called Tiberian system, on the contrary, rests, like that of the Syrians, on the combination of the most simple marks, the dot and the line. But none of our modern scholars seem to have recognised that the *mark for Qameṣ and Qameṣ Chatuf is nothing but a combination of Pathach and Cholem*, thus clearly proving that, at the time when this system was invented, the pronunciation of \bar{a} was already that of \check{a} . Long ago this was explicitly stated by Ibn Ezra. In the same way the mark of Segol \cdot is a combination of \cdot Sere and \cdot Chireq, and hence it becomes apparent why \cdot appears in forms like $\text{סִינִיָּה, תְּנִינָה}$ before a \imath .

(2.) How did the differentiation between ψ and ψ by a dot come into use? Even Euting in his various tables of the Hebrew alphabet has thrown no light on this point. The first way of discriminating between s and \check{s} was that described by Bär in the preface to his edition of Job, 1875, as *adhuc inauditum*: ψ *superne appicto pusillo* ψ , ψ *appicto pusillo* \mathfrak{d} *insignitus*. A similar system we find in Syriac and Arabic with other letters. Alef, where it is a consonant and not merely a *mater lectionis*, is pointed with a small ξ written over it. This method was, of course, not very convenient.

It was simpler to denote the difference by mere dots, and it is clear that the dot for denoting ψ was put on the *left*, and not on the right hand, because $\psi\text{מאג}$ = left, begins with ψ .

(3.) Clermont Ganneau, in his *Mission en Palestine*, fifth Report (1884), published, pl. ix., a mosaic from Orfa (Edessa) with inscription, which was treated by Renan in the *Journal Asiatique* (1885). But neither of them, it appears, was able to decipher it, nor am I in the position to read the whole. But I do not fear contradiction when I say: the second line (to the right) is to be read $\text{עבד} \text{ל} \text{ז}$, "of the twins"—they are represented on the picture—and the last $\text{אבד} \text{ב} \text{ב}$. Of the four lines on the left hand, I believe that the first, third, and fourth are to be read (1) $\text{ז} \text{ב} \text{ז}$, (3) $\text{ז} \text{א} \text{ב}$, (4) $\text{אב} \text{ב}$: "picture of . . . the wife of Barates," only about her name I am not sure. Who can read the whole?

VI.

SOPRA GENESI II. 19.

וכל אשר יקרא-לו האדם נפש חיה הוא שמו

DEL

PROFESSORE IGNAZIO GUIDI.

LA breve comunicazione, che ho l' onore di fare al Congresso, volge sopra un' interpretazione che, a mio giudizio, potrebbe darsi delle parole citate nel titolo, le quali come ognuno sa, sono state anco messe in relazione colla questione sull' origine del linguaggio. Per quanto io so, nessuna versione, dalle più antiche alle più recenti, accenna a questa nuova interpretazione, onde io ben volentieri la sottopongo al giudizio degl' intelligenti.

Le parole "וכל אשר יקרא-לו וג'" sono state tradotte dai LXX: καὶ πᾶν ὃ ἐὰν ἐκάλεσεν αὐτὸ Ἀδὰμ ψυχὴν ζῶσαν τοῦτο ὄνομα αὐτῷ; dalla Pesīttā: וְכָל אֲשֶׁר יִקְרָא לּוֹ אִשָּׁה נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה הוּא שְׁמָהּ; dal Targ.: וְכָל דְּהוּה קָרָא לֵיהּ אָדָם נִפְשָׁא חַיָּתָא הוּא שְׁמָהּ; e dalla Volgata: "omne enim quod vocavit Adam animæ viventis, ipsum est nomen eius." Dai recenti le medesime parole sono state press' a poco intese nel medesimo senso; dal Reuss: "et tous les noms que l'homme leur donnerait (aux êtres vivants) devaient leur rester;"¹ dal Delitzsch: "und alles was der Mensch ihm zurufen würde, sollte dessen Name sein;"² da Socin e Kautzsch: "und wie der Mensch ein jedes Lebewesen benennen würde, so sollte es heissen;"³ dal Lenormant: "et comme l'homme nommerait un être vivant, tel devait être son nom;"⁴ dall' Ugdulena: "e che qualunque nome Adam ponesse a ciascun animale, quello fosse il suo nome;"⁵ e così, press' a poco, dagli altri traduttori, per quanto conosca. Or non è possibile dare anche un altro significato a queste parole?

Nel passo del Gen. ii. 18-21, si dice che l' uomo non dee stare da solo, e si parla di una compagna da dargli, e allora Iddio reca

¹ La Bible, etc. Il Reuss aggiunge: "les noms donnés présupposent une connaissance plus particulière des différentes espèces, une certaine familiarité, ψ. 147, 4."

² Neuer Comment. 91, 92; il Delitzsch aggiunge: "Hauptsache ist, dass Gott, nachdem er die Thiere geschaffen, sie dem Menschen zuführt, damit er sie benenne."

³ Die Genesis, etc., 4.

⁴ Origines de l'Hist., i. 7.

⁵ S. Scrittura, i. 37.

innanzi a lui gli animali creati. Evidentemente non si tratta d' altro se non di vedere, se Adamo troverà fra questi animali qualche essere di sua medesima specie e a lui conveniente; ciò che è indicato colle parole, *per vedere con qual nome li chiamerebbe*, se cioè con nome etimologicamente connesso col proprio; nel qual caso dava a conoscere, con questo mezzo, di aver ritrovato fra gli animali un aiuto di sua specie e a lui conveniente. Ma Adamo non lo trova fra gli animali; onde Iddio crea la donna, e gliela reca dinanzi, ed egli la chiama אִשָּׁה, con nome cioè etimologicamente connesso col proprio אִישׁ. E tutti conoscono l' importanza che ha l'etimologia in quei tratti che si attribuiscono al così detto Yahwista.

Orbene, nelle parole . . . "וְכָל אֲשֶׁר יִקְרָא לוֹ" noterò specialmente due cose: la forza del ו in וְכָל, e il significato di יִקְרָא. Il ו nell' ebraico ha non di rado forza di particella avversativa e corrisponde a *ma, senonché*; onde il וְכָל può bene interpretarsi, *ma tutto* piuttostochè *e tutto*.¹ Quanto al significato di יִקְרָא che i LXX hanno tradotto ὁ ἐὰν ἐκάλεσεν, ma S. Girolamo *vocavit*, la Pešittâ ܝܩܪܐ, e il Targ. ܝܩܪܐ, ricorderò che spesso l' imperfetto ebraico ha senso frequentativo di azione ripetuta più volte in passato. Se ne possono vedere numerosi e chiari esempi nel libro *Hebrew Tenses* del Driver,² fra i quali mi basti qui ricordare quello di Num. ix. 16-23, dove coll' imperfetto è espresso quello che non una sola volta, ma ripetutamente sollevano fare gl' Israeliti nel viaggio del deserto. E lo stesso Driver trattando della differenza fondamentale fra l' imperfetto e il participio, dice egregiamente che l' imperfetto *multiplies an action*, e il participio *prolongs it*. Adunque potrà darsi ad יִקְרָא questo senso iterativo nel passato, e intendere che Adamo veniva chiamando a nome, a più riprese e ad uno ad uno, gli animali, man mano che gli passavano innanzi. Ciò posto ecco come intenderei il vs. 20; e Yahwe Elohim formò (e anche meglio *avea formato*, ammettendo il valore di piuccheperfetto iniziale nell' imperf. col ו consec.) dalla terra tutti gli animali, e li addusse ad Adamo per vedere come li chiamerebbe (cioè se con nome etimologicamente connesso col proprio); senonchè ogni nome che Adamo chiamava e pronunciava, man mano che gli animali gli passavano innanzi, era il nome suo, dell' animale, cioè proprio e speciale di quel dato animale e non connesso e derivato dal nome di uomo. In altri termini, Adamo non trovava verun essere

¹ Come altrove ho accennato, io credo che anche in Gen. i. 2, il ו di וְרוּחַ abbia questa forza avversativa, e significhi che quando Iddio creò il cielo e la terra, questa era bensì informe e caotica, *ma* vi aleggiava lo spirito di Dio, onde la parola, "sia la luce!" etc.

² Oxford, p. 42.

a sé congenere, e che potesse perciò essere aiuto a lui conveniente. E che codesto chiamare a nome gli animali, che faceva Adamo, fosse solo allo scopo di indicare, se fra essi fosse alcuna compagna a lui conveniente, si scorge dal versetto seguente, ove è detto che Adamo pronunciò i nomi di tutti gli animali, ma non trovò un aiuto a lui conveniente; e in parte almeno, dal vs. 23 ove Adamo, trovato finalmente un aiuto ed una compagna a lui conveniente, esclama: “questa si chiamerà אִשָּׁה” dal suo nome di אָדָם.

Intendendo la seconda parte del vs. 19 come ho fatto, mi pare che tutto il racconto (vs. 18-21) acquisti una unità e coesione, che fa difetto nell'interpretazione tradizionale.

II.

Il passo del *Genesi* del quale or ora ho parlato, è stato messo più volte, come si è notato, in relazione col problema dell'origine del linguaggio. Io non intendo davvero parlare qui di questo problema, ma farò un'osservazione che può in certa misura riferirvisi. Dante ha detto:

“Opera naturale è ch' uom favella;
Ma, così o così, natura lascia
Poi fare a voi, secondo che v' abbellà.”

Di questo “così o così” potrebbe ancora scoprirsi qualche languida traccia? Immaginiamo un uomo dotato del divin soffio della ragione e degli organi della loquela; se vorrà con un suono indicare i denti, quasi involontariamente premerà la punta della lingua contro di essi, ovvero stringendoli, ne farà uscire un sibilo, emettendo nel primo caso, un suono di *ta, da (te, de, etc.)* e nel secondo un suono di *sa (se, etc.)*.

Se con un suono vorrà indicare la lingua stessa, la premerà contro i denti o il palato, emettendo un suono di *ta, da (te, de, etc.)*, ovvero di *la (le, etc.)*; oppure l'agiterà dalla base all'estremità, emettendo un suono non facile ad esser rappresentato graficamente, ma che somiglierà a *gle (gla, etc.)*.

Se vorrà indicare la bocca, o l'aprirà, mandando un suono di *a o o*, ovvero premerà le labbra una contro l'altra o coi denti, dando un suono di *ma, ba, (mo, bo, etc.), fa (fe, etc.)*.

Se vorrà indicare la gola stringerà questa in modo da dare un suono di *ga (ge, etc.)*, o emetterà l'aspirazione che si forma appunto nella gola.

Se finalmente vorrà indicare il naso, il fiato emesso a traverso le nari darà un suono di *an* nasale (*na*, etc.).

Questi primissimi suoni indicativi erano tanto spontanei e naturali, che ben presto potevano formarsi e fissarsi.

Ora è notevole, parmi, quella certa somiglianza che corre fra questi suoni istintivi e le voci per *dente* etc., in lingue antiche. Al suono della lingua premuta contro i denti per indicare questi ultimi, risponderebbe (in forma, s' intende, assai più recente e modificata) da-ntas, da-ñtan, de-ns, ὀ-δο-ύς, etc., al sibilo che esce dai denti stretti, س[س], [ش], etc.¹ Al suono della lingua premuta contro i denti, risponderebbe dingua (lingua) tuggô; a quello della lingua premuta contro il palato, la-s 𐤁𐤍[c] (egiz.) 𐤀𐤍𐤔𐤏, e finalmente al suono della lingua agitata risponderebbe γλω-σσα. Al suono della bocca aperta risponderebbe forse 𐤀𐤍[𐤒], o-s, a quello delle labbra compresse insieme o coi denti mu-kham, mu-nd, bu-cca م[م], 𐤍𐤏, pu (assir.) etc. Al suono della gola stretta risponderà gu [la, chē[lâ, keh[le, ró[pio, ga[las, etc., e all' aspirazione che si forma nella gola, حلق, etc. Al suono del fiato attraverso le narici, corrisponderebbe 𐤀𐤍[𐤒], 𐤀𐤍[𐤒].

Questi primitivi suoni accresciuti di qualche lettera secondo le analogie, etc. poterono poi dare la forma antichissima, nelle varie lingue, delle rispettive parole per *dente*, *lingua*, etc. E da questi pochi monosillabi quante derivazioni non potea fare la fervida immaginazione dei popoli primitivi? Il suono istintivo *la*, *li*, per la *lingua*, fissatosi presso i Camito-Semitici coll' aggiunta di -s, potea dare origine a لس, لسب, لسد, etc. col senso di *lambire*, *succhiare*, etc. . . . Su tal proposito sono istruttivi gli esempi che dà la lingua amarica. Per es 𐤀𐤍: 𐤀𐤍 dā (lungo) *ala* a par. *dire* o *fare* “dā,” significa camminare a passi lenti e gravi, e il “dā” (lungo) imita il suono del passo di chi cammini a questo modo. Da qui nasce il senso di, *esser lento nel parlare* e poi quello di *tardare a rispondere*, di *non intendere*, di *non comperar facilmente* e *mostrarsi svogliato al mercato*, etc., e tutto dal suono imitativo del dā.

Ma basti qui l' aver accennato a quest' idea, a proposito del passo del Genesi di cui sopra ho ragionato; parlare qui a lungo di essa, e delle difficoltà che potrebbero muoversi, e che io punto non mi dissimulo, non entra nei limiti della breve comunicazione che ho avuto l' onore di fare al Congresso.

¹ In tal caso da-nta e س[س] sarebbero parole affatto distinte, e puro il prototipo di ambedue potea essere in uso presso uno stesso popolo primitivo.

A CRITICISM

OF THE

SOURCES AND THE RELATIVE IMPORTANCE AND VALUE
OF THE CANONICAL BOOK OF EZRA AND THE APO-
CRYPHAL BOOK KNOWN AS ESDRAS I.

BY

SIR HENRY H. HOWORTH, K.C.I.E., M.P., M.R.A.S., &c., &c.

CONSIDERING the important position occupied by Ezra in recent discussions upon the history and character of the Canon of the Old Testament, I hope I may be pardoned for subjecting the book which goes under his name to closer criticism in one aspect than it has hitherto received.

Inasmuch as the view which I shall maintain is somewhat revolutionary, I propose, in justifying it, to begin by a short digression upon the history of the text, in which I must be pardoned for referring to some elementary facts. It has been the fashion in recent years to give to the Hebrew text of the Bible, when contrasted with the Greek, an importance and a value which seem to me unreasonable. The oldest Hebrew manuscript of any part of the Old Testament which is now extant, according to Neubauer, Ginsburg, and Margoliouth, is a copy of the Pentateuch in the British Museum (Oriental, 4445), which probably dates from the earlier half of the ninth century. The earliest dated MS. is a copy of the later Prophets dated in the year 916 A.D., discovered by Firkovitsch in the Crimea. Fragments of Karaite manuscripts, dating from the same century, were found by Shapira at Hit, on the Euphrates, and in Cairo. These manuscripts, as well as all later manuscripts of the Hebrew Bible, have an extraordinary resemblance to each other in their texts, and also to the printed Hebrew Bibles. The number of variations and their importance is comparatively small and slight; they have been carefully collected and discussed. The mistakes and variants, so far as we know, are accidental, and have no polemical tendency. Such alterations, if of a controversial importance, would have been difficult to

make in view of the widely scattered character of the Jewish settlements, and the feuds between the orthodox Jews and the Karaites, which would induce continual and vigilant criticism. Nor was there any special reason why the Jews should not have carefully protected the integrity of their sacred books, but the reverse.

As a matter of fact, we know that they invented a most ingenious and elaborate system of checks and counter-checks for preserving the literal accuracy and integrity of the Bible text, namely, that of the Masorets.

Among the Fathers, Jerome was the most learned and the most careful Hebrew scholar, and it was his theory that the Hebrew Bible contained the true and legitimate text, and not the Greek. We have every reason to believe, and the matter is not disputed, that the Hebrew text consulted by Jerome was virtually the Masoretic text. The only points of any importance in which it differed were in regard to the division into chapters and verses, and in regard to the vowel points, accents, &c., &c. The division into numbered chapters and verses was of course a purely Christian change, and passed into the Hebrew Bibles from the Christian ones. Many passages have been collected from Jerome proving that the Hebrew MSS. in his day had neither vowel points nor accents. They were added by the Masorets, and while they no doubt offered new checks to corruption, they also made it possible to introduce ambiguities of meaning, as one vowel or another was used, and thus mistakes may have arisen even where the most scrupulous care was employed in applying traditional interpretations to the text, which thus became perpetuated and crystallised.

The virtual identity of Jerome's Hebrew text with that of our Hebrew Bibles, however, proves the care and conscientiousness of the Masorets; his translation was begun about 390 A.D., and completed about the year 405. We can carry back this Hebrew text considerably farther, however, than the time of Jerome. So far as we can judge (and here again I know no difference of opinion), the fragments which have been preserved of Aquila's Greek translation of the Bible, which was meant to be, and probably was, as close a translation of the Hebrew text as it was possible to make in Greek, show us that the Hebrew text translated by Aquila about the year 100 A.D. was virtually the same as that of our Hebrew Bibles. So far we can carry back the history of the Hebrew text, and so far we are justified in saying that we have the same text in those Bibles that was recognised by the Jews at the beginning of the second century. Farther than this we cannot carry it; nay, more, I am prepared to

contend that it was about this date that this particular text was, in fact, formed.

There has been a discussion among Biblical critics as to whether the Hebrew text of the Bible is ultimately derived from one or from several mother manuscripts. The best opinion now is that the former alone explains the facts. The arguments have been stated by Buhl in his recent work on "The Canon and Text of the Old Testament." The same view has been maintained by Rosenmüller, Olshausen, Lagarde, and Nöldeke, who have based their conclusion mainly on the scrupulous retention of mere scribes' errors in the text, the existence of big and small letters, and the so-called *litteræ suspensæ* and also curious reduplications such as the well-known repetition of the last two verses of Chronicles in the first two of Ezra. The mother manuscript here referred to was, in my view, the actual manuscript to which Aquila had access, and the one to which his master, the famous Rabbi Akiba, and the Sanhedrin over which he presided at Jamnia, gave the impress and stamp of authority. I go farther than this, however, and maintain that this manuscript was not only the one used by Akiba and his scholars, but that its text was actually constructed by them.

It seems to me that until lately men have not quite realised what great importance the capture of Jerusalem was in the history of the Bible text. Up to this time we have no reason to believe that the Jews looked upon the Christians as anything but a despised sect unworthy of notice; and the fact that Josephus hardly refers to them at all, which has been attributed to the Jewish hatred of the new religion, is most reasonably explained by the notion that its professors were really too obscure to be worthy of notice. The capture of Jerusalem changed all this. The power and prestige of the proud Jew was broken for ever, his priesthood driven out, his temple burnt, and his people scattered to the four winds of heaven. Meanwhile the despised Christians grew in numbers and influence daily; if the old creed was to be kept intact and the old race was to be kept pure, some desperate remedies were necessary, and they were applied with heroic courage. The best and most cultured among the Jews came together at Jamnia. There, under the presidency of the Rabbi Akiba and others, they devised means, and most effective means, for the preservation of the integrity of Jewish blood and of the Jewish faith. The most powerful and influential of these means was the resuscitation of the Hebrew Bible, of which a new edition was now prepared and issued.

So far as we know, up to the taking of Jerusalem, the Hebrew Bible

had almost ceased to be used, except perhaps in the Synagogue service. It had been displaced in all directions by the Greek translation. It was this Greek translation which was appealed to by Christ and the writers of the New Testament. Its virtues were specially apostrophised by Philo, the great Jewish Platonist of Alexandria. Not only so, it is the Greek translation, and not the Hebrew original, that is used and quoted by Josephus, a Jew of the Jews, living in Jerusalem, a Pharisee and a priest, who himself knew Hebrew well. Those who did not know Greek, including probably the greater number of the Babylonian Jews, instead of Hebrew employed Aramaic, into which paraphrases and targums of the Bible were made.

As I have said, Rabbi Akiba and the men of Jamnia put an end to all this. The Septuagint was being everywhere used and appealed to by Christians; it must therefore, if possible, be discredited, and from this moment bitter and violent phrases began to be used about it, some of which are to be found in the Talmud. The Hebrew text was in future to be deemed to be alone the test and measure of canonicity and authority, and inasmuch as a large number of orthodox Jews in Egypt and elsewhere knew no Hebrew and only Greek, Aquila, a pupil of the Rabbi Akiba, was instructed to prepare a *new* Greek translation, which should follow with mechanical accuracy every word and idiom of the original, and which should in future be alone used by Hellenistic Jews both for reading and for controversy. Mechanical accuracy was secured in Aquila's translation at the cost of style and clearness, and a more idiomatic translation from the Hebrew was presently made by the Ebionite Symmachus. It must be remembered, and it is a very important matter to remember, that these newer translations represent one text, and one text only, namely, that to which the Sanhedrin at Jamnia had given its authority.

It soon became evident that the Septuagint and the new translation represented not merely differences of form, but important differences of substance; and inasmuch as both Jew and Christian appealed to the Bible, this led to difficulty and scandal. As the Jews were the natural guardians of the text, it was plausible to argue that their Bible was more accurate and trustworthy than that which the Christians had been habitually using, namely, the Septuagint translation, and this gave the Jews a great advantage in their controversies. Meanwhile the Septuagint itself was revised by Theodotion, another Ebionite, who for the purpose collated it with the Hebrew, that is, with the Hebrew text as settled at Jamnia, and this revision was apparently largely adopted by the orthodox Christians and found its way very largely into the Greek Bibles. It

is most unfortunate for Biblical criticism that it is so difficult, in fact, impossible, to say in many cases whence the text in our older Greek manuscripts has been derived, and to separate those portions which have come from the original Septuagint from those derived from the later translations. In fact, the text in our oldest MSS. seems to be largely an eclectic one, founded on the critical labours of Origen, who is charged by Jerome with having interpolated his own emendations into what he published as the Septuagint.

Another matter seems to me to be fairly plain. Up to the time of Aquila there was only one translation of the Bible or any of its books into Greek, namely, the Septuagint. There is not a shred of evidence to show that any other Greek translation then existed. Josephus, Philo, and the New Testament writers therefore used, and could use, no other translation.

This conclusion is a very important one, and promises to be fruitful in more than one direction, and it seems to me to throw some light on the history of the Hebrew text itself. We have no means of knowing what materials Akiba and his companions had before them when they formed the text which became the mother-manuscript, so carefully preserved by the Masorets. Whether they based it upon some particular manuscript saved out of the general ruin, or whether they formed an eclectic text by comparing more than one manuscript, we cannot tell, but it seems pretty plain that Akiba and his companions did something more than merely preserve what they found. The first important matter which they did was apparently to fix the Hebrew canon. There has been much discussion among Biblical critics about the double canon, namely, the canon of the Alexandrian and that of the Palestinian Jews, the former being supposed to have been more elastic and more full. This is true of the times after Akiba and his school had adopted a certain criterion, and had finally settled the canonicity or the reverse of certain books, but it does not seem to have been so before. According to the Mishna, it was the energetic rhetoric of Rabbi Akiba, at the conference at Jamnia in the year 90, where he took such an active part, which finally decided that the Song of Solomon should be included in the Canon. The canonicity of Ecclesiastes was apparently also decided at the same gathering. As Professor Robertson Smith says, "The Jews accepted the decision of Rabbi Akiba and his compeers as of undisputed authority." The main and chief test of canonicity, according to these Rabbis, was apparently that the books should exist in Hebrew. If they did not do so, "they polluted the hand," to use their rhetorical language.

They adopted other criteria, apparently based upon very arbitrary opinions, as to their contents, but this was the principal one. What I wish at present to emphasise is, that the restricted or so-called Palestinian canon, instead of being of earlier, is really of later date than the so-called Alexandrian, and was the outcome of the discussions at Jamnia.

Akiba and his school did not merely fix which books were in future to be deemed canonical and which were not. They, in fact, edited a new text and made certain alterations in it. The early Christian Fathers openly charged them with altering the numbers for polemical reasons, so that the Christians should not be able to boast that their Messiah had come 5000 years after the creation of the world. But they apparently made other alterations. Thus they altered, as it would seem, the old order of the books, which is different in the Hebrew Bibles from what it was in the Septuagint; and they also seem to have divided certain of the books which were previously substantive wholes into sections. Thus, for instance, it would seem that up to this time the two Books of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah formed one work, alike in style and continuous in narrative. About this original unity there is no dispute, and critics of all schools are agreed upon it. One of the most convincing proofs of it is the repetition of the last two verses of Chronicles word for word in the first two verses of Ezra. Again, it seems very probable it was the very same hands which were responsible for the reduplication just mentioned, which were also responsible for placing Chronicles right at the end of the Bible books, and after the other two books with which they have so much in common. It was very probably this very separation which caused men to overlook the repetition just named, and thus led to its being perpetuated. It is probable that other books, such as Samuel and Kings, were at the same time divided, so as to make the total number agree with some *à priori* figure, such as the number of the letters in the alphabet, &c. It seems to me also probable that it was Akiba and his companions who altered the fashion of writing the Bible from the old Phœnician letters, in which we know it was originally written, into the square Hebrew, or rather Aramaic, characters with which we are so familiar. I know of no evidence for carrying back the use of these square letters in the sacred writings to an earlier date.

Let us now turn to the immediate subject-matter of our paper. When we examine the earliest and most authoritative Greek manuscripts of the Bible, we shall find that one of its books occurs in them twice over. It has been the fashion of some to treat the canonical

Book of Ezra and the apocryphal book known as the First Book of Esdras as two separate and distinct works. As a matter of fact, with the exception of one particular episode, to which I shall revert, and some few details, they contain the same materials somewhat differently arranged, and they are, in fact, merely two editions of the same book. It is surely an enigma and a puzzle which ought to have received more attention than it has, how it came about that the Greek Bibles should have contained two editions of one work? In the Hebrew Bibles and manuscripts only one of them occurs, namely, the canonical Book of Ezra, which means, no doubt, that those who fixed the Masoretic text looked upon the edition represented by our Book of Ezra as the best one. The insertion of both books in the Bible was no doubt due to the Christians, in whose MSS. alone they occur together, and they occur together in the very earliest of these manuscripts. On the other hand, while the edition represented by the Book of Esdras is ignored in the Hebrew Bibles, that represented by Ezra is ignored by Josephus. Josephus, in fact, follows the story as told in the First of Esdras. His narrative agrees with it in including the episode just mentioned, namely, the story of Darius and the three young men, in the use of the same forms of the names, such as Sanabasser, &c., and notably in the use of the words *τε βασι* as applied to the palace at Ecbatana (see Esdras vi. 23); and there is, in fact, no dispute about the matter. I don't know of any motive that a very orthodox and learned Jew like Josephus could have had for selecting this text and basing his narrative upon it, except that he believed it to be the best and the most reliable text; and such it seems to me ought to be its reputation now; nor would there be much hesitation in accepting this view were it not for the exaggerated and unreasonable reputation which the Masoretic text has acquired.

The only explanation of these facts assuredly is that the First of Esdras represents the Septuagint translation, which was the authority followed by Josephus, and the Book of Ezra one of the later Greek translations, both having thus been singularly preserved in the manuscripts. This seems to me the only reasonable and workable theory, and to be consistent with all the facts.

So much for the external evidence. The internal evidence is most consistent with it. Dr. Ginsburg has, in Kitto's "Cyclopædia," pointed out a number of instances in which the language of Esdras I. proves it to have been directly and independently translated from the Hebrew. Mr. Ball, whose capital edition of the Apocrypha has been highly appreciated abroad, and who is a very competent critic, has also pointed out many places in the text of Esdras in which

distinct Hebraisms can be traced. Eduard Reuss, in his elaborate history of the Old Testament writings, has also pointed to the same fact (*op. cit.*, 2nd edit., p. 668). This shows that the text in question is an independent translation, and not a mere *réchauffée* of the Book of Ezra, &c., as some have superficially argued. Again, it has been remarked by more than one critic that the Greek in which Esdras I. is written is particularly good Greek—too good to have been written in Palestine, and pointing very distinctly to an Alexandrian origin. We must also remember that in some of the early Greek manuscripts the First of Esdras is given the place of honour, the canonical Book of Ezra being placed second. Lastly, there are strong reasons for believing that in Origen's Hexaplar transcript of the Septuagint Esdras I. took the place of Ezra. Dr. Gwynn has pointed out to me that in the Syriac Catena contained in MS. add. 12,168 B.M., which is professedly based upon the Syriac Hexaplar of Paul of Tella, which, again, was taken from Origen's Hexapla, Esdras I. takes the place of the canonical Ezra. This seems almost conclusive. The only argument I know on the other side is that Jerome puts Esdras I. and the Second Book of Esdras aside with a supercilious phrase as containing fantastic fables. This language might be justified in regard to an apocalyptic work like the Second Book of Esdras, but I cannot see its application to the First, which is, in fact, only another edition of the Book of Ezra, the only additional matter in it being the beautiful story of Darius and the three young men, which cannot assuredly be described as fantastic fable. The fact is, Jerome had an *a priori* theory to sustain. He favoured the same theory which Akiba had pressed upon the Jews, namely, that those books were alone canonical which existed in his day in Hebrew, and inasmuch as the text of the Hebrew Bibles he consulted contained the book we are discussing in the form in which it occurs in Ezra, and were in all probability all of them derived from Akiba's recension, he consistently rejected the other edition. His example was followed by the Reformers, who largely adopted the same theory. It is more strange to find that the Council of Trent, while accepting the other apocryphal books as canonical, should have rejected the First and Second Books of Esdras. The explanation is that the Council of Trent simply adopted the conclusions in regard to the Canon which were formulated by the Council of Florence and adopted in the Bull of Pope Eugenius. This appears from the minutes of the Council as recently edited by Theiner. I have no reasonable doubt whatever myself that Esdras I. preserves for us the original Septuagint text. If this be so, the first thing which becomes obvious is that in the Septuagint the work as now

broken up into Chronicles I. and III., Ezra, and Nehemiah, was one continuous book, for the text of the First Book of Esdras, which begins with what is part of the Second of Chronicles in our Bibles, goes on without a break right across what in the same Bibles forms the gap between Chronicles and Ezra; nor does it contain the reduplication above mentioned. Later on it similarly passes without a break across the gap separating Ezra and Nehemiah. This is at once explained by the conclusion that the First Book of Esdras is a section taken out of a once continuous work comprising Chronicles I. and II., Ezra, and Nehemiah, and which must have been continuous when the Septuagint translation was made. This increases the probability that the breaking up of the work in question was due to Akiba and his men.

We will now turn to another alteration which seems to me to have been also made at this time, and by the same school of critics. If we compare the first six or seven chapters of the Books of Ezra and of the First of Esdras, and the latter parts of Esdras I. with the corresponding parts of Nehemiah, we shall be struck by the different order in which the facts are stated, and the different arrangement of the narrative. The change seems to have been made with the very reasonable motive of meeting some apparent difficulties in the chronology, and especially to justify the view, which seems to have prevailed among the Jews at this time, that their hero Zerubbabel was the same person as the chief who led back the emigrants in the days of Cyrus. This identity cannot, I think, be sustained; and it seems to me very plain, in view of the evidence, that, if we are to recover the order of the text of the Book of Ezra as it was in the days before Akiba and his friends, with the best of motives, tampered with it, we must go to the First Book of Esdras.

I will now say a few words with regard to the relative value of the statements in the Books of Ezra and of Esdras I., where there happens to be a contradiction between them.

Kennicott long ago pointed out that the number of the vessels mentioned in Ezra, chapter i., is clearly corrupt, since the total named disagrees with the sum of the several items. On the other hand, in the enumeration in Esdras I., the totals tally with one another.

In the Hebrew text of Ezra (chap. iv. ver. 2), Esar-haddon, king of Assyria, is said to have brought the foreign settlers to Samaria. In the Book of Kings this is attributed to Shalmaneser; so it is in Josephus. In the Book of Kings the doings of Shalmaneser's successor, Sargon, are all attributed to Shalmaneser, and

it would appear that it was Sargon who brought the strangers. The name occurs in various corrupt forms in Edras I. and the versions, all of them differing from Esar-haddon. Esar-haddon cannot be right.

Again, the leader of the Jews who returned under Cyrus is called Sanabasser in Esdras and by Josephus, and Sheshbasser in the Book of Ezra. The Rev. C. J. Ball, a good judge, says of Sanabasser that "it looks genuine." He has also called attention to the fact that some of the other names have a more accurate form in Esdras I. than in Ezra, as, for instance, Belimus standing for Belibus, "Bel made" instead of Bishlam, and Semallius for Samullu, a Babylonian name, instead of Shimshai. The noble Asnapper of Ezra (chap. iv. ver. 10) is clearly corrupt, and seems to be a corruption either of Shalmaneser or of Sanabasser, probably of Sanabasser. I may add that Ewald long ago remarked that the names in Esdras, when they vary, have a more genuine look than those of the Masoretic text.

Again, the list of those who are said to have returned with Zerubbabel, and of which we have separate editions in Ezra and Nehemiah, is given more fully, and apparently more accurately, in Esdras I.

It is not merely in the accuracy of the text itself that the First Book of Esdras excels the Book of Ezra; it does so also in the arrangement of its materials, which, so far as we can see, follow the order of the original text from which it was derived, and from which it was altered by the creators of the Masoretic text for the sake of conformity with *à priori* theories.

One of the curious features of the Hebrew copies of Ezra is the insertion in them of several passages written in Aramaic. These are not, as some have urged, mere transcripts of official documents taken from the archives and inserted in the Hebrew narrative like boulders in a matrix of clay, for the matrix itself, the connecting narrative, is in some cases Aramaic. It is not credible that the compiler of Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah should have composed his story in two languages. He, in fact, composed it in Hebrew, and the explanation of the fact just mentioned is that in some cases he transferred the document he was quoting bodily to his pages. This document was not a mere catena of diplomatic papers, but itself a chronicle of events, and may be referred to as the Aramaic chronicle. This is the reasonable theory of more than one writer. I would suggest (and I wonder that the suggestion has not been made before), that this Aramaic chronicle is the document referred to in the Second Book of Maccabees, chap. ii. ver. 13, among those collected by Nehemiah,

and which is called "The Epistles of the Kings concerning the Holy Gifts," a singularly appropriate title for the work in question, since it consists so largely of extracts from royal letters. It was possibly also the Book of Chronicles referred to in Nehemiah xii. 23.

This Aramaic chronicle, as I have said, survives in certain extracts in the Hebrew Bibles written in Aramaic, which have been duly translated into Greek in the First Book of Esdras. Having settled the existence of an Aramaic chronicle, and that it was the source of the so-called Chaldee portions of Ezra, the next thing is to decide whether other parts of this same chronicle have not been preserved for us, not in the original, but in a translated form. Renan argued, and I think convincingly, that the first chapter of Ezra, referring to the dealings of Cyrus with the Jews, must be associated with the Chaldee portions; it has all the appearance of a translation from the Aramaic chronicle, of which it seems, in fact, to form the beginning.

In Ezra, chapter i. is followed, as is well known, by an extraneous document, with which, in fact, it has no immediate connection. This document has been transferred bodily from the seventh chapter of Nehemiah. In Nehemiah it occurs quite naturally, and is prefaced by the explanatory words, "And my God put into mine heart to gather together the nobles and the rulers and the people, that they might be reckoned by genealogy. And I found a register of the genealogy of them which came up at the first, and found written therein." In the Book of Ezra, on the contrary, the passage begins abruptly and without any exordium, and the scribe has not been content to quote only the passage in question, but has gone on to copy from Nehemiah what is the beginning of an entirely different narrative. Thus the first verse of the third chapter of Ezra, which is virtually identical with part of the 73rd verse of chapter vii., and with the beginning of the first verse of chapter viii. of Nehemiah, forms the preface of quite a different narrative in each book. This shows, as is generally admitted, that the passage in Ezra has been transferred, not from some common source, but directly from the Book of Nehemiah itself.

While in the Book of Ezra the story about Cyrus is immediately followed by this interpolated passage; in the First Book of Esdras this is not so, but the same narrative is immediately followed by that which commences in Ezra with chapter iv. ver. 7, which is written in Aramaic. This is an additional reason for believing that the earlier portion about Cyrus was also originally in Aramaic. Ver. 6 of Ezra iv. and the greater part of verses 9 and 10 do not occur in Esdras I. at all. They contain nothing intrinsically improbable, and

may be genuine statements omitted in that book. The passage in Ezra, from the 7th to the 23rd verse of chapter iv. inclusive, is written in Aramaic, and not in Hebrew. All this passage, with the exception of verses 9 and 10, is duly contained in the Book of Esdras I., as is also verse 24, which is written in Hebrew in Ezra, and not in Aramaic, and which is thus shown to be part of the original text, and not an insertion of Akiba and his men.

If we are to judge by the Book of Esdras I., and by the abruptness of Ezra's narrative, there is a break between chapters iv. and v. of the latter. In Esdras I. chapter ii. verse 30, the reference to Darius, corresponding to that in the concluding verse of chapter iv. of Ezra, is immediately followed, not by what there is in chapter v. in Ezra, but by the very interesting story of Darius and the three young men, which runs continuously and in sequence with what comes before and after, and which seems to me to be a perfectly genuine part of the original narrative of the Aramaic chronicle. It is quoted without any doubt by Josephus, and Mr. Ball has pointed out several forms of expression in it which show it to have been a translation from the Semitic, like the paragraphs preceding it. Ewald has further remarked that verses 45 and 50 of chapter iv. seem to preserve a genuine old tradition. The exclusion of this passage from the canonical Book of Ezra is probably to be explained, not because of any internal difficulties in it, but because it could not be made consistent with the theory, apparently held by some of the Jews, that Zerubbabel was the same person as Sanabasser or Sheshbasser. I have the strongest conviction myself that the story is both a genuine part of the old narrative, and that it occurs in its right place in the Book of Esdras I. The story of Darius and the three young men is immediately followed in Esdras I. by the catalogue of those who returned to Jerusalem with Zerubbabel, which forms chapter ii. of Ezra and chapter vii. of Nehemiah. The list is much more complete in Esdras than in either of the other narratives in that book; as in Ezra it has been transferred from the memoirs of Nehemiah. It would thus appear pretty certain that in the Book of Esdras I., beginning with the 1st verse of chapter ii., and as far as the 3rd verse of chapter v., we have preserved intact a translation of what was once the continuous Aramaic chronicle. With verse 47 of chapter v. of Esdras I. begins a passage corresponding with chapter iii. of Ezra, which was apparently derived from another source, to which I shall presently refer; this is continued to Esdras v. 66, where the compiler of Esdras once more takes up the Aramaic chronicle, and apparently at a point where he left off before. This part of the

story is preserved in the original Aramaic in Ezra, and constitutes the portion of that book beginning with the first verse of chapter v. down to the 18th verse of chapter vi. The remaining verses of this last chapter are written in Hebrew. It is possible that they have been translated from the Aramaic original, or it may be that they have been inserted by the compiler. The reference to the king of Assyria, instead of to the king of Persia, in verse 22, presents an anachronism and a difficulty which perhaps points to the hand of the compiler.

So far as I know, this exhausts the materials derived from the Aramaic chronicle which are preserved in Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah, and in the Book of Esdras as the latter remains to us. It is possible that in the copy of the continuous work which was before Josephus there was an additional paragraph, also derived from the same chronicle, which he has preserved, and which seems, on grounds of internal probability, to have had this origin. I mean the paragraph in his "Jewish Antiquities" forming paragraph 9 of chapter iv. of Book XI., and dealing with the embassy of Zerubbabel to the Persian king to complain of the Samaritans.

Having traced the portions of Ezra and Esdras I. which are apparently derived from the Aramaic chronicle, we will now consider shortly another source of another part of those books which has been hitherto overlooked, I mean chapter iii. of Ezra and chap. v. vers. 47-66 of Esdras I.

A very superficial glance at these sections will suffice to show that they deal with some of the same events as are recounted in the Aramaic chronicle and reported in Ezra, chapter v., and in Esdras I., chapter vi., and constitute a second account of them, in all probability derived from another source. This source I believe I have succeeded in tracing.

I must first point out the evidence that there is a gap between the first and second verses of chap. iii. of Ezra, and in the corresponding passage in Esdras I.

The first verse of chapter i. of Ezra, which is the exordium of the chapter, is word for word the same as the latter part of verse 73 of chapter vii. of Nehemiah and of the first part of verse 1 of chapter viii., except that in the one case the people are said to have gathered themselves together at Jerusalem, and in the other in the street that runs before the water-gate. The corresponding verse in Esdras I., namely, verse 47 of chapter v., follows Nehemiah exactly. I cannot doubt that the passage in Nehemiah is the original, and that the scribe who transcribed the genealogical lists from Nehemiah

carried his transcription by mistake into the beginning of the next narrative.

This is not only plain from the use of the precise words in the verses referred to, but from the use of the same date, namely, the seventh month in both narratives. So that, as a matter of fact, the same exordium with the same date is made to do duty for two entirely different sets of facts, which is inconsequent.

Not only so, but in the narrative in Ezra the seventh month can only refer to the seventh month of the first year of Cyrus, if we are to read the narrative plainly, a view which is impossible and entirely at issue with the statements in Haggai. In Nehemiah, on the other hand, the narrative seems to be logically and historically correct. There seems to be no alternative, therefore, but to treat the exordia in question in Ezra and in Esdras I. as parts of another narrative. If we detach them, we shall find that what follows comes in most abruptly, and has all the character of a transported narrative.

Again the book of the Prophet Haggai is one of the shortest in the Old Testament. It seems to me most clear that it was not always so short, and that a portion of it has dropped out, the hiatus being still marked in the text. It will be noticed that the prophet begins with a very usual exordium, in the following words: "In the second year of Darius the king, in the sixth month, in the first day of the month, came the word of the Lord, by Haggai the prophet, unto Zerubbabel, son of Shealtiel, governor of Judah, and to Joshua, the son of Josedech, the high-priest, saying;" and the narrative goes on quite regularly to the end of the 14th verse, where it stops.

The 15th verse is a new exordium in the words, "In the four-and-twentieth day of the month, in the sixth month, in the second year of Darius the king;" here the narrative ends abruptly; we are not told what happened on the twenty-fourth day of the sixth month, but this exordium is followed immediately by a third exordium in the words, "In the seventh month, in the one-and-twentieth day of the month, came the word of the Lord by Haggai the prophet." This is followed by a complete story, ending with the ninth verse, the tenth verse of the second chapter contains another exordium in the words, "In the four-and-twentieth day of the ninth month, in the second year of Darius, came the word of the Lord by Haggai the prophet, saying." This also is followed by its proper story, which continues to the end of the 19th verse. Lastly, the 20th verse of the second chapter contains a fifth exordium in the words, "And the word of the Lord came a second time unto Haggai in the four-and-twentieth

day of the month, saying;" which is likewise followed by its proper story, extending to the end of the book.

It will be seen from this analysis that in every instance save one the exordium is followed by a corresponding narrative. The exception, where two exordia come together, is in the instance of the last verse of chapter i. and the first one of chapter ii. in the English and some other versions. The singularity of the case is disguised in the Revised Version by an unauthorised punctuation, which would make it appear as if the last verse of the first chapter belongs to the previous narrative, a fact which is not supported by the Hebrew text. It is also at issue with the further fact, pointed out by Keil, that in some manuscripts referred to by Kennicott, in Tischendorf's edition of the Septuagint, in the Itala, and in the Vulgate, the 14th verse of the first chapter is detached from that chapter altogether and joined on to the next one.

These facts seem to me, and to others better qualified to judge than I am, to make it plain that there is a hiatus between the two verses mentioned, and that the narrative which once intervened between them, and which is necessary to complete the sense, has dropped out.

Now, if we turn to the Book of Ezra, chap. iii. ver. 2, &c., and to the corresponding passage in Esdras I., we shall find that these passages exactly complete the sense, and I have no doubt myself that the compiler of the originally continuous Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah, transferred the passage in question from Haggai to his own narrative.

It is a remarkable fact, which seems to me to make this contention almost certain, that whereas no one has hitherto, so far as I know, noticed the hiatus in Haggai, or suggested that it should be filled up in this way, Lord Arthur Harvey, in his article on Ezra in the "Dictionary of the Bible" has pointed out and enumerated a number of instances in which the language used in the earlier part of Ezra is strikingly like, both in substance and in expression, to that of Haggai, and he has, in fact, suggested the possibility of Haggai having been the compiler of the narrative in Ezra. To this last conclusion I cannot assent, but I do very strongly urge that it is almost certain that a portion, if not all, of the third chapter of Ezra and the corresponding narrative in Esdras I. has been derived from Haggai. The case, except in one point, is a parallel one to the similar derivation of chapter ii. of Ezra from Nehemiah, the only difference being that in the latter case the same story is preserved in two places, while in the former the scribe in appropriating the passage from Haggai seems to have cancelled it in its original place.

There is still another important problem, perhaps the most important of all, upon which the conclusions in this paper, if sustained, throw considerable light. It has been the fashion among historians to sneer at and denounce Josephus for his supposed confused and unreliable narrative in regard to the history of Ezra and Nehemiah. According to his story, they were not even contemporaries, but Ezra was dead when Nehemiah's career in Palestine commenced. I am not at all certain that Josephus was not right. Almost every critic of weight known to me has separated the Book of Nehemiah into two well-marked divisions. The most important of these consists of the first seven chapters, in which Nehemiah speaks in the first person, and in which Ezra is not even named. It seems to be a continuous extract from the memoirs of Nehemiah. It has been frequently noticed that although following directly after Ezra in our Bibles, these personal memoirs have no connection with the narrative in that book, but that there is a complete break in the sense and substance of the two.

On the other hand, if we detach this portion, we shall find that what follows (beginning with chapter vii. verse 73, in which the story is told in narrative form by the compiler), refers almost entirely to Ezra and his doings, and is in effect a continuation of the narrative in the Book of Ezra. This has been frequently noticed, and there can scarcely be a doubt that the paragraph from Nehemiah's personal memoirs, constituting Nehemiah i. 1-8, has in some way got into its wrong place. Now if we turn to the Book of Esdras, which we have shown so many reasons for believing constitutes the original Septuagint text, and represents further the text of this narrative before it was edited and sophisticated by Akiba and his men, we shall find that this very passage from Nehemiah's memoirs is excluded, and that we pass directly from what is the concluding verse in our canonical Ezra to verse 73 of chapter vii. of the Book of Nehemiah. Reuss remarks in his great work: "Der Verfasser dieser Uebersetzung muss einen Text vor sich gehabt haben, in welchem die sämmtlichen Theile vereinigt waren Neh. 1-7 aber ausgelassen. Einen solchen Text befolgt auch Josephus der Neh. 1 ff. erst nachholt" (*Die Geschichte der Heiligen Schriften alten Testaments*, ed. 2, p. 544). Here, as in other places, I hold that the true order of the narrative has been preserved in Esdras i. Unfortunately, that book ends abruptly in the middle of a sentence corresponding to Nehemiah viii. 13, but there is no reason to doubt that in the complete work of which it forms a section only, the story went on continuously to the end of that portion of it in which the doings of Ezra were

recorded, and possibly contained an account of his death in the sense in which it is reported by Josephus, and that to this was appended the part of the present book of Nehemiah which is written in the first person and which constitutes his personal memoirs. This view would support the narrative as reported by Josephus, and of course involves some important historical corrections. The only argument I know against it is one used by the Hulsean Professor of Divinity, Dr. Ryle, who says that this view (which necessitates our separating the careers of Ezra and Nehemiah, and making the latter begin only after the close of the former) would necessitate our striking out as later glosses the mention of Nehemiah's name in viii. 9 and x. 22. In regard to the last reference, I do not understand it, since no mention of Nehemiah is made in the verse quoted; but in regard to the first, there does seem to be reason for suspecting the text. It runs thus: "And Nehemiah, which is the Tirshatha, and Ezra the priest, the scribe, and the Levites that taught the people, said unto all the people." Now the corresponding passage in Esdras i. makes no mention whatever of Nehemiah, but reads: "Then spake Attatharates unto Esdras the chief priest and reader, and to the Levites that taught the multitude," &c., &c. However this is explained, and I think the best explanation is to treat the reference to Nehemiah the Tirshatha in the one case, and to Attatharates in the other as glosses, the evidence is assuredly very strong indeed that here, as in other places, the order of the original text is preserved for us by Esdras i., and not by the canonical Book of Ezra. The breaking up and redistribution of the personal memoirs of Nehemiah was probably the work of Akiba and his men, who must also be held responsible for putting the first chapter, which is dated in a later month, before the second chapter.

To sum up the results of this paper. I claim to have shown that the Masoretic text of the Old Testament preserves in substance the edition which was arranged and published by Akiba and his men at Jamnia, and not an earlier text, and that they made a large departure from the Hebrew Bibles as previously known, both in regard to the canon, to the arrangement of the text in the various books, and in other ways.

Secondly, that these alterations are particularly marked in the previously continuous work—Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah—and that the Greek translations of this book accepted as canonical represent neither the Septuagint nor any unsophisticated text, but a translation of the same edition which was issued from Jamnia.

Thirdly, that the First Book of Esdras preserves for us a section

taken out of the true Septuagint translation of the originally complete work, and enables us therefore to partially reconstruct the text of that work before it was tampered with and altered.

Fourthly, this reconstruction involves a re-writing of the history of the post-exilic period of Jewish history, and a return to the views of that history published by Josephus. A number of points on which the chronology and history will need revision I have endeavoured to discuss in a series of letters in the *Academy*.

VIII.

ÜBER DIE VON PROF. JULIUS EUTING IN NORD-ARABIEN ENTDECKTEN UND GESAMMELTEN PROTO-ARABISCHEN INSCRIFTEN.

VON

D. H. MÜLLER.

(Mit einer Tafel.)

ZUR Unterscheidung von den minäischen und lihjânischen Denkmälern von el-'Öla, welche ebenfalls von Julius Euting entdeckt worden sind,¹ bezeichne ich die durch den ganzen nordwestlichen Theil Arabiens zerstreuten kleinen Inschriften in einem dem sabäischen sehr verwandten Alphabet als *proto-arabisch*. Euting hat diese Inschriften gesammelt in der Zeit vom 11. October 1883, wo er die ersten Denkmäler in Twêr in der Oase Gjôf (طوير في الجوف) gefunden, bis zum 25. März 1884, an welchem Tage er in al-Hiçr seine Untersuchungen vollendete.² Im ganzen sind es 792 Nummern, die sich auf 27 Fundstätten vertheilen. Einen Theil dieser Inschriften kennen wir allerdings schon aus den Publicationen Doughty's³ und Hubers⁴; die weitaus grössere Anzahl jedoch verdanken wir dem Strassburger Professor, den seinen Vorgängern gegenüber noch sein besonders hervorragendes epigraphisches Talent auszeichnet.

Die Entzifferung dieser kleinen Schriftüberreste, die auf ungeglätteten Felsen von ungeschickter Hand und mit unzureichenden Instrumenten eingegraben sind, ist durchaus keine leichte Arbeit. Es sind lauter kurze meistens nur wenige Buchstaben, oder höch-

¹ Vergleiche meine Epigraphische Denkmäler aus Arabien (in den Denkschriften der philosophisch-historischen Classe der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Band xxxvii) Wien, 1889.

² Eine Uebersicht der Inschriften ist am angeführten Ort Seite 7 gegeben.

³ Documents Épigraphiques recueillis dans le Nord de l'Arabie par M. Charles Doughty. Paris, 1884.

⁴ Charles Huber, Inscriptions recueillis dans l'Arabie Centrale (im Bull. de la Société de Géographie, vii Série, Tom. v., 1884, p. 789-804).

stens wenige Worte enthaltende Inschriften, deren Lesung durch die nachlässige oft wechselnde Schrift und durch die vielen zerstörten oder entstellten Zeichen sehr erschwert wird. Da diese Inschriften, wie es in der Natur der Sache liegt, meistentheils Eigennamen enthalten, so ist durch Inhalt und Zusammenhang eine Controle der Lesung nur in geringem Grade vorhanden.

Ich habe dem Studium dieser eigenthümlichen Denkmäler viel Zeit und viel Arbeit gewidmet und glaube nicht nur eine grosse Anzahl derselben mit Sicherheit entziffert, sondern auch sonst eine Reihe von sprachlichen und schriftgeschichtlichen Thatsachen festgestellt zu haben — zu einer abschliessenden Publication konnte ich mich jedoch bis jetzt nicht entschliessen. Es scheint mir aber angemessen und im Interesse der Sache gelegen, über den Fortschritt in der Entzifferung hier zu berichten und diesen Bericht durch einige kleine Proben zu illustriren.

Nebst der Bestimmung der einzelnen Zeichen galt es hauptsächlich die Mittel zu finden, die Worte abzutheilen, da besondere Zeichen zur Trennung der Worte, wie der senkrechte Strich im Sabäischen, oder der Punkt in andern semitischen Inschriften hier fehlen oder doch nur äusserst selten und vereinzelt vorkommen. Als solche Worttrenner erweisen sich aber:

1. Das Wort בן „Sohn,” welches durch eine vielfach veränderliche Ligatur ausgedrückt wird, die freilich von Fall zu Fall erst auf ihre Echtheit geprüft werden muss.

2. Der Buchstabe מ, welcher für מן (mit Elision des *n*) stehend, die Zugehörigkeit zu einem Orte oder Stamme bezeichnet, was im Hebräischen häufig vorkommt, im Arabischen jedoch fast ganz von der Nisbe (Nomen gentilitium) verdrängt worden ist.

3. Die Präposition ל, welche in der Regel am Anfange der Inschrift, bisweilen jedoch auch in der Mitte erscheint.

4. Der Artikel ה, welcher häufig sowohl in der Mitte als auch zu Anfang der Inschrift vorkommt.

Ich gebe hier als Probe eine kleine Auswahl von Inschriften in hebräischer Transscription. Auf der beigegebenen Tafel findet man eine genaue Wiedergabe der Euting'schen Zeichnungen.

1. (Eut. 5.) ודר בן חבב .

Wadîd Sohn des Habîb.

Zu dem häufigen Eigennamen ודר, vergleiche hebr. וִידִד וִידִדָּה und מִידִד, sab. וּרְדָּל (häufig). Von gleicher Bedeutung, obgleich von anderer Wurzel ist חבב gleich arab. حَبِيب *palm.* חֲבִיבִי, hebr. חֲבִיב.

2. (Eut. 11.) לודר בן קל

Von Wadîd Sohn des Kêl.

Zu קל darf wohl ابو قيلة bei Ibn. Doraïd 282 und hebr. קוליה herangezogen werden.

3. (Eut. 54^c.) סור בן ברלח מרג*Suwêd Sohn des Badîlat aus Rağ.*

Von der Wurzel סור hat das Arabische die Eigennamen سُورید, سُورَة, سُورَان, سُورُون, das Hebräische das n. pr. סורי.

Ausser ברלח kommt Eut. 46 ברל vor, womit بُدیل bei Ibn. Dor. 278, 280 und 304, und بُدیل und مُدیل Muštabih 28 zu vergleichen sind.

4. (Eut. 58–59.) ער בן חרתל מרג

Ād Sohn des Khartat aus Rağ.

Der Name ער kommt in den Inschriften öfters vor und erinnert an arab. عَاد Ibn. Dor. 52 und 304, wo es zu den urarabischen Stämmen gezählt wird عَادُ وَتَمُودُ وَطَسَمٌ وَعِمْلَاقٌ وَجَدِيسٌ قَبَائِلُ دَرَجُوا.

5. (Eut. 86.) עד בן סבל מאס

Ād Sohn des Sabal aus Ass.

Von der Radix سَبَلَ kennt das Arabische das n. pr. سُبَالَة (Ibn. Dor. 301) und سَبَلٌ Muštabih 292. Zum n. l. אס ist Bekrî 122 اسيس zu vergleichen.

6. (Eut. 110 = Hub. 49.) גל בן קחלעם

Gall Sohn des Katîl'am.

Zu גל vergleiche جليل und جليلة Muštabih 188. Etwas sonderbar ist der Name קחלעם = قَتِيل عَام?

7. (Eut. 122 = Hub. 54.) ודר מחרמת

Wadd aus Harmat.

Eine Stadt חרמה in Kanáan kennt die heilige Schrift; im Arabischen werden von der Wurzel حرم verschiedene n. loci angeführt. (Vergleiche z. B. den Index zu *Hamdânîs Geographie der Arabischen Halbinsel*.) Eine ähnliche Inschrift bietet Eut. 125.

8. (Eut. 127. = Hub. 64.) ודר בן ואל

Wadîd Sohn des Wâil.

Eine ähnliche Inschrift bietet Eut. 142. Zu ואל vergleiche arab. وائل hebr. יואל phön. ואל (*Corpus Insc. Semit.* 132).

9. (Eut. 123 = Hub. 51.) ואל מגדס

Wâil aus Gadîs.

Wenn unter *Gadîs* nicht ein Ort, sondern ein Stamm zu verstehen ist, was ich sehr wohl für möglich halte, so hätten wir einen Mann aus dem alten urarabischen Stamm جديس, der neben طسم in alter Zeit in Jamâma eine grosse Rolle gespielt zu haben scheint. Vergleiche über die Gadîs besonders *Hamdânî* 132, 3. 140, 25 ff. und 160, 6.

10. (Eut. 129.) ודר בן ואלת

Wadîd Sohn des Wâilat.

ואלת ist gleich وائلة, welches als n. pr. m. vorkommt, so وائلة بن شاکر بن بکیل *Hamdânî* Index. وائلة بن تيم *Ibn. Dor.* 114

11. (Eut. 163.) ואלגר בן מס

Wa'lgadd Sohn des Mass.

Das n. pr. גר findet sich Eut. 645 : לגר העמל, ist auch aus dem Arabischen جد und Nabatäischen (Euting, Nabatäische Inschriften 25, 1) bekannt, nicht minder aus dem Hebräischen גר. Zu ואלגר

vergleiche die n. pr. composita גרנעם und גרעת im Phönikischen, גרענא und גרענא im Palmyranischen und גרענא im Hebräischen. Vielleicht ist מאס *Maïs* zu lesen und mit מַיִס *Muštābih* 513 zu vergleichen.

12. (Eut. 178.) ודר בן עמל מרון

Wadîd Sohn des Āmil aus Razn.

Das Arabische kennt die n. pr. عاملة und عميلة (*Ibn. Dor.* 98). Einen Ortsnamen الرزن erwähnt der Dichter Ibn Muḫbil bei *Hamdānî* 233, 18.

13. (Eut. 197.) ודר בן חבל

Wadîd Sohn des Ḥabl.

Zu lesen ist entweder Ḥibāl = حبال *Ibn. Dor.* 128, Z. 3 v. u. oder Ḥabl = حَبْل *Muštābih* 88. Ausserdem kommen mehrere n. l. von dieser Wurzel vor.

14. (Eut. 212.) ודר מוגל

Wadîd aus Waḡl.

Ein n. l. وِجَل kann ich sonst nicht nachweisen.

15. (Eut. 267.) ברת בן תקבם

Badith Sohn des Takbus.

Der Eigenname ברת kommt noch vor Eut. 586 und 587 und ברתן Eut. 368 = 470. Im Arabischen findet sich die Wurzel ברת nicht. Von der Radix قبس findet sich das n. pr. أبو قبیس (*Ibn. Dor.* 220).

16. (Eut. 278.) לעתר מסמילת

Von Itr aus Sumailat.

Die arabischen Philologen führen an die Namen عَتر, عَترٌ und عَتر *Muštābih* 377, ferner عَتر *Muštābih* 383. Vergleiche auch *Ibn. Dor.* 170. Im Hebräischen kommt ein n. l. עֶתֶר (*Josua* 15, 42 und 19, 7) vor. Ein Ortsname سميلة ist mir nicht bekannt, wohl aber السمينة *Bekrî* 782 etc.

17. (Eut. 290.) מַתְעַת הַבָּאֵר

Von Mâtî'at der Ba'ritin.

Zum n. pr. מַתְעַת vergleiche die lihjanische Inschrift 25, 8, *Alathamid, Tochter des Ašim, die Spenderin (?)* und den Eigennamen מַתְעַאֵל 71, 1.¹ Vielleicht ist auch dort מַתְעַת "vom Stamme מתע" zu übersehen. Einen Stamm באר kann ich nicht nachweisen, wohl aber führt *Muštābih* 20 den Eigennamen البَّار (Var. البَّار), an. Möglicherweise ist jedoch הבכרת "die vom Stamme *Bekr*" zu lesen. Vergleiche Eut. 722 הבכרת und *Doughty* Fol. 44 הבכרת . . . נאם.

18. (Eut. 313.) לַרְמַסְאֵלָה בֶּן רַסַּת

Von Ramsilāh Sohn des Rasat.

Der Eigenname רַמַּס findet sich im Saläischen, der Name רַסַּת steht auch Eut. 314–316 und 679–680. Zu רַסַּת vergleiche die n. l. رَسِيس رَسِيس رَسِيس.

19. (Eut. 392/3 = 434/5) | מַהֲבַתְּ | לַאֲבַמְעַקֵּר הָעַמֶּל

Der ha-Khabith dem Abūma'kar vom Stamme Āmilah.

Für מַהֲבַתְּ lautet eine Variante מַהֲבַא. Es ist mir nicht ganz sicher, ob מַהֲבַתְּ als Nom. l. anzusehen sei. אַבְמַעְקֵר ist = أَبُو مَعْقَر. Den Namen مَعْقَر führt der heidnische Dichter مَعْقَرُ بْنُ أَوْسٍ (*Ibn. Dor.* 282). Der Beisatz הָעַמֶּל findet sich unzählige Male in den Inschriften.²

20. (398 = 427.) [מ]הֲבַתְּ לַיִתְעַת הָעַמֶּל

Der ha-Khabith dem Yath'at vom Stamme Āmilah.

Einen Eigennamen يَتِيع führen *Ibn. Doraid* 249 und *Muštābih* 691 an. Zu vergleichen sind die sab. n. propria יַתְעַם, יַתְעַאֵל etc.

¹ Epigraphische Denkmäler aus Arabien. Seite 74 und 87.² Vergleiche Epigraphische Denkmäler, Seite 16, Note 1.

21. (Eut. 400/1 = 425/6) דָּן לֵאמֹן בֶּן חִלְמַת

Dieses von 'Umm dem Sohne des Halimat.

Zu דָּן vergleiche sab. דָּן aram. דָּן etc. Von der Wurzel אָמַם kommen im Arabischen die Eigennamen ^{أُمَيْمَة} مَأْمُوم, im Hebräischen das n. l. אָמַם vor. Zu חִלְמַת ist arabisch حَلِيم, مُحَلَّم und حَلِيمَة zu vergleichen.¹

22. (Eut. 406 = 417.) הָרוּז אַתָּם לְוָדֵר מְבֹלַח

Der Wadid aus Balh.

Das Wort הָרוּז kommt mehr als dreissig, das Wort אַתָּם etwa zwölf Mal in den Inschriften in ähnlichem Zusammenhange vor. Eine passende Deutung habe ich bis jetzt nicht gefunden. Ein n. l. بلجة kennt Hamdāni 54, 6 und 188, 19.

23. (Eut. 402 = 424.) הָדָךְ לְעָד אֲבַעַד בֶּן חֲלַאִילַת הַבְּכִל מִצָּרִם

Dieses von 'Ad Ab'ad, Sohn des Hal'ilat des Bakil von Sirm.

Diese Inschrift ist eine der grössten der Sammlung. Die Abtheilung der Worte ist unsicher und nur vermuthungsweise versucht worden. Das erste Wort הָדָךְ ist gleich هَذَا. Auf den Eigennamen עָד folgt der Beiname אֲבַעַד; den Namen חֲלַאִילַת kann ich sonst nicht belegen. הַבְּכִל kann möglicherweise Nisbe sein, der "vom Stamme Bakil," in gleicher Weise könnte auch העמל "vom Stamme عاملة" und הָרוּז "vom Stamm רוּז" bedeuten. Freilich müsste man הבכיל etc. mit Adjectivendung erwarten, aber es scheint daneben eine andere Bildung bestanden zu haben, die im Arabischen noch in يَمَانٍ und شام erhalten ist.²

Zum nomen loci צָרִם vergleiche den Ortsnamen صَرَائِم bei Bekri 602.

¹ Vergl. ähnliche Inschriften bei Euting, Sinaitische Inschriften, S. 51.

² Ich bin jetzt noch mehr geneigt, alle Epitheta mit ה als nomina gentilia anzusehen und vergleiche in Bezug auf das fehlende ה העסן in den lihjanischen Inschriften 1 und 21 (Epigraphische Denkmäler, S. 58).

24. (Eut. 403 = 423.) הָלֵה עַר בַּ עֵרַח מַחְלָתָם לְחִימָעָה

Der Ḥāleh Ḥad So[hn] des Ḥadat aus Hillit^m dem Temyaghûth.

Mehr als vierzig Inschriften beginnen mit dem Worte הָלֵה oder בָּלֵה. Ob es eine Stammesangehörigkeit oder eine Würde bezeichnet, kann ich nicht entscheiden. Die Trennung der Worte in dieser Inschrift ist nicht sicher. Für בַּ ist wohl בֵּן zu lesen. Zum Ortsnamen מַחְלָתָם (mit Mimation?) ist vielleicht حَلَّيت (Bekrî 282, etc.) zu vergleichen. Sicher sind Lesung und Deutung von חִימָעָה = تَيْمِ يَغُوث. Der Eigenname findet sich noch Eut. 433 und 663.

25. (Eut. 586.) עֲבֶסֶם לְבִרְתָּ בֶן וּדְדָה

Abs^m dem Badith Sohn des Wadîdah.

Der Name עֲבֶסֶם (mit Mimation?) ist gleich arab. عَبَسَ und erscheint auch in Eut. 590 (ohne Mimation). Ueber בִּרְתָּ ist schon oben No. 15 die Rede gewesen. וּדְדָה ist entweder = וּדְדָה (vergleiche Eut. 548) mit Abschwächung des ת in ה oder es ist . . . וּדְדָה zu lesen, wobei ה wie in der folgenden Inschrift der Anfang des fehlenden Epitheton ist.

26. (Eut. 590.) בִּרְתָּ בֶן עֲבֶסֶם וּוּדְדָה רַמְעָה

Badith Sohn des Abs und Wadîd vom Stamme רַמְעָה

Wegen עֲבֶסֶם und בִּרְתָּ vergleiche die vorangehende Inschrift. Zu רַמְעָה kann der arabische Ortsnamen رَمْعَ herangezogen werden.

27. (Eut. 604.) בָּלֵה נְעֵרַת הַמַּחְתָּת

בָּלֵה scheint weiblicher Eigennamen und הַמַּחְתָּת (مُحْتَاة) Epitheton zu sein.

28. (Eut. 651.) בְּרִזּוּ וְזַבָּל מְבִרְדָּת

Durch den Babil Zab'il aus Badîdat.

Zu בְּרִזּוּ vergleiche oben No. 22 Von der Radix زَبَّ hat das Arabische die n. propria زَبَّان (Ibn. Dor. 126) und زَبَاب (Muštabih 210). Einen Ortsnamen البَدَائِد pl. v. بَدِيدَة führt Hamdānî 181, 21 an, die Lesung ist dort jedoch zweifelhaft.

29. (Eut. 722.) לַחֲעֵבֶן הַבְּכֹרֶת

Von Thūban aus dem Stamme Bekr.

Im Arabischen bedeutet ثَعْبَانٌ "grosse Schlange, Drache," als weiblicher Eigennamen ist er mir sonst nicht bekannt. Ueber לַחֲעֵבֶן vergleiche oben No. 17.

30. (Eut. 383=496.) נָסַם | הֵן | סְבָאִי

Gism der Sabäer.

Diese kleine Inschrift ist nicht proto-arabisch, sondern, wie schon die Schrift zeigt, sabäisch. Der Schreiber derselben verzeichnet sich ausdrücklich als "Sabäer." Wie im Sabäischen sind hier auch als Worttrenner senkrechte Striche. Höchst interessant ist aber die Vorsetzung des Artikels הֵן, während man sonst im Sabäischen סְבָאִי oder סְבָאִיהֵן sagen würde. Zu נָסַם, wofür ich weder arabische noch sabäische Analogien anführen kann, vergleiche man den biblischen Eigennamen נִשְׁמוֹ (Neh. 2, 19 etc.).

del. / EMAG. 10.V.93

IX.

SOME ANCIENT MANUSCRIPTS OF THE ARABIC NEW TESTAMENT.

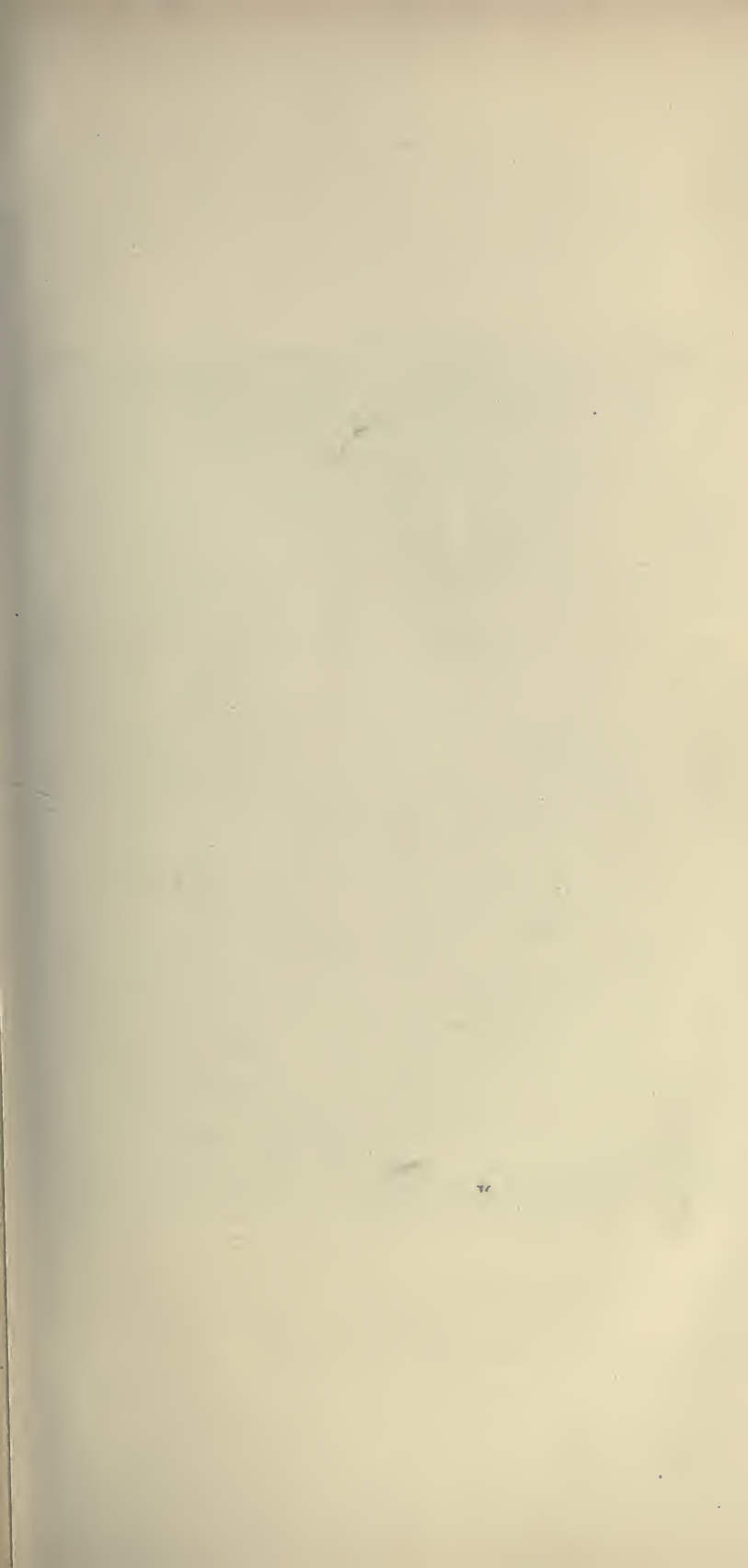
BY

MRS. LEWIS.

DURING a literary expedition which I made, in company with my sister, Mrs. James Y. Gibson, to Mount Sinai, we discovered and photographed, in the Convent of St. Catherine, an ancient Codex of the Four Gospels in Arabic, and also an imperfect one containing some of the Epistles of St. Paul. We spent a month in the monastery, receiving great attention and kindness from the monks, who were influenced in our favour, partly by the excellent introductions we brought with us, partly by their friendship for our friend Mr. Rendel Harris, who, when he heard we were going to Sinai, insisted on teaching us photography, and partly by the fact that we were able to make our wishes known to them in their native Greek. This is to us a singular illustration of the line of argument adopted by some of the would-be defenders of "Compulsory Greek" during a recent memorable struggle in the Cambridge Senate-House, who maintained that the great advantage to be derived from the study of this queen of Western languages is its utter uselessness.

The MSS. now in the Convent Library are written chiefly in Greek, Arabic, Syriac, and Iberian. The Greek MSS. are chiefly, I think, in the Show Library, *i.e.*, the one commonly seen by visitors. They have been catalogued by Gardhausen, but a more exhaustive catalogue than his is in the possession of the monks, drawn up by one of themselves in Modern Greek, and which they cannot see any reason for printing. The Syriac MSS. have been examined by Mr. Rendel Harris, for it was amongst them that he discovered the Apology of Aristides.

Whilst examining the Arabic MSS., we inquired of Galaktion, the courteous and not unlearned librarian, which of the New Testament Codices he considered the very oldest. He produced from the Show Library a manuscript of the Four Gospels, photographs of which I have the honour of showing you this morning.

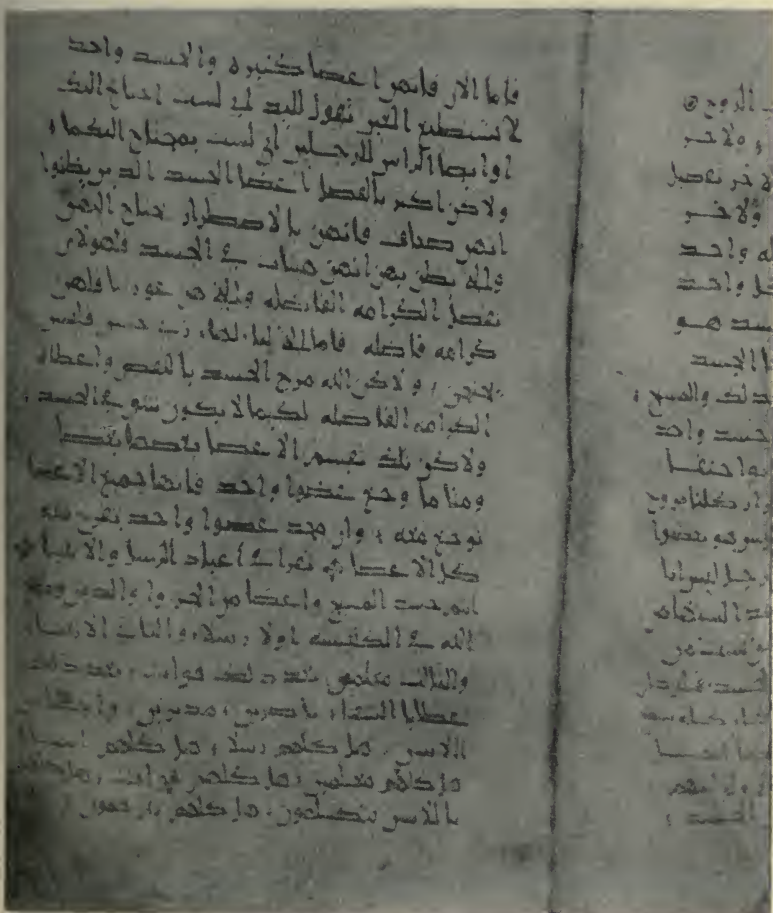


اذ جاءوا اليه فاجبروه بكل شيء كان. حنانيا
 ذمهم به فقال له ايها العبد السوء كل ذلك الذي ترضه
 لك اذ قلت اني اتم نكح وانت حقيقا ارجع طامع
 كما رجعتك انما فقص به فاسلمهم للمعدين حتى يوبخ
 كل جو كان عليه. كذلك وان الذي في السما
 يصنع بكم ان لم يقصر كل واحد منكم لاجله من
 قلوبكم خطاياهم. ليست اذ تبعه اعسى. فلما اتم يسوع
 كل هذا الكلام انطلق من الجليل فمال نحو امراضهم
 اليه عبر الاردن فاتبه تلاميذه من القريسين خبروه ويقولون
 الطلاق. عند ذلك اناه تفر من القريسين خبروه ويقولون
 له هل تجوز للرجل ان يطلق امراته على حرا وله فاجاب وقال لهم
 انتم تقروا ان الذي خلق انما خلقهم ذكرا وانثى. وقال
 لتلك يترك الرجل ابيه وامه ويلصق بامرته فيكونان
 جسا واحدا. فاذا ايهما لا يكونان ايسر وكثر
 واحد. فلما قد جمع الله فلا يفرق احدا. فقالوا له فلي
 يترك امره ان يترك كتاب كذاق ولسرجهما. فاما لهم
 ان مويس كنهوا قساوه قلوبكم امرهم ان يظفوا حاصم
 فاما من البدن فلم يكن كذلك. اقول لكم ان من طم
 مرتبه من غير زنا فانه يجعلها تزد. ومن تزوج مكرمه فانه
 زان. قال له تلاميذه ان كان ذلك عليه الرجل مع المرأة
 لا ينبغي التزوج. قال لهم. ليس كل احد يسمع لهذه الحكمة
 الا الذين اعطوا ان كثيرا اخصا ناولدوا من ظهور امهات
 خصيان واخرين اخصوهم الناس. واخرون اخصوا انفسهم
 من اجل ملكوت السما. من استطاع ان يسمع ويسمع عند
 ذلك فليدبر اليه ايضا لا يضع يده على عينيهم ويضع يده
 على اذانهم فقال لهم اترخوا العلم ان ياتوا ولا يسمعوا
 فان لئلا يملوا ملكوت السما. فوضع يده عليهم وذهب

PART OF AN ARABIC M.S. (PROBABLY X CENT.) OF THE FOUR GOSPELS.
 IN THE CONVENT OF ST CATHERINE, MOUNT SINAI.

(N^o 75.)

(From a Photograph by M^{rs} Lewis)



PART OF AN ARABIC M.S. (PROBABLY IX CENT.) OF THE EPISTLES.

IN THE CONVENT OF ST CATHERINE, MOUNT SINAI.

(N^o 155)(From a Photograph by M^{rs} Lewis)

This MS. is numbered 75. It is on parchment. The size of its pages is $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $6\frac{1}{2}$, and there are 26 lines on a page. The book contains 220 leaves, on 97 of which the Four Gospels are written. The remainder are occupied with a religious dissertation, which did not strike us as being of any particular value. One page in the Gospel portion is spoilt and not written on. We found no indication of a date in any part of the volume.

The Codex of Epistles I found myself whilst examining the Syriac and Arabic books in a small room at the foot of a dark staircase. It is part of a book numbered 155, which consists of 94 leaves. On the first 39 is written the Wisdom of Jesus, Son of Sirach. The remaining 49 contain the Epistles of St. Paul to the Romans, Corinthians, and Galatians, with a portion of the Epistle to the Ephesians. It is on fine vellum, $7\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The column contains 21 lines, and the writing is on the line. There is no date, as the cover, with the first page, and probably many of the pages at the end, are wanting.

We have compared both Codices with all the ancient versions to which we have had access, that is, with those of which Guidi gives extracts, and with the translations published by Lagarde, Gildemeister, and Walton. These include extracts from the Vatican Codex, No. 13, and from that of the Museo Borgiano, K. II. 31, both supposed to be of the eighth century. Also from another Codex in the Museo Borgiano, numbered K. II. 6.

We have thus ascertained that the version of these Sinai Codices differs considerably, not in meaning, but in expression, from all of these Codices, and that it yields to none of them in faithfulness to the original text, and indeed is sometimes distinctly superior, except in a very few instances, which we shall endeavour to point out. We observe first the name given to the Virgin Mary in the first chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel. In the words, "And Joseph her husband," the word husband, *arûs*, shows a curious mistake in spelling. This opens the door to speculation as to whether it indicates haste on the part of a man who knew better, or points to our Codex having been copied from an older version by an ignorant scribe. Professor Robertson Smith suggests that it points to a Babylonian origin.

We have chosen for comparison with Walton's version the Sermon on the Mount, the Lord's Prayer, the first four verses of Luke xvii., and some passages in the first and third chapters of St. John's Gospel. We next turn to the Codex of the Epistles, and choose as test passages the first six verses of Romans viii., also the five concluding verses of 2 Corinthians v. In both of these Walton's version translates the words "in Christ" by "in the faith of Christ." The Sinai Codex has simply "in Christ."

The strength of a language and the excellence of an author's style may sometimes be tested by the number of words which are required to embody his ideas; so here it may be worthy of remark that the passage we have chosen from 2 Cor. v. contains in our English revised version 118 words, in the Greek text 92, in Walton's version 82, and in the Sinai Codex 74. Walton also sometimes uses two words to express one word of the original, where our version uses only one.

There remains the question as to whether these Codices contain a translation straight from the Greek or from the Syriac. They are, so far as we have examined, so faithful to the original as to make us suppose that they are from the Greek. The only one of the passages I have quoted which may throw some light on the subject is that from the seventeenth chapter of St. Luke's Gospel, where the interpolation ("by the hand of whom," *i.e.*, by means of whom) occurs in the first verse, and "if he take the hand," in the fourth verse. It is interesting to observe that the first of these expressions occurs in the Syriac Peshito, and that the second does not. But I do not attach any importance to the expression "by the hand of whom." It is a better expression for the Greek than the word used in the Bible Society's version. But I shall be glad to know if any other Semitic version exists in which an equivalent to "if he take the hand," "*wa aqbala el yad,*" occurs in the fourth verse.

Another passage which may throw light on this subject is in the fifteenth chapter of St. Luke's Gospel, where we are told that as the elder son drew nigh to the house, he heard music and dancing. Walton's version gives these words. The Sinai Codex has, "he heard the sound of sporting and of joy." Why the word "dancing" is left out we can only conjecture. Possibly the idea of its taking place under the circumstances narrated in the parable did not commend itself to the Arab translator, as not being consonant to the habits of his country. To St. Luke, if he were a Greek, the idea might convey nothing incongruous, for we have ourselves seen the maidens of Orchomenos and of Arachova on Mount Parnassus dance both in the house and on the green sward on festive occasions, as they have done from time immemorial, whilst the men of the village looked on, generally with the view of choosing their wives. Whether the custom prevailed amongst Jewish girls in our Saviour's time we know not. But it is certain that the word "dances" is not translated in the Peshito version. I shall be grateful for any further light on this subject.

I shall be grateful also if any lady or gentleman present will help me to a guess at the approximate date of these Codices, by observing the formation of their letters as shown in our photographs. See Plates II. and III.

X.

PROLEGOMENA

TO AN EDITION OF

THE DIVĀN OF ḤASSĀN B. THĀBIT.

BY

H. HIRSCHFELD, PH.D.,

Professor of Semitic Languages at the Montefiore College, Ramsgate.

1. THE Divān of Ḥassān has been printed in three Oriental editions. The first is dated Tunis, 1281 H. (1864-65); the second is but a lithographed copy, produced under the auspices of the Punjab University; the third is dated Bombay, 1281 H. The first two editions accord with each other entirely, not only with regard to the text, but agree also in page and line. The Punjab edition is, however, inaccurately written, and has some indistinctly scrawled marginal notes, which neither exist in the other editions nor coincide with the scholia in the MSS. of the Divān. All three editions are prefaced by a biographical sketch, chiefly based on the articles in the 4th and 14th vols. of the Kitāb al Aghāni, the article in the 4th vol. of the Ta'rikh Dimāšq by Ibn 'Asākir, and the scholia of the Divān.

The poems in these editions are classified according to the alphabet of the rhymes, and often arranged in such a manner that the poems belonging to one style are grouped together. This system is, however, not maintained throughout, as, *e.g.*, the long Qassīdah Ḥassān is said to have recited on the occasion of the embassy of the B. Tamīm is printed together with the account of this incident (ed. Tunis, p. 110), whilst other poems traditionally connected with it are reproduced in their right places (*ibid.*, p. 91). The scholia between the verses found in the MSS. are omitted, but the superscriptions and small introductory notes are often given. The account of the *Day of Sumeiḥa*, which is alluded to twice in the Divān, with the poems attached to it, is to be found in an appendix (*ibid.*, p. 106), which further contains the above-mentioned account of the

meeting with the deputies of the B. Tamīm. Next follow a few verses addressed by Ḥassān to Al Ḥārith b. 'Āmir, of the B. Nawfal, who was killed at Badr (part of a poem reproduced p. 17²⁻⁶), and various other pieces. Among these are the satirical verses directed against some chiefs of the Qoreiṣ who had behaved treacherously to two Medinians who had come to Mecca in order to swear allegiance to the Prophet (ibid., p. 127). The text of the poems is, however, neither complete nor correct enough to answer all the requirements of a critical edition.

The *Rawdhat al'Adab* by Iskandar Āghā (Beirut, 1858), p. 120-128, contains an article on Ḥassān, with some of his poems. But it is of little importance.

To give a bibliographical account of poems attributed to Ḥassān, reproduced in printed works on Tradition, History, Geography, and Adab, &c., as well as of those translated in any European language, would here be out of place. But in my forthcoming edition these particulars will be found with each poem.

2. The Divān of Ḥassān, as it was handed down to us, is in the revision of Assukkari, according to the lectures of Moh. b. Ḥabīb. The libraries of Berlin, London, Paris, and St. Petersburg possess each a MS. copy. It would be superfluous to enter here into a lengthy description of these MSS., which are already spoken of in the catalogues of the libraries mentioned. I will, therefore, make but a few remarks concerning them. The division into three parts varies. In P., Part i. extends as far as N. 46 (Pt. and B. 26, L. 24), whilst in B., Part ii. begins with N. 24 (P. 45); L. has no division at all. Part iii. begins in P. with N. 106 (Pt. 130, B. 134), in B. with N. 106 (P. 137, Pt. 103). From this we can see that also the number of the Qassīdahs differs in the various MSS. B. has two poems (Ns. 34 and 153) not to be found in the others; on the other hand, the number of the poems is the smallest in B., because it embraces only those dictated and explained by Moh. b. Ḥabīb in his lectures; otherwise B., L., and Pt. agree on the whole. As to the arrangement of the Qassīdahs, at the first glance P. appears to differ considerably from the other codices. The reason is, however, only accidental, as in this codex the sheets had become disarranged, and were bound in disorder; or, which seems more probable, this happened to its original MS. For some poems are divided, and the separate parts stand in different places, whilst portions of others are written twice. Some poems appear double in all codices except B., which is a very young, and not very careful, copy of a good old archetype. Thus P. 19 rightly forms the end of P. 50, Pt. 21 =

187 (2 vv.), Pt. 28 (5 vv.) = 186 (2 vv.), P. 76 + 84 = Pt. 81, Pt. 91 (6 vv.) = 215 (5 vv.), P. 91 forms the first verse of P. 125 = Pt. 92, Pt. 41 (6 vv.) = 198 (11 vv.), P. 220 is joined to Pt. 211. For the rest, see the table of concordance below.

I have to mention some other MSS. which contain parts of the Divān. The Jamhara (Brit. Mus. Add. 19,409, fol. 96^{ro}, Cod. Berol. Spr., 1215, fol. 42^{ro}) offers the Qassīdah against Qeis b. Al Ḥaṭīm. In another MS. of the Brit. Mus. (Add. 7596, fol. 29), called Jāmi' albilāgha (جامع البلاغة), and containing a number of various poems, is reproduced a long poem (sixty-three verses) of meditative character which the author attributes to Ḥassān. It is, however, not to be found in the Divān, and other reasons also make it very doubtful whether Ḥassān is the author. Another work (Brit. Mus. Add. 9656, fol. 37^{ro}) of the same character contains some verses of a poem with as little right attributed to Ḥassān.

Cod. Berol., Wetzst., i. 29 (fol. 189^{ro}), has three verses not to be found in the Divān, but translated into German by Ahlwardt (*Ueber Poesie und Poetik der Araber*, p. 15). They are followed by N. 14 of the Divān. The Qassīdah, B. 34 (31 vv.), is also to be found in Cod. Berol., Peterm., 630, fol. 67^{ro} (30 vv.).

The work on Moslim tradition, 'Uyūnalāthār (Brit. Mus. Add. 9585), also gives many poems partly absent from the Divān. Ibn 'Asākir, in his article on Ḥassān, adds to some of his reproductions scholia which entirely differ from those in the MSS. of the Divān.

The Qassīdahs, Pt. 11, 119, 138, and 200, are missing in ed. Tunis (and the two other eds.).

It is a well-known fact that in the Divāns of poets often verses of different poems, but of the same metre and rhyme, were embodied by the collectors in one composition, and handed down as such. This seems to be the case with the very first poem in our Divān, which, according to the superscription, Ḥassān is said to have recited on the day of the conquest of Mecca. This poem contains the verses addressed to Abū Sofyān b. Al Ḥārith, with which Ḥassān conciliated the Prophet. If they in reality refer to this incident, they must be much older than the first part of the poem. I believe that this second part, beginning with v. 22, formed originally an independent poem, as it is not only in its character different to the first part, but also commences with introductory words (أَلَا أَبْلَغُ) often used in polemic poems.

Another instance is given in the poems, Pt. 40-41, the former bewailing the death of Al Ḥārith b. 'Amir, the latter that of Ḥobeib. Both poems are repeated in Pt. 198 as *one*, but in reversed order.

The number of the Islamic poems, which seems to be about double that of the pre-Islamic ones, cannot be established with accuracy. It is, however, probable that the large majority of the satires directed against persons and tribes hostile to Mohammed's cause are Islamic, though often they contain no allusion to Moslim matters.

From preceding observations it may be inferred that many poems have been handed down in the name of Ḥassān which cannot claim authenticity. Goldziher has already remarked (*Mohammedan. Studien*, i. p. 93) that he represents the glorification of the Anṣār with respect to their descentance from powerful South Arabian ancestors. Also many poems in honour of Mohammed and the Islām are open to suspicion as to their genuineness.

CONCORDANCE OF THE NUMBERS OF THE POEMS IN THE VARIOUS MSS.

Berlin, Cod. Spr. 1121.	London, Add. 19,539.	Paris, Suppl. 1432.	St. Petersburg, Mus. As. 18.
1-18	1-18	1-18	1-18
19-20	19-20	40-41	19-20
21	21 (= 194)	42 (= 194)	21 = (187)
22-28	22-28	43-48	22-28
29	29	49	missing
30	30	50 + 19	29
31-33	31-33	20-22	30-32
34	missing	missing	missing
36-42	34-40	23-29	33-39
43-45	41-43	30	40-42
46-54	44-52	31-39	43-51
55-57	53-55	51-53	52-54
60	56	54 + 58	55
58	57	55	56
missing	58	56	57
59	59	57	58
60-69	60-69	59-67	59-67
70	70	68	missing
71-77	71-77	69-75	68-74
79-84	78-83	77-82	75-80
85	84	83	missing
78	85	76 + 84	81
86-88	86-88	145-147	82-84
89-94	89-94	118-123	85-90
95	95 (= 225)	124 (= 225)	91 (= 215)
96	96	91 + 125	92
97-104	97-104	126-133	93-100
189	105	134	101
105	106	135	102

CONCORDANCE OF THE NUMBERS OF THE POEMS—(continued).

Berlin, Cod. Spr. 1121.	London, Add. 19,539.	Paris. Suppl. 1432.	St. Petersburg, Mus. As. 18.
missing	107	136	missing
106-113	108-115	137-144	103-110
114-119	116-121	85-90	111-116
120-127	122-129	92-99	117-124
128	130	100	missing
129-141	131-143	101-113	125-137
142	144	114	missing
missing	145	115	138
143-144	146-147	116-117	139-140
145-152	148-155	148-155	141-148
153	missing	missing	missing
154-188	156-190	156-190	149-183
190-191	191-192	191-192	184-185
28	193(=28)	193-48	186=28
21	194(=21)	194-42	187=21
192-198	195-201	195-201	188-194
missing	202	202	195
199-200	203-204	203-204	196-197
(45)	205(=43)	205(=30 ⁿ)	198(=41)
missing	206-208	206-208	199-20
"	209	209	missing
"	210-219	210-219	202-211
"	220	220	joined to 211
"	221	221	212
"	222	222	missing
"	223-224	223-224	213-14
(95)	225(=95)	225(=124)	215(=91)
missing	226-227	226-227	216-217
35	228	228	218
missing	229-232	229-232	219-222

XI.

ŠÂLIH B. ‘ABD-AL-KUDDÛS UND DAS ZINDÎKTHUM WÄHREND DER REGIERUNG DES CHALIFEN AL-MAHDÎ.

VON

IGNAZ GOLDZIHNER.

I.

Mit dem Emporkommen der ‘abbâsidischen Dynastie tritt im öffentlichen Leben des Islam ein neues Element in den Vordergrund, welches unter den unmittelbaren Vorgängern soviel wie völlig unbekannt war: die *Verfolgung der Ketzer*.

Auch die Umejjaden haben den der „Sunna“ sich Widersetzenden hart zugesetzt. Jedoch die Verfolgung der Dissenter galt diesen zunächst als gefährlichen Staatsfeinden. Chârîgiten und Šî‘iten werden von den Vertretern der herrschenden Macht nicht etwa wegen dogmatischer Sonderstellung verfolgt, sondern zunächst wegen ihrer Ablehnung des gültigen Chalifates. Wenn irgend ein falscher Prophet zum Tode verurtheilt wurde, so galt die Strafe dem Betrüger und Volksbethörer, dem Gaukler, nicht dem Feind des von den Theologen definirten Dogmas. Es gab ja noch keine feste Dogmatik, welche als Massstab dafür, was als *orthodox* gelten sollte, hätte dienen können.

Erst zur ‘abbâsidischen Zeit entwickeln sich Verhältnisse, welche zu Ketzerverfolgungen führten. Freilich wechselt die Norm für die Bestimmung des Begriffs des Ketzers. Was unter Al-Ma’mûn und Al-Mu‘tašim als *ketzerisch* galt, ist unter Al-Mutawakkil die unerlässliche Bedingung des *orthodoxen Bekenntnisses*.

Jedoch diese formellen Wandlungen ändern das Wesen des herrschenden Geistes nicht: die jeweilig als ketzerisch verpönte Lehre wird mit inquisitorischen Mitteln verfolgt. Was zu einer bestimm-

ten Zeit als Orthodoxie decretirt wurde, schickt sich unverzüglich an, die Orthodoxie von gestern zu verketzern. Bis zum VI. Jhd. d. H. entwickelten die Hanbaliten—die sich trotz der Vermittlungsdogmatik des As'arî im Besitze des alleinseligmachenden traditionellen Dogmas wähnten—gegen jede rationalistische Regung einen wahrhaften Terrorismus¹; bereits gegen Ende des VII. Jahrhunderts wird der bedeutendste Anhänger dieser Richtung, *Takî al-dîn ibn Tejmiya*, als Ketzer vor die Inquisition geschleppt und eingekerkert. Was er lehrte, galt aber noch anderthalb Jahrhunderte vorher als rechtgläubige muhammedanische Lehre.²

Ehe man jedoch an die Verfolgung der kleineren dogmatischen Minutien schritt, bethätigte sich der intolerante Sinn der 'abbâsidschen Regierungsmänner in der Ausmerzung von Irrlehren in grösserem Stil. Bekanntlich richtete sich die erste Religionsverfolgung gegen jene Leute, welche in die Hülle des siegreichen Islam altpersische Religionsideen mit mehr oder weniger Geschicklichkeit zu verbergen wussten, zuweilen diese Bemäntelung gar nicht für nothwendig erachteten, sondern den Dualismus und andere persische oder manichäische Lehren und mit denselben verbundene Uebungen dem Dogma und Brauch des Islam offen entgegensetzten. Solche Leute nannte man *Zindîke*, eine Benennung, die eine einheitliche Definition kaum verträgt, an welcher vielmehr die verschiedenen Schichten von Abtrünnigen einen Antheil haben.

Da sind dem Islam einverleibte altpersische Geschlechter, welche im Sinne der Šu'ûbijja an der Wiederbelebung persischer Religionsideen und Ueberlieferungen ein *nationales Interesse* haben und von diesem Gesichtspunkte gegen den *arabischen* Charakter des muhammedanischen Systems reagiren.³ Da sind andererseits *Freigeister*, welche gegen das starre Dogma des Islam überhaupt opponiren, die *positive Religion* verschmähen und sich zur Ausschliesslichkeit des Moralgesetzes bekennen. Unter letzteren entwickelt sich auch ein dem Islam fremder mönchischer Asketismus, dessen Spuren wohl

¹ Z.D.M.G. xli., p. 62.

² Das Material zur Kenntniss dieser für das Verständniss der theologischen Verhältnisse im Islam nach der Zeit Al-Ğazâlî's sehr bedeutsamen Bewegung ist aus folgenden Quellen zu schöpfen: Ibn Ĥağar al-'Askalânî, *Al-durar al-kâmina* (Hschr. der Kais. Hofbibliothek in Wien, Mixt. Nr. 245 i., fol. 76b—87b); Muḥammed b. 'Abdallâh, *Al-radd al-wâfir 'alâ man za'ama*, etc. (Hschr. der Kön. Bibliothek in Berlin, Wetzstein i., Nr. 157); Nu'mân Chejr al-dîn ibn al-Âlûsî, *Ğalâ al-'ajnejn fî muḥâkamat al-Aḥmadejn* (Bulâğ 1298, 4°, 362 SS.); Dâwûd Efendi al-Nağîsbendî al-Châlîdî: *Şulḥ al-ichwân min ahl al-îmân* (Bombay 1306, vgl. Catalogue périodique, Brill Nr. 694).

³ Diese Seite des Zindîkthumes hat besonders *Alfred v. Kremer* (Culturgeschichtl. Streifzüge, 36 ff.) ans Licht gestellt.

auf buddhistische Einflüsse zurückzuführen sind.¹ Diese und noch andere Erscheinungsformen der dem positiven Islam sich abkehrenden Tendenzen hat man von muhammedanischem Gesichtspunkte unter den allgemeinen, weiten Begriff des *Zindîk* vereinigt.

Bereits Al-Manşûr beginnt mit der Verfolgung der *Zindîke*. Unter anderen, die er zum Tode verurtheilte, wird ein gewisser *Al-Baklî* besonders erwähnt, der diesen Namen daher führte, weil er den Menschen mit dem Gras verglich, welches einmal abgemäht, spurlos verschwindet.² Man sieht auch hieraus, wie wenig bestimmt der Begriff des *Zindîk* ist. Allerdings ist es nicht wahrscheinlich, dass *Al-Baklî* diesen Namen wegen seines in unserer Quelle mitgetheilten Ausspruches erhalten habe. Es ist nicht ausgeschlossen, dass dieser *Zindîk* sich in Bezug auf die Natur der Pflanzen und Gräser zu jenen manichäischen Anschauungen bekannte, welche in der Polemik der Kirchenväter (Theodoret, Epiphanius, Augustinus) gegen den Manichäismus als eine seiner charakteristischsten Lehren hervortritt.³ Es könnte sein, dass *Al-Baklî* diesen Beinamen ähnlichen Anschauungen verdankte.

Erst der dritte 'Abbâside, Al-Mahdî, strebte die Verfolgung des *Zindîkthums* in systematischer Weise an und führte dieselbe mit unbeugsamer Strenge und Consequenz durch. In seinem politischen Testament an seinen Sohn und Nachfolger trägt er ihm die Fortführung dieses Verfolgungskampfes als oberstes politisches Interesse auf. „Errichte gegen sie (die *Zindîke*) die Galgen, und entblöße gegen sie das Schwert, so wirst du dich Allâh nähern, denn dein Ahnherr, Al-'Abbâs, ist mir im Traume erschienen und hat mich mit zwei Schwertern umgürtet und mir befohlen die Anhänger des Dualismus auszurotten.“⁴ Wie aus diesen Worten vorhergehenden Schilderung der Lehren und der Lebensführung der *Zindîke* ersichtlich ist, ist hier vorwiegend die in nationaler Richtung hervortretende religiöse Reaction gemeint.

Die Unterdrückung solcher Bestrebungen mochte nicht zum geringsten Theile eine Gewissensfrage für den Fürsten aus dem Geschlecht der 'Abbâsiden sein. Hatten sie ja—und dessen waren sie sich wohl bewusst—durch die politische Begünstigung der persischen Elemente gegenüber dem arabischen das offene Hervortreten der persischen Reaction auch auf religiösem Gebiete erst möglich ge-

¹ Rosen, Zapiski vi. (1892), 336—340.

² *Ajânî* xi. 75: *وإنما سمى بذلك لأنه كان يقول الإنسان كالقطة فإذا مات لم يرجع*

³ Vgl. die Stellen in *Otto F. Lachmann's* Noten zu den *Confessiones* des heil. Augustinus iii., 10, p. 400.

⁴ *Al-Tabarî* iii., 588.

Ausforschung und Vernichtung dieser Feinde der muhammedanischen Religion zu thun war, beweist mehr als die *einzelnen* zu unserer Kenntniss gelangten Fälle von Verfolgung und Bestrafung die Thatsache, dass der Chalife die Ausführung dieser seiner vornehmlichen Regentensorge förmlich *organisirte* und zu einer festen *Institution* innerhalb seiner Regierung erhob. Er—nicht erst Hârûn al-rašîd¹—creirte ein eigenes neues Amt, das des *Grossinquisitors* zur Ueberwachung und Ausforschung der Zindîke: صاحب الزنادقة oder عريف الزنادقة². Der erste dem dies Amt übertragen wurde, scheint eben jener ‘Abd al-Ġabbâr gewesen zu sein,³ der die Zindîk-Verfolgung in Syrien mit so bedeutendem Erfolge betrieben hatte. Ihm folgt ‘Omar al-Kalwâdî,⁴ nach dessen Tode wurde Muḥammed b. Isâ Ḥamdawejhi zu seinem Nachfolger ernannt.⁵

Es ist uns eine Mittheilung darüber zugänglich, wie eifrig diese Inquisitoren die ihnen zukommenden Denunciationen behandelten; denn es ist ziemlich selbstverständlich, dass die Anwesenheit eines solchen Amtes, die weitgehendste Ketzerriecherei im Gefolge hatte. Der Dichter Abû-l-‘Atâhija, der uns noch im Laufe gegenwärtiger Erörterungen begegnen wird, wohnte in der Nachbarschaft einer Frau, welche die nächtlichen Andachten, die der in seinen älteren Jahren der Askese zugewendete Dichter in seiner einsamen Zelle zu verrichten pflegte, aufmerksam beobachtete. Die unwissende Frau konnte sich dies fromme Geheimniss nicht anders erklären, als dass Abû-l-‘Atâhija den Mond anbete. Dies kam zu den Ohren des Inquisitors Ḥamdawejhi, der es sich nicht verdriessen liess, sein Nachtquartier in der Wohnung jener Frau zu nehmen, und von diesem Posten aus die nächtliche Beschäftigung des anrühigen Dichters einer scharfen Beobachtung zu unterziehen. Der in liturgischen Dingen besser bewanderte Ḥamdawejhi konnte aber nichts anderes gewahren, als dass Abû-l-‘Atâhija nach Vollendung der gesetzlich obligaten Nachtandacht, noch private Gebete (Kunût) verrichtete und hernach ruhig sein Nachtlager aufsuchte. Er war so gerecht, den Dichter nicht weiter zu behelligen.⁶

¹ Wie bei Kremer, *Culturgesch. Streifzüge*, 40.

² Also nicht „chef des Zendîks (Ismâ’iliens)” wie dies Dugat (*Hist. des philosophes et des théologiens musulmans*, p. 75) aufgefasst hat.

³ *Ġānî* iii. 72, 3, امرالمهدى عبد الجبار صاحب الزنادقة فصر بشاراً

⁴ *Tab.* iii. 519 ult. 522, 1.

⁵ *Ġānî* iii., 129, 6.

⁶ *Ibid.* iii., 142, unten.

II.

Die arabischen Nachrichten, welche als Quellen für die Geschichte jener Zeiten dienen, haben uns die Namen wohl nicht aller, aber doch der bedeutendsten Männer aufbewahrt, die während der Regierung Al-Mahdî's unter dem Verdacht des Zindîkthums hingerichtet wurden. Unter diesen Namen begegnet uns auch der des Dichters *Abû-l-faḍl Şâliḥ b. 'Abd al-Ḳuddûs*.¹

Nur sehr spärliche biographische Daten stehen uns hinsichtlich dieses Opfers der 'abbâsidischen Ketzerriechelei zur Verfügung. Wir wissen nicht, ob Şâliḥ, der sich *Al-Azdî* nannte, ein wirklicher Angehöriger dieses arabischen Stammes gewesen, oder ob er demselben bloss durch Affiliierung angehörte. Bei Ibn Challikân wird er *maulâ al-Azd* genannt. Von seinem Lebenslauf wissen wir nur so viel, dass er—nach einer Nachricht des Aḥmad Ibn 'Adî—in Baṣra sich mit religiösen Vorlesungen beschäftigte und dem dortigen Volke erbauliche Erzählungen vortrug,² später (dies Datum ist unverbürgt)³ nach Damaskus zog, um seine Lehren daselbst zu verbreiten, und dass ihn Al-Mahdî aus Syrien herbeiholte und unter dem Verdacht des Zindîkthums im Jahre 167 hinrichten und ans Kreuz schlagen liess. Der Chalife soll die Untersuchung gegen ihn persönlich geführt und ihn nach eingehender Unterredung vorerst freigelassen haben; bald jedoch empfand er Reue über diesen Akt der Nachsicht. Zu diesem Sinneswechsel soll ihn der Umstand veranlasst haben, dass Şâliḥ sich als Verfasser folgender Verse bekannte:

Der Greis kann von seinen (angeborenen) Eigenschaften nicht lassen, so lange ihn nicht der Staub des Grabes deckt;

Wird er auch davon abgeschreckt, (immer wieder) kehrt er zu seiner Thorheit zurück, sowie der Kranke in sein Leiden zurückfällt.⁴

Der Chalife schöpfte aus diesem Spruch des Şâliḥ wenig Hoffnung, dass er von seinen Irrlehren fortan sich zum rechten Glauben wenden könnte. So musste er denn der über Zindîke verhängten Todesstrafe verfallen.⁵

Worin jene Irrlehren bestanden, würden wir natürlich am gründlichsten aus den bis auf unsere Zeit erhaltenen Gedichten des Şâliḥ erschliessen wollen. Eine aufmerksame Betrachtung der als Anhang zu diesen Blättern gesammelten Reste lässt uns in denselben keine Spur eines ketzerischen Gedankens entdecken, selbst wenn

¹ Ganz unmöglich ist die Angabe im *Kâmil* 227, nach welcher die Verfolgung des Dichters unter 'Abdalmalik b. Merwân stattgefunden haben soll.

² Bei Al-Kutubî i., 191, Al-Dahabî, *Mizân al-i'tidâl* i., 411: مَعْنَى كَان يَعْظُ بِالْبَصْرَةِ وَيَقُصُّ عَلَيْهِم

³ *Sarḥ maḡānî al-adab* i., 255.

⁴ Unten Nr. 23, vv. 12, 13.

⁵ *Al-Damîrî* i., 36.

wir uns auf den Standpunkt des 'Omar al-Kalwâdî oder des Ḥamda-wejhî stellen wollten. Šālih's Sprüche bewegen sich im Kreise allgemeiner Moral und Lebensweisheit. In denselben fasst er die Resultate der während eines langen Lebens—in Nr. 18 nennt er sich einen Siebzigjährigen—fortgesetzten Beobachtung der Menschen und ihrer Verhältnisse zusammen. Er thut dies in einer Reihe von didaktischen Sprüchen, *أمثال*, wie solche in der arabischen Literatur seit alter Zeit gangbar waren.¹ Die literarische Kritik macht ihm den Vorwurf, dass er in der Pflege dieser Literaturgattung zu einseitig war.² Al-Marzubânî (st. 384) bezeichnet ihn als *حكيم الشعراء* d. h. einen Dichter, dessen Verse die *حكمة* zum Gegenstande haben.³

Was den Inhalt der *Amṭâl* des Šālih anbetrifft, so bewegt er sich mit seinen Sprüchen, wenn wir etwa von einigen pessimistischen Grundsätzen absehen,⁴ im Kreise jener Lebensanschauung, welche auch die ältere arabische Spruchweisheit (*ḥikma*) zum Ausdruck bringt. Am häufigsten lehrt er die Pflicht, die anvertrauten Geheimnisse zu wahren und sich vor deren Preisgebung zu hüten (19, 26, 34), und die Mässigung und Behutsamkeit in Rede und Antwort; man möge lieber schweigen, und selbst wenn man in seinem Rechte ist, nicht antworten, auf die Gefahr hin für einfältig gehalten zu werden (7, 9, 28, 29, 30 : 4, 36, 41, 43, 47).⁵ Er rühmt die wahre, warnt vor falscher Freundschaft⁶ (3, 16, 45, 48). Besser ein vernünftiger Feind als ein thörichter Freund (30 : 2). Als Klugheitsregel empfiehlt er, den Feind durch freundliches Entgegenkommen zu entwaffnen (24).⁷ Er bemerkt es tadelnd, dass man sich häufig Fernstehender annimmt und die Nächsten vernachlässigt (5, vgl.

¹ Z. B. *Zuḥejr* 16: 50—59, das didaktische Gedicht des 'Abda b. al-Ṭabīb, Mufaḍḍ. Nr. 19, des Ḥarīṭ b. al-Ḥilizza, Mejd. I. 324; des Jaz'ū b. al-Ḥakam al-Ṭakafī, Ḥamāsa 529; *Al-Kuṭāmī* war *كثير الأمثال*, Tebr. Ḥam. 170, 17 u. a. m. Vgl. über diese Literatur meine *Muhammed. Studien* ii. 204—206.

² Ibn Rašīk, *Al-'Umda fī maḥāsini al-šī'r* (ed. Tunis): *في الشعر: وهذه الاشياء (الامثال) في الشعر: انما هي بُدْ تُسْتَحْسَنُ وَنُكْتُ تُسْتَظَرُّ مَعَ الْقَلَّةِ وَفِي النَّدْرَةِ فَاِمَّا اِذَا كَثُرَتْ فَهِيَ دَالَّةٌ عَلَى الْكُفَّةِ فَلَا يَجِبُ لِلشَّعْرَانِ يَكُونُ مَثَلًا كُلُّ وَحِكْمَةٍ كَشَعْرٍ صَالِحٍ بَنَ عَبْدِ الْقُدُّوسِ فَقَدْ قَعَدَ بِهِ عَنْ اَصْحَابِهِ وَهُوَ يَقْدِمُهُمْ فِي الصَّنَاعَةِ لِكثَارَةِ مِنْ ذَلِكَ*

³ Bei *Al-Kutubī* i., 191, in der Ausgabe unrichtig: *حكيم الشعر*.

⁴ Weltflucht, in dem bei *Šarḥ magānī al-adab* i., 255, citirten Spruch:

Wir sind aus der Welt ausgezogen, wir gehören nicht zu ihren Leuten;
Wir gehören weder zu den in ihr Verstorbenen, noch zu den Lebenden;
Wenn in einer Angelegenheit der Kerkermeister zu uns kömmt,
So staunen wir und sagen: dieser kömmt aus der Welt.

Dieser Spruch ist im Kerker gedichtet worden. Vgl. Nr. 21: 3, Gleichgültigkeit gegen die Angelegenheiten der Welt.

⁵ Auch *Zejnabijja* v. 41—43.

⁶ Vgl. *ibid.* v. 37 ff.

⁷ *Ibid.*, v. 49.

jedoch 1). Er empfiehlt Billigkeit gegen Mitmenschen im Sinne der alten Regel: „Was du nicht willst, dass man dir thue, das thue einem Anderen auch nicht“ (17, 35).¹ Sehr eingehend beschäftigt er sich mit den gesellschaftlichen Gegensätzen, welche die ungleiche Vertheilung der Glücksgüter (30 : 8) nach sich zieht. „Würden die Glücksgüter nach Massgabe der Verstandesgaben vertheilt werden, so müssten die meisten Menschen Bettler sein (30 : 10).² Er bekennt sich zur Anschauung, dass das Leben ohne Einfluss und äussere Stellung werthlos „dass ein Zahnstöcher nützlicher ist, als ein solches Leben“ (25). Einem Leben in Armuth sei der Tod gleichgeachtet (2). „Nach dem Glauben giebt es kein grösseres Gut als den Reichtum, und nach dem Unglauben nichts Schlechteres als die Armuth“ (18). Dem Verhängnisse kann man nicht aus dem Wege gehen (11, 32); mehr als von ernstem Streben hänge das Gelingen vom جَد ab (30 : 9, 37). Ebenso wie er die Vergänglichkeit des irdischen Glückes betont (12) und vor übermässiger Freude warnt, da die Fröhlichkeit oft mit dem Untergang des Fröhlichen endet (14), unterlässt er es auch nicht, den Unglücklichen auf den günstigen Umschwung seiner Lage zu vertrösten (15). Er verhöhnt die Zuversichtlichkeit der Thoren (23 : 6. 7), und hat die Ueberzeugung, dass die Ungerechtigkeit nicht dauerndes Gut gewährt, dass der Unrechtleidende, der seinem Feinde verzeiht, nicht zu Schanden wird (44). Man möge sich vor Selbsterniedrigung hüten (49). Sehr eindringlich wird die Dankbarkeit für empfangene Wohlthaten empfohlen; wer den Menschen nicht dankbar ist, ist es auch Allāh gegenüber nicht (4, 22). Häufig weist er auch auf die Macht angeeigneter und anerzogener Charaktereigenschaften hin. Ebensowenig wie der edle Mensch, kann auch der Niedrige seinen Charakter ändern. Das Wasser des salzigen Meeres kann nimmermehr trinkbar gemacht werden (39). Man müsse daher die Verbesserung des Menschen in seiner Jugend anstreben, so lange sein Charakter schmiegsam und bildungsfähig ist—er gebraucht gerne das Gleichniss vom dürrn und saftigen Holz—da die durch Gewohnheit festgewurzelten Eigenschaften und Neigungen im Alter nicht mehr ausgetrieben werden können (6, 23 : 10. 13, 31).

¹ Sehr oft in *Ḥadīṭ-Sprüchen*, z. B. das oft citirte, ما يحبّ لا يؤمن احدكم حتى يحبّ لاخيه ما يحبّ (Nr. 12 der *Arbaʿīn*), vgl. *Usd al-gāba* i., 70, 18; iii., 275, penult. *Ibn Kutejba*, *Maʿārif* 203, 13. Bei *Abū-l-ʿAtāhiya* wird dies Gebot ausdrücklich ohne Unterschied auf alle Menschen ausgedehnt, ارحم الناس جميعا فهم ابناء جنسك, *Diwān* 186 unten, 187, 4. Vgl. *Al-Tirmidī* ii. 50, 5: وأحبّ للناس ما تحبّ لنفسك تكن مسلمًا.

² *ʿAtāh.* 270, 5: والفقر ذلّ, vgl. *Zejnab.* v. 20, يزرى به الشهم الأتسب, والفقر شين للرجال لأنه * يزرى به الشهم الأتسب, الحاجة الموت الأكبر, *Z.D.M.G.* xxii., 346, i. Vgl. *Muhammed. Studien* ii., 384, Anm. 4.

Auch über Wissenschaft und das Studium derselben spricht sich Šāliḥ ibn ‘Abd al-Ḳuddūs in den uns erhaltenen Gedichten aus. Er warnt vor Oberflächlichkeit in der Forschung (23 : 1. 2) und ermahnt wiederholt, in zweifelhaften Fällen, von Kundigen Belehrung einzuholen (27 : 2, 51). Dass er gegen unbefugte Einmischung der Unwissenden Widerspruch erhebt (38) und vor grundloser Verdächtigung warnt (40), ist vielleicht ein Widerhall seiner persönlichen Erfahrungen mit frommen Schnüfflern und dogmatischen Ketzern.

Mit seiner Weltanschauung steht er in schroffem Gegensatz gegen die herrschende Richtung der Gesellschaft, die ihn umgiebt. Er macht derselben den Vorwurf, dass sie sei, wie auf der Weide lagerndes Rindvieh, das sich nicht um die Vernunft kümmert. Spricht man ihr von Fischen und Gemüse so ist man ein geistreicher Mensch; redet man ihr von den Kapiteln der Wissenschaft, so kömmt man in den Ruf der Langweiligkeit (33). „Geblichen sind jene, welche lügen wenn sie sprechen, und untergegangen sind jene, welche wahrhaft sind wenn sie sprechen“ (30 : 15).

Wir können nach alledem behaupten, dass der Gesamtüberblick über die uns bekannt gewordenen Dokumente der Gesinnung des Šāliḥ b. ‘Abd al-Ḳuddūs wohl seine Bezeichnung als صاحب الفاسفة (bei Al-Dahabî)—متكلم nennen ihn andere—als motiviert erscheinen lässt, aber durchaus keinen Anhaltspunkt dafür bietet, dass er Zindîk oder gar “Dualist,”¹ ثنوى¹ gewesen sei. Vielmehr bekennt er sich als correcter Muhammedaner zu الجليل الواحد (15), dessen Allwissenheit und Allgegenwart ihm über allen Zweifel erhaben ist (8). Auch im Uebrigen geht er den islamischen Religionsbegriffen nicht aus dem Wege; vgl. Dîn und Kufr (18), Auferstehung يوم البعث (25 : 2, nur figürlich angewendet).²

III.

Unter den verschiedenartigen Elementen, welche der allgemeine Begriff des Zindîk in sich vereinigt, haben wir oben auch jene Leute erwähnt, welche ganz ohne Rücksicht auf den positiven Islam, seine Dogmen und Gesetze, der auf Weisheit und allgemeine Moral ge-

¹ *Abû-l-Maḥāsîn* i., 420 ult.

² Seine Unschuld an dem ihm zur Last gelegten Unglauben lässt ihn die nachsichtigere Nachwelt in einem Traumgesicht bezeugen : إني وردت على ربِّ ايس يخفى عليه : خافية وأنه استقبلني برحمته وقال قد علمت براءتك مما كنت تُرمي به *Al-Kutub* i., 192.

gründeten Lebensführung das Wort reden und dieselbe wohl auch durch ihr eigenes Verhalten vergegenwärtigen. Auch Menschen dieser Art kommen in den Verdacht des Zindîkthums, so wie es z. B. dem jüngeren Zeitgenossen des Şâlih, dem asketischen Dichter *Abû-l-'Atâhija* erging. Obwohl die Gedichte desselben genug positiv muhammedanisches Material enthalten, überwiegt dennoch die auf allgemeine Sittlichkeit und Entsagung gerichtete Tendenz¹ und die Leute wollen aus seinen asketischen Gedichten den Eindruck empfangen haben, dass der Dichter wohl viel vom Tode redet, aber niemals von Paradies und Hölle, von Auferstehung und Weltgericht.² Freilich belehrt uns sein in Bejrût (1886) herausgegebener *Dîwân* eines Anderen; denn auf Schritt und Tritt drängen sich uns darin die Stellen auf, in denen der Dichter diese eschatologischen Momente als Mittel für seine asketische Belehrung verwendet.³ Ob aber nun die gegen *Abû-l-'Atâhija* nach dieser Richtung erhobenen Anklagen begründet waren oder nicht, uns genügt hier die Kenntniss der Thatsache, dass jene Beschuldigung geeignet war, als Beweiss für die zindîkische Gesinnung des Dichters zu dienen.⁴ Auch *Hârûn al-raşîd* will lieber die alten Liebesgedichte von ihm hören—zu den älteren Liedern des spätern Asketen hatten Sänger und Sängerinnen Melodien componirt und sie wurden bei munteren Gelagen gesungen⁵—als diese Zuhd-Gedichte, denen er sich urplötzlich gewidmet. Die im Islam herrschenden theologischen Richtungen mochten sich mit diesen, auf allgemeine Moral gegründeten Belehrungen nicht identificiren; denn das religiöse Leben im Sinne der herrschenden Theologie konnte der dogmatischen und gesetzlichen Subtilitäten nicht ent-rathen und erblickte keine kleine Gefahr in der von diesen feinen Spitzfindigkeiten sich völlig loslösenden Morallehre und dem allgemeinen *Tauhîd* zu welchem sich *Abû-l-'Atâhija* bekannte. Nur aus diesem Gesichtspunkte findet die sonderbare Thatsache ihre Erklärung, dass der Chalife den Dichter bloss deswegen in den Kerker wirft,

¹ Als ob das Thema des gesetzlichen Lebens umgangen werden sollte, klingt der allgemeine Grundsatz (p. 200, 5 v. u.): *وَإِذَا سَكَنَ إِلَى الْهُدَى وَأَطَعَهُ الْبَيْتَ حَلَّةٌ صَالِحِ الْأَعْمَالِ*:

² *Āğânî* iii. 142 (vgl. p. 126) beschuldigt ihn *Manşûr b. 'Amnâr*, ein aus Chorasân nach dem 'Irâk eingewanderter frommer Gottesmann: *أَبُو الْعَتَاهِيَةِ زَنْدِيقٌ أَمَّا تَرُونَهُ لَا يَذْكُرُ فِي شِعْرِ الْجَنَّةِ وَلَا النَّارِ وَأَمَّا يَذْكُرُ الْمَوْتَ فَقَطًّا*

³ Nur folgende Stellen, welche sich unschwer vermehren liessen: p. 21, 14 ff.; 35, 5; 69, 8; 203, 4; 251, 10; 258, 13; 259, 6. 8; 263, 1; 268, 3 u.; 275, 4; 281, 9. 11.

⁴ Bemerkenswerth ist das Urtheil des 'Abdallâh b. al-Mu'tazz bei *Ibn Chalikân*, ed. Wüstenf. iv., 32: *رَبْعَةٌ مِنَ الشُّعْرَاءِ سَارَتْ أَسْمَاءُهُمْ بِخِلَافِ أَعْمَالِهِمْ فَأَبُو الْعَتَاهِيَةِ سَارَ شِعْرُهُ بِالزُّهْدِ وَكَانَ عَلَى الْإِلْحَادِ*

⁵ Vgl. *Āğânî* ix. 56 oben, 127, 4 ff.

weil er sich nicht bewegen lässt, Liebesgedichte zu verfertigen, sondern seine Muse ausschliesslich dem *Zuhd* widmen will.

Es ist nicht ausgeschlossen, dass die asketische Lehre des Dichters auch an nichtmuhammedanische Elemente anknüpft. Ich denke hierbei an eine bemerkenswerthe Stelle in seinem *Dîwân*,¹ an welcher man wohl nicht ohne Bemerkung vorübergehen kann :

إِذَا أَرَدْتُ شَرِيفَ النَّاسِ كُلَّهُمْ * فَانْظُرْ إِلَى مَلِكٍ فِي زِيٍّ مَسْكِينٍ
ذَاكَ الَّذِي عَظُمَتْ فِي النَّاسِ حُرْمَتُهُ * وَذَاكَ يَصْلُحُ لِلدُّنْيَا وَلِلدِّينِ

Wer ist der „König im Bettlergewand,“ hochgeehrt unter den Menschen, den der Dichter als „edelsten aller Menschen“ rühmt, und als höchstes Musterbild hinstellt? Es erscheint wohl sonderbar, aber man ist nichtsdestoweniger versucht, zu denken, dass der Dichter dabei *Buddha* und seinen Lebenslauf im Sinne hat.

Auch *Şâlih* b. ‘Abd al-*Ḳuddûs* scheint aus ähnlichen Gründen in die Liste der *Zindîke* gerathen zu sein. Von wirklichem *Zuhd* hören wir zwar in den uns bekannten Gedichten des *Şâlih* soviel wie nichts; aber wir empfangen den Eindruck, dass auch ihn die Dogmen und Gesetze des positiven Islam wenig kümmern, und dass seine Lehre auf die Forderung einer Lebensführung im Sinne der Weisheit und Moral hinausläuft.

Die buntesten äusseren Einflüsse hatten zu jener Zeit von verschiedenen Angriffspunkten aus feindliche Gegensätze gegen die kirchliche Orthodoxie hervorgebracht. Wie durch innere Wahlverwandtschaft an einander gewiesen, finden sich die Vertreter des oppositionellen Geistes, obwohl sie nicht in derselben Richtung wandeln, zu einem Kreise zusammen. Die ihnen gemeinsame Negation, ihr Widerspruch gegen den positiven Islam, ist das einigende Element. So treffen wir auch *Şâlih* in Gesellschaft von *Baśśâr* b. *Burd*, ‘*Amr* b. ‘*Ubejd*, *Wâsil* b. ‘*Aṭâ*’ und einem nicht mit Namen bezeichneten Anhänger der *Sumanijja*.² In einem andern Berichte erscheint er als Mitglied einer aus noch bunteren Elementen zusammengesetzten Gesellschaft, welcher auch Juden (der Sohn des *Rês gâlûthâ*) und Christen angehören.³

Dieser innige Verkehr, die geistige Berührung mit Bekennern verschiedener Religionen, Parteien und Sekten macht es denn auch begreiflich, dass man in diesen Kreisen zur Aneignung fremder

¹ Ed. *Bejrût*, 274, 10.

² *Ağânî* iii., 24.

³ *Abû-l-Mahâsin* i. 420.

Ideen leicht Gelegenheit fand und denselben sich zugänglich zeigte. Es ist nicht auffallend, wenn wir z. B. bei Şâliḥ b. ‘Abd-al-Ḳuddûs (27 : 1) einen Vers finden, der unzweifelhaft an Matth. vii. 7 erinnert ; dass 46 : 1 in irgend welchem Zusammenhange mit Matth. v. 29 steht, bezweifeln wir wegen der Parallelen, die wir in der Anmerkung zur Stelle aus altarabischen Dichtern beibringen konnten. Hingegen ist 23 : 4, ff. in dieser Beziehung bemerkenswerth. Da beruft sich der Dichter auf ein altes Weisheitsbuch, aus dem er die Sprüche entlehnt habe.¹ Wir müssen es jedoch Beleseneren überlassen, die Quellen derselben nachzuweisen.

In den folgenden Blättern geben wir eine Sammlung von didaktischen Sprüchen des Şâliḥ b. ‘Abd-al-Ḳuddûs. Der grösste Theil derselben ist der *Ḥamāsa des Buḥturī* (Bḥt.) entnommen (Leidener Hschr. Warner, Nr. 889, Catalogus 2. Aufl. I, 355) ; Ergänzungen boten die *Amālī* des *Abū ‘Alī al-Ḳālī* (Hschr. der Pariser Bibl. nation. Suppl. ar. nr. 1935), *Ibn Rasīk’s Al-umda fī maḥāsini al-ši‘r* (soweit mir im Druck zugänglich nach ed. Tunis, 1865, eine Stelle nach der Handschrift der Leipziger Universitätsbibliothek, D.C. Nr. 328), *Da-mīrī’s Ḥajāt al-ḥajwān* (Bûlâḳ 1284), *Şihâb al-dīn al-Ḥafāğī’s Tīrâz al-mağālīs* (Bûlâḳ 1284), *Al-Kutubī’s Fawât al-wafajât* (Bûlâḳ 1299).

In der poetischen Chrestomathie

کتاب مجموعة ازهار من ربی الاشعار

vom Aleppoer Maroniten *Iljās Farağ Bâsīl al-Kasruwânī* (Jerusalem, Druckerei der Franciskaner, 1866) sind mehrere Proben aus Gedichten des Şâliḥ zerstreut ; leider ist die Quelle nicht angegeben, aus welcher Bâsīl seine Auszüge geschöpft hat. Unter denselben befindet sich (S. 17—20) eine didaktische *Ḳaṣīde* von 60 Verszeilen mit der Angabe :

القصيدۃ الزینبیه² فهذه البعض ينسبها للإمام علیّ وأما الأصحّ هی من قول صالح بن عبد القدّوس والله اعلم

Wir begnügen uns mit einem Hinweis auf dies gedehnte Stück, als dessen Verfasser man mit grosser Wahrscheinlichkeit den Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḳuddûs annehmen kann ; die *Ḳaṣīda Zejnabijja* bietet, wie aus einigen Anmerkungen zu unseren gegenwärtigen Mittheilungen ersichtlich ist, manche Parallele zu dem aus anderen Sprüchen be-

¹ Die Einkleidung erinnert an *Hudējl* 56 : 15.

² Diese Benennung hat die *Ḳaṣīde*, weil der Dichter in der Einleitung über seine Trennung von einer Zejnab klagt.

kannten Ideengang des Şâlih. Diese Kaşîde ist auch in der vor-
 trefflichen Bejrûter Chrestomathie *Mağânî al-adab* (IV., 89—92)
 mit einem Texte, der einige Varianten bietet, abgedruckt. Wir
 vermissen allerdings einige Zeilen: vv. 2, 3, 20 (Tadel der Armuth),
 vv. 46—49 (Schilderung der Treulosigkeit der Weiber), welche nach
 den bekannten Principien der Editionen der Imprimerie catholique
 wohl mit Absicht weggelassen worden sind. In derselben Chresto-
 mathie sind auch noch Stücke aus sonstigen Gedichten des Şâlih
 enthalten, welche wir aus anderen Quellen vervollständigen konnten,
 II., 135=Nr. 23: 10—13, 6; III., 119=Nr. 45: 1—4; die im
 Commentarbande I., 255, gelieferten biographischen Notizen ent-
 haltenen fünf Verszeilen,¹ von deren Wiederabdruck wir hier abge-
 sehen haben. Unsere Nummer 30 ist *Mağânî* iii., 60 vollständig
 enthalten; darum wollte ich mich anfangs bloss auf die Mittheilung
 einiger *Variae lectiones* zu diesem Stücke beschränken. Ich glaube
 jedoch für den Wiederabdruck derselben durch den Umstand ent-
 schuldigt zu sein, dass in obigem Aufsatz öfters auf einzelne Verse
 dieses Lehrgedichtes hingewiesen wurde.

¹ Zwei von denselben sind auch bei Al-Kutubi I. 193 oben.

هَذَا مَا تَيْسَّرَ لَنَا جَمْعُهُ وَتَرْتِيبُهُ

مِنْ أَمْثَالِ

أَبِي الْفَضْلِ صَالِحِ بْنِ عَبْدِ الْقَدَّوسِ بْنِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ عَبْدِ الْقَدَّوسِ

الْأَزْدِيِّ الْبَصْرِيِّ

وَحِكْمِهِ

1. (*Bht.* 331.)

مَا أَقْرَبَ النَّازِلِ بِي فِي غَدٍ * وَإِنْ تَرَاخَتْ دَارُهُ عَنْ لِقَاءٍ¹

2. (*ibid.* 311.)²

لَيْسَ مَنْ³ مَاتَ فَاسْتَرَا حَ بِمَيِّتٍ * إِنَّمَا الْمَيِّتُ مَيِّتُ الْأَحْيَاءِ
إِنَّمَا الْمَيِّتُ مَنْ تَرَاهُ⁴ كَثِيبًا⁵ * كَاسِفًا بِالْهُ قَلِيلَ الْغِنَاءِ⁶

3. (*ib.* 258.)

تَوَدُّ تَدْوِي ثُمَّ تَزْعُمُ أَذْنِي * صَدِيقُكَ إِنْ الرَّأْيَ عَنْكَ لَعَائِبُ
وَلَيْسَ أَخِي مِنْ وَدْنِي وَهُوَ حَاضِرٌ * وَلَكِنْ أَخِي مِنْ وَدْنِي وَهُوَ غَائِبُ

¹ MS. لقاء.

² Die beiden Zeilen können dem Şâlih kaum zugeschrieben werden; er hat dieselben wohl nur citirt, nicht selbst verfasst. In der *Chizânât al-adab*, iv. 187, 8 v. u. und LA. ii. 396, s.v. موت gehören sie zu einem Gedicht des vorislamischen Dichters 'Adî b. al-Râ'id. Dass man die Verse bei gegebener Gelegenheit gerne citirt hat, ist auch aus dem Umstande ersichtlich, dass Al-Buḥturî den ersteren als Citat (بيت قاله شاعر من) in sein eigenes Gedicht eingeflochten hat (*Chiz.* ib. 188, 9); derselbe Vers wird auch aus dem Diwân des 'Alî angeführt (*Zeitschr. für die Kunde des Morgenl.* ii. 196), vgl. auch 'Atâh. 40, 12 ff.

³ MS. مر.

⁴ Chiz. يعيش.

⁵ LA. شَيْئًا.

⁶ Chiz. الرخاء; LA. الرجاء.

4. (ib. 162.)

وَأَشْكُرُ فَإِنَّ الشُّكْرَ مِنْ * حَقٍّ عَلَى الْإِنْسَانِ وَاجِبٌ
لَا تَرْجُو¹ مَنْ لَا يَشْكُرُ الذِّ * سَعَمَى وَيَصْبِرُ فِي الْعَوَاقِبِ

5. (ib. 172.)

مِنْ النَّاسِ مَنْ يَصِلُ الْآبَعْدِينَ * وَيَشْقِي بِهِ الْأَقْرَبَ الْأَقْرَبُ

6. (ib. 341.)

[قَدْ يَنْفَعُ الْأَدَبُ الْأَطْفَالَ فِي صِغَرٍ * وَلَيْسَ يَنْفَعُهُمْ بَعْدَ الْكِبَرِ الْأَدَبُ]²
إِنَّ الْغُصُونَ إِذَا قَوْمَتَهَا اعْتَدَاتِ * وَلَا يَلِينُ إِذَا قَوْمَتَهُ الْخَشَبُ³

7. (ib. 339.)

وَيَمْنَعُنِي التَّكَلُّمُ فِي كَثِيرٍ * أَقُولُ لَمَّا يَكُونُ مِنَ الْجَوَابِ
وَمَنْ خَشِيَ الْجَوَابَ أَقُولُ نَطْقًا * وَإِنْ كَانَ الْمَقْدَمُ فِي الصَّوَابِ

8. (ib. 330.)

إِذَا مَا خَلَوْتَ الدَّهْرَ يَوْمًا فَلَا تَقُلْ * خَلَوْتُ وَلَكِنْ قُلْ عَلَى رَقِيبٍ
فَلَا تَحْسِبَنَّ اللَّهَ يَغْفُلُ سَاءَةً * وَلَا أَنْ مَا يَخْفَى عَلَيْهِ يَغِيبُ⁴

¹ Randlesart; im Text steht لا خير, womit jedoch eine grammatisch unbedenkliche Construction nicht leicht herzustellen ist (لا خير فيمن = لا خير من).

² Der erste Vers ist aus Bâsil 50 wo das letzte Wort أدب.

³ Der zweite Vers ist in Sa'âd's Gulistân, Kap. vii. در تأثیر تربیت (hikâje 3) anonym angeführt (ed. Gladwin, Lond. 1809, p. 182; Stambul 1288, p. 187): ليس ينفعك التقويم بالخشب.

⁴ „wenn auch das, was er vorbringen könnte, richtig wäre.“

⁵ Die beiden Zeilen werden anonym angeführt bei Al-Kâfî, fol. 102a.

9. (*Chizân. adab* iv. 285; v. 2. 4: *Tebr. Ham.*, 401, v. 3.¹)

وَيَذَانُونَهُ وَقَدْ صَمَّ عَنْهُمْ * ثُمَّ قَالُوا وَلِلنِّسَاءِ نَحِيبُ
مَا الَّذِي عَاقَ² أَنْ تَرَدَّ³ جَوَابًا * أَيُّهَا الْمَقُولُ⁴ الْأَدِيبُ⁵ الْأَرِيبُ⁶
إِنْ تَكُنْ لَا تُطِيقُ رَجَعَ جَوَابٍ⁷ * فَبِمَا قَدْ تَرَى وَأَنْتَ خَطِيبُ
ذَوِ عِظَاتٍ⁸ وَمَا وَظَّظْتَ بِشَيْءٍ * مِثْلَ وَعْظِ السَّكْرَتِ⁹ إِنْ لَا تُجِيبُ

10. (*Ibn Rasîk*, Hschr. fol. 216b.)

إِذَا وَتَرْتَ أَمْرًا فَاحْذَرِ عِدَاوَتَهُ * مَنْ يَزِرْعِ الشُّوكَ لَا يَحْصِدُ بِهِ الْعِنَبُ¹⁰

11. (*Bht.* 331.)

وَلَا بُدَّ مِنْ اتِّبَانِ مَا حُمَّ فِي غَدٍ * وَإِنْ قَرِيبٌ كُلَّمَا هُوَ آتٍ¹¹

12. (*ib.* 304.)

وَكُلُّ أَخِي ثَرَاءٌ¹² سَوْفَ يُمَسِّي * فَقِيرًا وَالْجَمِيعُ إِلَى شَتَاتٍ

13. (*ib.*)

وَكُلُّ جَمِيعٍ فِي نَعِيمٍ وَغَبْطَةٍ * رَهِينَةٌ بَيْنَ عَاجِلٍ وَشَتَاتٍ

14. (*ib.* 367.)

رَبِّ مِرَاجٍ قَدْ دَعَا * حَقَّقًا¹³ إِلَى الْمَمَازِجِ

¹ Bei *Al-Kālî*, fol. 73a wird dies Gedicht in folgender Weise eingeführt: وانشدنا ابو عبد الله نفظويه قال انشدنا ابو العباس احمد بن يحيى الخوى لمطيع بن اياس الكوفى يرثى يحيى بن زياد المازنى

² Kālî: غال. ³ K: تحير. ⁴ الوصف: K. ⁵ Chiz K: اللطيف.

⁶ K: الاديب. ⁷ K: لا تحير جوابا. ⁸ K: فى مقالى. ⁹ K: بالمت.

¹⁰ Vgl. meine Bearbeitung des *Hutef'a*: Anhang. *Z.D.M.G.* xlvii. 192.

¹¹ Vgl. *Abû-l-Atâhija* 41, 8; 46, 4. ¹² MS. ثرا. ¹³ MS. حمأ (oder etwa حقأ?).

15. (ib. 324.)

لَا تَيَاسَنَّ مِنْ أَنْفِرَاجٍ شَدِيدَةٍ * قَدْ تَنْجَلِي الْعِمْرَاتُ وَهِيَ شَدَائِدُ
كَمْ كَرِبَةً أَقْسَمْتُ أَلَّا تَنْقُضِي * زَلَّتْ وَفَرَجَهَا الْجَلِيلُ الْوَاحِدُ

16. (ib. 93.)

وَصَافٍ إِذَا صَافِيَّتَ بِالْوَدِّ خَالِصًا * تَجِدُ مِثْلَ مَا أَخْلَصْتَ عِنْدَ ذَوِي الْوَدِّ

17. (ib.)

وَلَا تَسْمِ النَّاسَ مِنْكَ الَّذِي * إِذَا هُوَ ذَاكَ لَمْ تَصْطَبِرْ
وَمَنْ يَرْضَ لِلنَّاسِ مِنْ نَفْسِهِ * بَمَا هُوَ رَاضٍ لَهَا لَا يَجْرُ¹

18. (Bâsil 74.)²

بَلَوْتُ أُمُورَ النَّاسِ سَبْعِينَ حِجَّةً * وَجَرَبْتُ صَرْفَ الدَّهْرِ فِي الْعُسْرِ وَالْيُسْرِ
فَلَمْ أَرِ بَعْدَ الدِّينِ خَيْرًا مِنَ الْغِنَى * وَلَمْ أَرِ بَعْدَ الْكُفْرِ شَرًّا مِنَ الْفَقْرِ

19. (Bht. 329.)

وَإِذَا أَعْلَنْتَ أَمْرًا حَسَنًا * فَلْيَكُنْ أَحْسَنَ مِنْهُ مَا تَسِرُ
فَمَسِرُّ الْخَيْرِ مَوْسُومٌ بِهِ * وَمَسِرُّ الشَّرِّ مَوْسُومٌ بِشَرِّ

20. (ib. 336.)

إِذَا كُنْتَ ذَا لُبٍّ فَإِيَّاكَ وَالَّتِي * إِذَا ذُكِرْتَ أَصْبَحْتَ مِنْهَا تَعْذِرُ

¹ Vgl. oben p. 8, und Ahmed al Faṣni, *Al-maḡālis al-saniyya* (Kairo, 1299) 50 :
وفي كلام بعضهم : أرض للناس ما لنفسك ترضى.

² Vgl. ein im *Rauḍ al-aḥjār* (Auszug aus *Rabṭ' al-abrār*) Wiener Hschr. N.F. 63, fol. 42b (der Druck ist mir jetzt nicht zugänglich) im Namen des Šāfi' angeführtes Gedicht.

21. (*Kutubî*, I. 191.)

أَنْسَتْ بِوَحْدَتِي وَلَزِمْتُ بَيْتِي * فَتَمَّ الْعِزُّ لِي وَنَمَا السَّرُورُ
وَأَدْبَنِي الزَّمَانُ فَلَيْتَ أَنِّي * هَجَرْتُ فَلَا أَزَارُ وَلَا أَزُورُ
وَلَسْتُ بِقَائِلٍ مَا دُمْتُ حَيًّا * أَفَامَ الْجَنْدُ أَمْ نَزَلَ الْأَمِيرُ

22. (*Bht.* 162.)

لَا شُكْرَ هِشَامًا فَضْلَ نِعْمَتِهِ * لَا يَشْكُرُ اللَّهُ مَنْ لَا يَشْكُرُ النَّاسَ¹

23. (*Tirâz*, 204.)²

يَا أَيُّهَا الدَّارِسُ عَلِمًا أَلَا * تَلْتَمِسُ³ الْعَوْنَ عَلَى دَرَسِهِ
لَنْ تَبْلُغَ الْفَرْعَ الَّذِي رُمَتْهُ * إِلَّا بِبَحْثٍ مِنْكَ عَنْ أَسِهِ
فَاسْمَعْ لَأَمْثَالٍ إِذَا أَنْشَدَتْ * ذُكِّرَتْ الْحَزْمَ وَلَمْ تَنْفِسْ
إِنَّا وَجَدْنَا فِي كِتَابٍ خَلَّتْ * لَهُ أَدْهَرُ⁴ لَاحٍ فِي طَرَسِهِ
أَتَقْنَهُ الْكَاتِبُ وَاخْتَارَهُ * مِنْ سَائِرِ الْأَمْثَالِ مِنْ حَدْسِهِ
لَنْ تَبْلُغَ الْأَعْدَاءُ مِنْ جَاهِلٍ * مَا يَبْلُغُ الْجَاهِلُ مِنْ نَفْسِهِ⁵

¹ Dieser Satz wird als Ḥadīṭ angeführt; *Usd al-ğāba* I. 98, 10, اشكر الناس لله اشكروهم للناس, *Chiz. ad.* II. 43, 9 v. u.; vgl. *Ichtijār al-dīn al-Ḥusejnī, Asās al-iktibās* (Stambul, 1298) 56.

² VV. 1, 2, *Bht.* 196; 12, 13, 10, 11, *ibid.*—6, 12, 13, 10, 11 *Dam.* I. 36.—10, 11, 12, 13, 6. 'Ikd I. 277.—6, 12, 13, 10, 11 *Al-Dahabī, Mizān al-i'tidāl* I. 411 (in sehr corruptem Text).

³ *Tir.* ولا يلتمس.

⁴ Wegen des Metrums verändert aus دهر des Textes.

⁵ *Dam.* 'Ikd

⁶ Dieser Vers bei *Kutubī* I, 191, 23.

وَالْجَاهِلُ الْأَمَنُ مَا فِي غَدٍ * لِحِفْظِهِ فِي الْيَوْمِ أَوْ أَمْسِهِ
 وَخَيْرٌ مَنْ شاورَتْ ذُو خَبْرَةٍ * فِي وَاضِحِ الْأَمْرِ وَفِي لَبْسِهِ
 لَا يَقْبِضُ الْعِلْمُ إِلَّا أَمْرًا * يُعِينُ بِاللَّيْلِ عَلَى قَبْسِهِ
 وَإِنْ¹ مَنْ أَدْبَتَهُ فِي الصَّبَا * كَالْعَوْدِ يَسْقَى الْمَاءَ² فِي غَرَسِهِ
 حَتَّى تَرَاهُ مُورِقًا نَاضِرًا³ * بَعْدَ الَّذِي قَدْ كَانَ⁴ مِنْ يَبْسِهِ
 وَالشَّيْخُ⁵ لَا يَتْرُكُ اخْلَاقَهُ * حَتَّى يُوَارَى فِي ثَرَى رَمْسِهِ⁶
 إِذَا ارْعَوْى عَادَ إِلَى جَهْلِهِ * كَذَى الضَّأ⁷ عَادَ إِلَى نُكْسِهِ⁸

24. (Bht. 34.)

وَالْقَ أَخَا الضَّغْنِ بِأَيْنَاسِهِ * لِيُتَدْرِكَ الْفُرْصَةَ فِي أُنْسِهِ
 كَاللَّيْثِ لَا يَعْدُو عَلَى قَرْنِهِ * إِلَّا عَلَى الْإِمْكَانِ مِنْ فَرْسِهِ⁹

25. (ib. 310.)

إِذَا كُذِّتَ لَا تَرْجَى لِدَفْعِ مِلْمَةٍ * وَلَمْ يَكْ لِلْمَعْرُوفِ عِنْدَكَ مَوْضِعٌ
 وَلَا أَنْتَ ذُو جَاهٍ يُعَاشُ بِجَاهِهِ * وَلَا أَنْتَ يَوْمَ الْبَعْثِ لِلنَّاسِ تَشْفَعُ
 فَعَيْشُكَ فِي الدُّنْيَا وَمَوْتُكَ وَاحِدٌ * وَعَوْدٌ خِلَالٍ مِنْ حَيَاتِكَ أَنْفَعُ

¹ Tir. فان.² Bht. الماء.³ Bht. ناضرا مورقا.⁴ Tir. ابصرت.⁵ Bht. ohne .⁶ Anonym angeführt Ibn Rasf, ed. Tunis 102, 17.⁷ Tkd, الصبا.⁸ Tkd, بلسه.⁹ Vgl. Hud. 97 : 30. Zejnabijja, vv. 49, 50 :

وَالْقَ عَدُوَّكَ بِالْعَيْهِ وَلَتَكُنْ * مِنْهُ زَمَانُكَ خَائِفًا تَتَرَبَّ
 وَاحْدَرُهُ يَوْمًا أَنْ تَرَاهُ بِاسْمًا * فَالَّيْثُ يَجِدُو نَابَهُ إِذْ يَغْضَبُ

26. (ib. 118.)

لَا تُذِيعْ سِرًّا إِلَى طَالِبِهِ * مِنْكَ إِنَّ الطَّالِبَ السِّرَّ مُذِيعٌ
وَأَمَّا سِرُّكَ إِنَّ السِّرَّ إِنْ جَاوَزَ اثْنَيْنِ سَيَنْمِي وَيَشِيعُ¹

27. (ib. 195.)

مَنْ يَسْلُ يَعْطُ وَمَنْ يَسْتَفْتِحُ الْ * بَابَ يَفْتَحُهُ بَطِيٌّ² أَوْ سَرِيعٌ
وَسَلَّ النَّاسُ بِمَا تَجَاهَلُهُ * وَاسْتَمِعَ إِنْ أَخَا اللَّبِّ سَمِيعٌ

28. (ib. 336.)

لَا تَنْطِقَنَّ بِمَقَالَةٍ فِي مَجْلِسٍ * تَخْشَى عَوَاقِبَهَا وَكُنْ ذَا مَصْدَقٍ
وَاحْفَظْ لِسَانَكَ أَنْ³ تَقُولَ فِتْنَتَكَ * إِنَّ الْبَلَاءَ مُوَكَّلٌ بِالْمَنْطِقِ⁴

29. (ib. 338.)

إِنِّي لَأَعْرِضُ عَنْ أَشْيَاءَ أَسْمَعُهَا * حَتَّى يَظُنَّ رِجَالُ أَنْ بِي حَقًّا
أَخْشَى جَوَابَ سَفِيهِ لَأَحِيدَهُ لَهُ * فَسَلِّ يَظُنُّ رِجَالٌ أَنَّهُ صَدَقَا

30. (Damîrî, I. 35.)⁵

الْمَرْءُ يَجْمَعُ وَالزَّمَانُ يَفْرِقُ * وَيَظِلُّ يَرْقَعُ وَالْخُطُوبُ تَمَزِقُ
وَلَا يَعْادَى عَاقِلًا خَيْرَ لَهُ * مِنْ أَنْ يَكُونَ لَهُ صَدِيقٌ أَحْمَقُ

¹ *Kejs b. al-Haddādīja*, Ag. xiii. 7, 2:

فَلَا يَسْمَعُ سِرِّي وَسِرُّكَ ثَالِثٌ * أَلَا كُلُّ سِرٍّ جَاوَزَ اثْنَيْنِ شَائِعٌ

Ibn Ja'is, 1221 (Ibn Ja'is, 1221) إذا جاوز الاثنين سر فانه يبت وتكثر الوشاة فحين : (قمن، LA)، *Kejs b. Chaṭīm* : مذل (بشر وتضييع للحديث). *Asās*, مذل :

وَلَا تَمْزِلُ بِسِرِّ كُلِّ سِرٍّ * إِذَا مَا جَاوَزَ الْاِثْنَيْنِ فَاشِي

² So im Nomin.

³ *Bâsîl* 57 ult. لا.

⁴ Dem Abû Bekr zugeschriebener Spruch, Mejd. I. 14.—Der ganze Vers wird vom Grammatiker Al-Kisâ'î (st. 183) angeführt (es ist nicht ersichtlich, ob als Citat oder als von ihm selbst verfasst) bei Ibn al-Anbârî *Nuzhat al-alibbâ' fî ṭabaḥāt al-udabâ'* (Kairo, 1294) p. 90, vgl. auch 'Abdallâh Fikrî, *Naẓm al-la'âlî* (Kairo, 1303) 3, 17, يقول.

⁵ Al-Dahabî l. c. 1—4, 7, 8, 14, 15. Magâni vgl. oben. p. 13.

فَارْبَا¹ بِنَفْسِكَ أَنْ تُصَادِقَ أَحْمَقًا * إِنَّ الصَّدِيقَ عَلَى الصَّدِيقِ مُصَدِّقٌ
 وَزِينُ الْكَلَامِ إِذَا نَطَقْتَ فَنَمَّا * يَبْدَى عُقُولَ ذَوِي الْعُقُولِ الْمُنْطِقُ³
 وَمِنْ الرِّجَالِ إِذَا اسْتَوَتْ أَخْلَاقُهُمْ * مَنْ يُسْتَشَارُ إِذَا اسْتَشِيرَ فَيُطْرَقُ
 حَتَّى يَحِلَّ بِكُلِّ وَادٍ قَلْبُهُ * فَيَرَى وَيَعْرِفُ مَا يَقُولُ فَيَنْطِقُ
 لَا الْفِينَكِ ثَاوِيًّا فِي غُرْبَةٍ * إِنَّ الْغَرِيبَ بِكُلِّ سَهْمٍ يَرِشِقُ
 مَا النَّاسُ إِلَّا عَامِلَانِ فَعَامِلٌ * قَدْ مَاتَ مِنْ عَطَشٍ وَآخِرُ يَغْرَقُ
 وَالنَّاسُ فِي طَلَبِ الْمَعَاشِ وَأَنَّمَا * بِالْجَدِّ يَرْزُقُ مِنْهُمْ مِنْ يَرْزُقُ
 لَوْ يَرْزُقُونَ النَّاسَ حَسَبَ عَقُولِهِمْ * الْفَيْتُ أَكْثَرُ مَنْ تَرَى يَتَصَدَّقُ⁴
 لَكِنَّهُ فَضْلُ الْمَلِكِ عَلَيْهِمْ * هَذَا عَلَيْهِ مُوسَى وَمُضِيقُ
 وَإِذَا الْجِنَازَةُ وَالْعَرُوسُ تَلَاقِيَا * وَرَأَيْتَ دَمْعَ نَوَائِمٍ يَتَرَقُّ⁵
 سَكَتَ الَّذِي تَبَعَ الْعَرُوسَ مَبْهَتًا * وَرَأَيْتَ مَنْ تَبَعَ الْجِنَازَةَ يَنْطِقُ
 وَإِذَا أَمْرُو لَسَعْتَهُ أَفْعَى مَرَّةً * تَرَكَهُ حِينَ يَجْزُ حَبْلٌ يَفْرُقُ⁶
 بَقَى الَّذِينَ إِذَا يَقُولُوا يَكْذِبُوا * وَمَضَى الَّذِينَ إِذَا يَقُولُوا يَصْدُقُوا¹⁰

31. (Bht. 340.)

إِذَا مَا رُضَّتْ ذَا سِنٍّ كَبِيرٍ * عَلَى غَيْرِ الَّذِي يَهْوَى عَصَا

¹ D. فارغ.² D. لا.³ D. بالمنطق.⁴ Die Anwendung von صدق v. in der Bedeutung "Almosen verlangen" entspricht nicht dem klassischen Sprachgebrauch, *Ta'lab, Fas'ih*, ed. Barth 47, 10.⁵ Ibn al-Atir al-Gazari, *Al-matal al-sa'ir* 65, الْفَيْتُ جَمْعًا كَلَّهْ يَتَفَرَّقُ.

Dam. erklärt: وقالوا من لسعته أفعى من جرّ للبل يخاف.

32. (*Kâmil*, 227, *Ibn Raşîk*, ed. Tunis, 168, 15.)

إِنْ يَكُنْ مَا بِهِ أَصَبَتْ جَلِيلًا * فَذَهَابُ الْعِزَاءِ فِيهِ أَجَلٌ
كُلُّ آتٍ لَا بُدَّ آتٍ وَذُو الْجَهِّ * لِي مَعْنَى وَالْغَمِّ وَالْحُزْنِ فَضْلٌ

33. (*Tirâz*, 176.)

بَقِينَا فِي بِهِ ثُمَّ رَاتِعَاتٍ * تَجُولُ وَلَا إِلَى عَقْلِ تَوَلُّو
فَإِنْ حَدَّثَتْ عَنْ سَمَكٍ وَبَقْلٍ * فَانْتَ لَدَيْهِمْ رَجُلٌ نَبِيلٌ
وَإِنْ حَدَّثَتْ عَنْ أَبْوَابِ عِلْمٍ * فَانْتَ لَدَيْهِمْ قَدِيمٌ ثَقِيلٌ

34. (*Bht.* 112.)

لَا أَخُونُ الْخَلِيلَ فِي السَّرِّ حَتَّى * يَنْقُلَ الْبَحْرُ فِي الْغُرَابِيلِ نَقْلًا²
أَوْ تَمُورُ الْجِبَالِ مَوْرَ السَّحَابِ * مِثْقَلَاتٍ وَعَتٍ مِنَ الْمَاءِ حَمَلًا

35. (*ib.* 93.)

لَا تَرْضَ لِلْأَخْوَانِ غَيْرَ الَّذِي * تَرْضَى بِهِ إِنْ نَابَ أَمْرُ جَلِيلِ

36. (*ib.* 332.)

وَلِاصَمْتُ خَيْرٍ مِنْ كَلَامٍ بِمَائِثٍ * فَكُنْ صَامِتًا تَسْلَمُ وَإِنْ قُلْتَ فَاعْدِلْ

37. (*ib.* 232.)

الْمَرْءُ يَسْعَى ثُمَّ يَسْعُدُ جَدَّةً * حَتَّى يَزِينُ بِالَّذِي لَمْ يَفْعَلِ

38. (*Al-Kâli* 102a, *Bht.* 203.)

رَأَيْتُ صَغِيرَ الْأَمْرِ تَنْمُو شُرُونَهُ * فَيَكْبُرُ حَتَّى لَا يَحْدُ وَيَعْظُمُ
وَإِنْ عَنَاءٌ أَنْ تَفْهَمَ جَاهِلًا * وَيَحْسِبُ جَهْلًا أَنَّهُ مِنْكَ أَفْهَمُ
مَتَى يَبْلُغُ الْبَنِيَانُ يَوْمًا تَمَامَهُ * إِذَا كُنْتَ تَبْنِيهِ وَغَيْرِكَ يَهْدِمُ
مَتَى يَنْتَهَى عَنْ سَيِّئٍ مِنْ أَتَى بِهِ * إِذَا لَمْ يَكُنْ مِنْهُ عَلَيْهِ تَنْدَمُ³

¹ Kâm. شاك

² Vgl. *Ka'b b. Zuhejr*, ed. Guidi, v. 9. كما تُسَكِّ الْمَاءَ الْغُرَابِيلِ.

³ V. 4 nur bei *Al-Kâli*.

39. (Bht. 319.)

وَلَنْ يَسْتَطِيعَ الدَّهْرُ تَغْيِيرَ خَلْقِهِ * لَنْتَيْمُ وَلَنْ يَسْتَطِيعَهُ مُتَكَرِّمٌ¹
 كَمَا أَنَّ مَاءَ الْمَرْئِ مَا ذِيْقَ سَائِغٍ * زُلَالٌ وَمَاءُ الْبَحْرِ يَلْفِظُهُ الْفَمُ

40. (ib. 369.)

أَلَا إِنَّ بَعْضَ الظَّنِّ إِثْمٌ فَلَا تَكُنْ * ظَنُّنَا لَمَّا فِيهِ عَلَيْكَ إِثْمٌ
 وَإِنَّ ظُنُونَ الْمَرْءِ مِثْلُ سَحَابٍ * لَوَامِعٌ² مِنْهَا مَاطِرٌ وَجَاهٌ

41. (ib. 332)

اطْلِ الصَّمْتَ فَإِنَّ الصَّمْتَ حُكْمٌ * وَإِذَا قُمْتَ فَبِالْحَقِّ فَقُمْ

42. (ib. 334.)

وَإِنَّ لِسَانَ الْمَرْءِ مِفْتَاحُ قَلْبِهِ * إِذَا هُوَ أَبْدَى مَا يُجِنُّ عَنِ الْفَمِ

43. (ib. 338.)

وَإِنْ أَمْرًا لَمْ يَخْشَ قَبْلَ كَلِمَةِ الْ- * جَوَابَ فَيَنْهَى نَفْسَهُ غَيْرُ حَازِمٍ

44. (ib. 168.)

وَمَا غَنِمَ الْعَادِي عَلَى النَّاسِ ظَالِمًا * وَلَا خَابَ مَظْلُومٌ عَفَا حِينَ يَظْلَمُ

45. (ib. 92.)³

قُلْ لِلَّذِي لَسْتُ أَدْرِ مِنْ تَلَوْنِهِ * أَنْصَحُ أَمْ عَلَى غِشٍّ يُدَاجِينِي⁴
 إِنِّي لَأَكْثَرُ مِمَّا سَمَعْتَنِي عَجَبًا * يَدُ تَشْجٍ⁵ وَآخَرَى مِنْكَ تَاسُونِي⁶

¹ Diese Zeile ist Bht 323 von *Jahjā* b. *Zijād* angeführt.

² MS. عُ.

³ Bāsil 69 : vv. 1—4.

⁴ B. يَنَاجِينِي.

⁵ MS. تَشْجٍ, Bas. تَسْجٍ.

⁶ B. تَاسِينِي.

تَغْتَابُنِي عِنْدَ أَقْوَامٍ وَتَمْدَحُنِي * فِي آخِرِينَ وَكُلَّ عَنكَ يَأْتِينِي
 هَذَا أَمْرَانِ شَتَّى بَيْنَهُمَا¹ * فَكَفَّ لِسَانَكَ عَنِّي وَتَرَبَّيْنِي
 ٥ لَوْ كُنْتُ أَعْرِفُ مِنْكَ الْوَدَّ هَانَ لَهُ * عَلَى بَعْضِ الَّذِي أَصْبَحْتَ تُؤَلِّينِي
 رَبِّ أَمْرِي أَجَنَّبِي² عَنِ مُلَاطَفَتِي * مَحْضُ الْأَخْوَةِ فِي الْبَلَوِ يُؤَسِّدُنِي
 وَمُحِيفِ بِسْوَالٍ عَنِ مَكَاشِرَةٍ³ * مَغْضٍ عَلَى وَغَرٍ فِي الصَّدْرِ مَكُونِ
 لَيْسَ الصَّدِيقُ بِمَنْ يَخْشَى غَوَائِلَهُ⁴ * وَلَا الْعَدُوُّ عَلَى حَالٍ بِمَأْمُونِ
 أَرْضَى عَنِ الْمَرْءِ مَا أَصْفَى مَوَدَّتَهُ * وَلَيْسَ شَيْءٌ مَعَ الْبَغْضَاءِ يَرْضِينِي

46. (*Kutubî*, I. 191.)

يَا صَاحِبَ لَوْ كَرِهْتَ كَفَى مُنَادِمَتِي * لَقُلْتُ إِذْ كَرِهْتَ كَفَى لَهَا بَيْنِي⁶
 لَا أَبْتَغِي وَصَلَ مَنْ لَا يَبْتَغِي صِلَتِي * وَلَا أَبَالِي حَبِيبًا لَا يُبَالِيَنِي

¹ هذا وشيان قد ناقشت بينهما B.

² Nach Prof. De Goeje MS. أجبنِي.

³ Vgl. *Ag.* xi. 104, 10, تُكَاشِرُنِي كَرَمًا كَأَنَّكَ نَاصِحٌ, in der I. Conj. Al-Buchârî, *Adab*, Nr. 81.
 انَّ شَرَّ النَّاسِ مَنْ يَكْشُرُ: Al-Muṭaḳḳib, *Chiz. adab*, iv. 431, اَنَا لَنَكْشُرُ فِي وَجْهِ أَقْوَامٍ وَأَنَّ قُلُوبَنَا لَتَلْعَنُهُمْ
 لِي حِينَ يَلْقَانِي وَإِنْ غَابَ شَتَمُ

⁴ MS. بمن.

⁵ MS. لَهُ.

⁶ In der *Ham. Bht.* 98, wo obiger Spruch nicht vorkommt, sind einige Verse von alten Dichtern zusammengestellt, in welchen derselbe Gedanke in ähnlicher Weise ausgesprochen ist, *Al-Muṭaḳḳib al-'Abdî* (= Nöldeke-Müller, *Delectus vet. carmin. arab.* 2 ult.):

فَلَا وَأَبِيكَ لَوْ كَرِهْتَ شِمَالِي * يَعْنِي مَا وَصَلْتُ بِهَا يَعْنِي
 إِذَا لَقِطَعْتُهَا وَلَقُلْتُ بَيْنِي * كَذَلِكَ أَجْتَوِي مِنْ يَجْتَوِينِي

B. ibid. *Abû Kināna al-Sullamî*:

يَا قَوْمَ لَوْ أَحْدَى يَدَيَّ أَبَتْ * إِلَّا الْفِرَاقَ قَطَعْتُهَا مِنِّي

47. (*Bht.* 332.)

لَا تَكْثُرَنَّ حَشَوَ الْكَلَا * مَ إِذَا اهْتَدَيْتَ إِلَى عَيْرِنِهِ
وَالصَّمْتُ أَحْسَنُ بِالْفَتَى * مِنْ مَنَاطِقٍ فِي غَيْرِ حِينِهِ

48. (*ib.* 93.)

شَرُّ الْإِخْلَاءِ مَنْ تَسَعَى لِتَرْضِيهِ * وَلَا يَزَالُ عَلَيْكَ الدَّهْرُ غَضَبَانَا

49. (*ib.* 234.)

إِنَّمَا مَا أَهَنْتَ النَّفْسَ لَمْ تَلْقُ مَكْرِمًا * لَهَا بَعْدَ مَا عَرْضَتْهَا لِهَوَانٍ¹

50. (*ib.* 185.)

وَمَا لِحَقِّ الْحَاجَاتِ مِثْلُ مُثَابِرٍ * وَلَا عَاقَ عَنْهَا النَّجَمِ مِثْلُ تَوَانِي

Abû-l-Gâhm al-Muḥâribî :

فَلَوْ أَنَّ كَفَى أَبْغَضَ قُرْبٍ سَاعِدِي * يَقِينًا لَمَا أَحْتَاجَتْ ذِرَاعِي إِلَى كَفِي
أَأَبْذُلُ وَدِّي لِلْعَدُوِّ تَلَهُوْقَا * أَبْنِي وَحْمِي مِنْ ذَاكُمْ أَبَدًا أَنْفِي
فَلَا سَلِمَتْ نَفْسِي وَلَا عِشْتُ لَيْلَةً * إِلَيَّ أَنْ أَرَانِي قَائِلًا غَيْرَ مَا أَخْفِي

Vgl. *Al-Nâbiḡa*, 19 : 16 :

وَلَوْ كَفَى الْيَمِينُ بَغْتَكَ خَوْنًا * لَأَفْرَدْتُ الْيَمِينَ مِنَ الشِّمَالِ

Hild al-Mâzini, *Agânî* ii. 186, 19 :

فَإِنَّ الْقَرِيبَ حَيْثُ كَانَ قَرِيبُكُمْ * وَكَيْفَ يَقْطَعُ الْكَفَّ مِنْ سَائِرِ الْيَدِ

¹ Vgl. *Zuhejr* 16 : 57b (*Landberg*, 92, 2).

51. (*ib.* 196.)

فَسَأَلُ أَنْ مَنِيتَ بِأَمْرِ شَكٍّ * فَإِنَّ الشَّكَّ يَقْتُلُهُ الْيَقِينُ¹

¹ Vgl. *Hud.* 76: 2,

وَلَا تَعْجَلْ بِظَنِّكَ قَبْلَ خُبْرٍ * فَعِنْدَ الْخُبْرِ تَنْقَطِعُ الظُّنُونُ

'*Atdh.* 262, 7:

وَالْيَقِينُ الشِّفَاءُ مِنْ كُلِّ مَرٍّ * مَا يُبْئِرُ الْهَمَّومَ إِلَّا الظُّنُونُ

XII.

THE SYSTEM OF ARABIC SOUNDS,

AS BASED UPON

SIBAWEIH AND IBN YAÏSH.

BY

K. VOLLERS, D. PH.

FORTY years ago, in a letter directed from London to the German Oriental Society, Wallin remarked that the tones and vowels of the Bedouin speech are very different from the Egyptian-Arabic dialect. The German Society published this letter, and its editor, Prof. Fleischer, inserted a foot-note requesting the meritorious traveller to give a comparative sketch of these two idioms.⁽¹⁾ Wallin was willing to comply with Prof. Fleischer's desire, and undertook his work; but two years later (1852) he died, before he could add the finishing touches to his paper. Kellgren, his friend and successor at the University of Helsingfors, arranged these papers, written partly in Swedish, partly in German, translated the Swedish text, and sent them to the German Oriental Society, by whom they were printed, after having been retouched by Prof. Fleischer. I have mentioned these details, because they serve to explain some incongruities and contradictions occurring in the present text,⁽²⁾ which deals with the Arabic phonetics and is based essentially upon the well-known orthoepical text called al-Gazarîya.

I think the high importance of these posthumous papers of Wallin is owing to the three facts, that the author (*a*) was very well acquainted with the classical Arabic language, (*b*) that he was thoroughly familiar with modern Arabic, both the Hadhari and the Bedouin speech, (*c*) that he utilized modern phonetics based upon

¹ Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellschaft, Vol. iv. p. 393, note 3.

² Wallin, Ueber die Laute des Arabischen und ihre Bezeichnung, in the Zeitschrift ix. pp. 1-69, and xii. 599-665.

physiological observations. On the other hand, I cannot help pointing out here some defects of his paper, as considered in the light of modern linguistics and phonetics. I believe I can trace the influence of some philosophical theories, predominant at that time mostly in Germany, when the author *derives* one sound from another, *e.g.*, ق from خ,⁽¹⁾ or ظ from غ;⁽²⁾ or when he supposes *three stages* of aspiration, viz., ح, ح and خ; or *three degrees* of sibilation, viz., ص, ش and س. Some sounds, produced by purely oral resonance, are described by him as nasals, *e.g.* ع and ظ. Brücke and Lepsius have not failed to protest against these assertions. I do not quote these defects for the purpose of throwing discredit upon this highly meritorious scholar, but only to caution young students who may avail themselves of his papers. In order rightly to appreciate Wallin, we must recall the low state of phonetics forty years ago. Wallin relied chiefly on the physiology of Joh. von Müller, a man whose merits it is unnecessary to point out. But you know that it was only his pupil, Ernst Brücke (subsequently Ritter von Brücke),⁽³⁾ who elaborated and refined phonetics to such a degree that he has been recognised—at least for Germany—as the founder of this new branch of science, intermediate between physiology and linguistics. At the same time, ingenious scholars in England and America (Alex. Ellis, Alex. Melville Bell, and Henry Sweet) advanced this new science by various means and for various purposes, and Prof. Ed. Sievers, furnished with the solid methods and appliances of Aryan and Teutonic philology, rendered great services to all German-reading students by combining and summarizing the results of the English, American and Teutonic schools in a lucid manual. Moreover, Arabic studies have been not less advanced. We have now—not to mention other facts—complete editions of Sibawaih⁽⁴⁾ (who died about 180 A.H.), of the manual of Zamakhshary⁽⁵⁾ (467-538 A.H.), and of its commentator Ibn Ya'ish (553-643 A.H.);⁽⁶⁾ that is to say, we can examine the beginnings and the full developments of the Arabic

¹ Zeitschrift, ix. 58.

² Ib. xii. 624-25.

³ He died Jan. 7, 1892, at Vienna.

⁴ Le livre de Sibawaih, texte arabe, publié par H. Derenbourg, t. i., 1881, t. ii., 1885-89, Paris; in 8°.

⁵ Al-Mufaṣṣal [written about 513-515] auctore Zamakhshari, ed J. P. Broch, ed 2^a, Christianiae, 1879; in 8°.

⁶ Ibn Ja'ī's Commentar zu Zamachsharis Mufaṣṣal herausgegeben von G. Jahn. Bd i. 1882, Bd. ii. 1886, Leipzig; in 4°.

grammatical researches. I think that these circumstances sufficiently justify a new attempt to sketch the system of Arabic sounds according to the native authors. When I examined the statements of the above philologists and weighed them by what I knew of modern Arabic sounds and modern phonetics, I was surprised to see that in many cases our European grammars were far from agreeing with the native opinions as to the value of sounds in the classical Arabic language. So I proceeded firstly for my private use to give a clear sketch of the native phonetic systems, and their various ways of classification, and to elucidate the values of some sounds, by strictly combining the native statements with the postulations of modern phonetics. It was only in Europe⁽¹⁾ that I could confront my results with the important researches of Czermak,⁽²⁾ Brücke⁽³⁾ and Lepsius,⁽⁴⁾ who have all greatly elucidated these questions. In some details I coincided with Lepsius, but I do not deem it superfluous to repeat them here, because our best modern grammars and dictionaries do not betray the slightest acquaintance with his paper.

Our Arabic scholars have not paid enough attention to the fact, that two clearly distinguished systems of classifying the sounds by the places of utterance have been handed down to us by the native philologists. The first system (short, and not based upon fine observations) is unanimously attributed to the author of the *Kitāb al-Eyn*, i.e. al-Khalīl al-Farāhīdī (who died about 170 A.H.), the well-known inventor of Arabic prosody. Sibawehī, his pupil, does not mention it. From the place which Zamakhsharī (§ 734) and Ibn Yaīsh (ii. 1467) assign to it, I venture to conclude that it was superseded in their schools by the other more detailed system. The conciseness of this system explains the fact that it has been mentioned in our best grammars (S. de Sacy, Ewald, and Wright). Fleischer⁽⁵⁾ spent the whole of his lexicographical learning in annotating the text of de Sacy. Khalīl (or pseudo-Kh., according to the authenticity of the *كتاب العين*) has eight groups of sounds, as classified by circles of utterance, viz. in advancing from the throat to the lips.

¹ I am much indebted to the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, and to the British Museum, London, for kindly admitting the foreign traveller to their precious collections.

² *Der Kehlkopfspiegel* (1860), pp. 53-61, über die sogenannten Kehlkopflaute. (Reprinted from the *Zeitschr. für die oesterreich. Gymnasien* ix. (1858), pp. 541-547.)

³ *Beiträge zur Lautlehre der arabischen Sprache*, 1860 (from the *Wiener Sitzungsberichte philol. histor.* Cl. xxxiv.).

⁴ *Ueber die arabischen Sprachlaute* (1861), from the Royal Academy of Berlin.

⁵ *Kleinere Schriften* I. p. 5-11.

(1) حَلَقِيَّة	حروف	faucial sounds, i.e.	أ	خ	ح	ع	غ
(2) لَهْوِيَّة	„	uvula	„	„	ك	ق	
(3) ذَلَقِيَّة	„	liquid	„	„	ل	ر	ن
(4) شَجَرِيَّة	„	orifice	„	„	ض	ش	ج
(5) نَطْعِيَّة	„	hard palate	„	„	ط	د	ت
(6) اَسَلِيَّة	„	dental	„	„	ص	س	ز
(7) لَثْوِيَّة	„	gingival	„	„	ظ	ذ	ث
(8) شَفْوِيَّة	„	labial	„	„	و	ف	ب

In examining this system, we must notice some grave defects. The author does not know the nasalization; his classification of **ق** and **ك**, is contrary to all we know of these sounds; his definition of **ض ش ج** is no definition at all, these sounds being called orifice sounds, it seems, because the mouth is open in producing them, (this quality is not peculiar to these sounds only), he is mistaken in calling the sounds **ظ ذ ث** gingival, for they are interdental, as you will see further on.

The Khedivial Library at Cairo has a modern copy (made in al-Medina) of the **ارتشاف الضرب**, a grammatical compilation of Abû Haiyân.⁽¹⁾ This work claims no originality, but it is useful by quoting in any question the different opinions of the native scholars; and we learn from it that, in the 6th century of the Flight, Shureih⁽²⁾ was a zealous champion of Khalil's system in Spain. But in the Eastern countries of Islâm this system seems to have been early replaced by the other which, in its full details, is already found in the grammar of Sibaweih (ii. 452). Now let us place before us the following facts:—Sibaweih died about ten years or less after his master Khalil. If Khalil had known the second system he would have mentioned it. Nor are we told that Sibaweih was the inventor of it, not to mention that it seems impossible that so detailed, so elaborate, so refined a system could have been invented

¹ Born in Spain 654 A.H., and died at Cairo about 745. Ibn Akil was his pupil. (Cf. the Cairo Arabic Catalogue, t. iv., p. 21; Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtschreiber der Araber*, no. 409.)

² His full name is Abu-l-Ĥasan Shureih b. Muḥammad ar-Ru'einy (died in 539). He was Cadi at Seville, and a distinguished commentator of the Corân. Cadi 'Iyâd, the great theologian, was his pupil.

by one scholar in a few years. All these facts lead us to assume a foreign origin; but whence did it come? The cardinal points of this system, which forms in the native grammars⁽¹⁾ the basis of the doctrine of the coalescence or incorporation of letters (الادغام), are:—

(1) The distinction of classical sounds—as recognised in the Corán, and in old poetry—from unclassical ones. The classical sounds are either original or derived.

(2) The distinction of voiced (مجهور) sounds from voiceless (مهموس) ones.

(3) The distinction of close or tight (شديد) sounds from loose (رخو) ones.

(4) The stating of sixteen places of utterance (مخارج).

(5) The distinction of covered (مطبق) sounds from open (مفتوح) ones.

(6) The distinction of raised (مستعلی) sounds from not raised (منخفض) ones.

Less important are the following categories:—

(7) حروف القلقة crackling or exploding sounds.

(8) الصغير ,, whistling or hissing sounds.

(9) الذلقة ,, liquid sounds.

(10) لينة ,, smooth sounds, *i.e.*, واى. Ibn Ya'ish (ii. 1460) says that the same sounds were called by Khalil هوائية .

(11) حرف منكرف *i.e.* l.

(12) مكرر ,, *i.e.* r.

(13) هاوى ,, *i.e.* Alif. Ibn Ya'ish (ii. 1467, 4) calls it حرف جرسى, 'ringing sound.'

(14) حرف مهتوت *i.e.* ت.

There were only two civilizations which had philological systems of real value, the Hellenic and the Indian. With respect to phonetics, the Greeks are much inferior to the Indians; they knew

¹ Sibaweth, § 565. Zamakhshary, §§ 731-734.

φωνήεντα, ἡμίφωνα and ἄφωνα, i.e., sonants, half-sonants and non-sonants, but they did not know either the category of voiced and voiceless, nor that of tight and loose sounds.⁽¹⁾ The Indians did so, and when we combine these circumstances and consider the unlikelihood of an indigenous origin of the Arabic system, we cannot help acknowledging that the Indian origin is probable, or at least possible.

The age of Pāṇini, the Sibaweih of the Indians, is not exactly known, but in any case his system was expounded and widely disseminated, when the Mussulman scholars began their work. Moreover, recent researches have shown that the Arabs, in the flourishing and liberal times of the first Abbasides, borrowed very much from India in astronomy, mathematics and medicine; why not in philology? As to the second system, I confine myself to here referring to the striking agreement in the Indian and Arabic systems of classifying stops and spirants (*vide infra*); but the system of Khalil may also be derived from an Indian one. The number of circles of utterance is the same; the difference of denominations arises from the difference of sounds.⁽²⁾

The distinction of classical sounds from unclassical ones is very valuable, because it is the starting-point of all dialectic researches. The unclassical or dialectic sounds are often indispensable for finding out the true nature of the classical ones. Ibn Ya'ish enumerates twenty-nine classical original sounds, six classical, but derived, ones, and eight unclassical, or forty-three sounds altogether. Sibaweih, although detailing the same sounds as Ibn Ya'ish, sums them up to forty-two; I suppose that he has combined Hamza and Alif, or the unclassical varieties of ح and ع. We learn from the above-quoted compilation of Abu Haiyân, that other grammarians added more dialectic sounds (perhaps from western idioms), and raised the number to forty-seven, nay to fifty sounds. Lumsden⁽³⁾ records fifty-three letters (or better, 'sounds').

The following table is based upon Ibn Ya'ish and eastern tradition.

¹ Cf. what Ad. Merx says: "Doctrina denique orthoepica [Arabum] nullo modo graecis fundamentis est superstructa." (Historia artis gramm., p. 154.)

² It would be highly interesting to pursue the question whether Khalil's metrical system was based upon an Indian one. Cf. Alberuni's India, v. i. p. 138 = Arabic text p. 66.

³ Arabic Grammar, v. i. p. 37.

The system of Arabic sounds as based upon Sibaweih and Ibn Ya'ish.

CLASSICAL (35).		UNCLASSICAL (8).
ORIGINAL (29).	DERIVED (6).	
1 Hamza	31 الهمزة التي بين بين	
2 Alif	{ 32 Alif with Imâla (ä)	
3 ب b	35 Alif with تقخير (â)	43 ب like ف, i.e. p
4 ت t		
5 ث ṭ or voiceless th		
6 ج dī		{ 37 ج like ك, i.e. g ¹
7 ح h ² (h)		38 ج like ش, i.e. ž (zh)
8 خ x ² (ḥ)		
9 د d		
10 ذ ḏ or voiced th		
11 ر r		
12 ز z		
13 س s		
14 ش š (sh)	33 ش like ج, i.e. ž (zh)	
15 ص s ² (ṣ)	34 ص like ز	40 ص like س
16 ض lateral z (z ²)		39 ض like د or ط or ظ
17 ط d ² (ṭ)		41 ط like ت i.e. t ² (ṭ)
18 ظ ḏ ²		42 ظ like ث
19 ع ʿ		
20 غ ġ		
21 ف f		
22 ق g ²		[ق like ك, i.e. k ²]
23 ك k ¹		36 ك like ج, i.e. g ¹
24 ل l		
25 م m		
26 ن dental n	30 ṇ guttural n, and ṇ nasal vowel	
27 ه h		
28 و bi-labial w		
29 ي y		

As far as I know, Lumsden is the only grammarian who incorporated this classification into his grammar (Calcutta, 1813); he carefully registered the sayings of the native authorities, whom he unfortunately did not mention; but at the beginning of our century he, of course, was unable to grasp the true sense of the phonetic processes intended by the Arabic scholars.

As to the important category of *مهموس* and *مجهور*, even S. de Sacy did not yet understand their real meaning in 1831,⁽¹⁾ for he calls the former, "lettres proférées ouvertement;" and the latter, "lettres cachées, dont l'articulation est rapide et peu sensible."

Wallin⁽²⁾ correctly defined them as produced by intoned air, or by breathed air only. Modern phoneticians have agreed on the terms voiced and voiceless (in German 'stimmhaft' and 'stimmlos'), that is to say, the voiced sounds are accompanied by a musical tone produced by rhythmical vibrations of the vocal chords, the voiceless are without that musical tone. Among the twenty-nine original classical sounds, nineteen are called voiced and ten voiceless, viz.:—

(a) Voiced: *أ*. Alif, *ق ط د ج ب ض ن م ل ر ذ و ي ظ ز غ ع*

(b) Voiceless: *ف ث ش ت ص س ك خ ح ه*

In examining these two sets, it must strike us that the voiced set includes five sounds which are not voiced according to our ideas and in their common acceptance, viz., Hamza, Alif, *ط ع* and *ق*. Let us consider firstly the three throat-sounds. If Hamza, according to the physiological statements of Czermak and Brücke must be identified with the 'check glottid' of Ellis (the 'glottal catch' of Sweet, the 'fester Einsatz' of Sievers), it is surely voiceless. As for *ع*, Wallin tried to justify it as a voiced sound, but according to my own experiences I cannot help asserting that *ع* is voiceless;⁽³⁾ and Alif is not a consonant at all—it has only a graphic, not a phonetic value. This seems to me the only possible explanation; we must bear in mind the very low state of physiology among the Arabs; they were not able to define how these sounds were produced in the throat, they did not separate these sounds from the following vowel, and attributed the voice-element of the vowel to the consonant itself. It was not

¹ Grammaire Arabe, 2^e édition, i. p. 29.

² Zeitschrift ix. 7; spirirende Luft, *نفس*, und intonirte Luft, *صوت*. He appears to have learned the distinction from John Walker, the author of the well-known critical pronouncing dictionary (1 ed. 1791).

³ I am glad to have coincided here with Socin and Prym, both of whom are well acquainted with modern Arabic sounds. (Cf. Trautmann, die Sprachlaute, v. i. p. 90 s.)

before the invention of the laryngoscope and the splendid experiments of Czermak, that these sounds were physiologically elucidated. So we cannot help expunging the alif from this set, and transferring the أ and the ع to the voiceless set.

It is quite another matter with the two sounds ط and ق , generally transliterated by t and k (or q). We know that modern phonetists have classified the stops, not only by having voice or not, but also by the intensity, as Fortes (hard sounds) and Lenes (soft sounds). The Lenes are mostly voiced, viz. g, d, b . Winteler has proved that some German dialects in Switzerland have voiceless Lenes; but the Fortes are always voiceless, viz. k, t, p . If these facts are applied to the sounds ط and ق , we are bound either to discard the classification of the native philologists—and that would be a very bold proceeding—or to acknowledge that these sounds must be transliterated by d (or d^2) and g^2 , that is to say we must give to ط the power generally attributed to ض (*v. infra*), and define ق as a back-guttural g . Brücke denied the voice-element of these sounds, because he was misled by Anton Hassan, a clever Egyptian teacher, but not an Arabic scholar in the strict sense of that expression. Lepsius recognised the native classification; and transliterated ط by d , but ق by q . Ibn Khaldûn (d. 808) devoted a long digression to the letter ق in his prolegomena.⁽¹⁾ S. de Sacy was the first who printed that passage, in his *Anthologie Grammaticale* (1829), and he also translated it.⁽²⁾ Ibn Khaldûn points out that:—

(a) The settled populations use the same sound as the grammarians.

(b) The Bedouins have another pronunciation, and their sound is primary and peculiar to Arab speech. Phonetically, he defines the two sounds as follows, that the sound as pronounced in the towns is a back-guttural one, while the Bedouin sound is articulated not far from ك . This definition is not at all clear. Wallin⁽³⁾ and most Arabic philologists interpreted this to mean that the grammarians and the town populations pronounce ق as k , while the Bedouins pronounce it as g . This opinion is supported by the statement of Maltzan,⁽⁴⁾ that in the Maghrib, the home of Ibn Khaldûn, the townsmen pronounce ق like a second power of k and the country dwellers like g^2 ; but it can hardly be reconciled with

¹ In Arabic ed. by Quatremère (1858), Vol. iii. 302-305; in French by MacGuckin de Slane (1863), Vol. iii. 338-341.

² Pp. 171-173; in French, pp. 413-416.

³ *Zeitschrift*, xii. 604-5.

⁴ *Zeitschrift*, xxiii. 660.

my opinion that the ق of the grammarians must be g^2 . Perhaps Ibn Khaldûn, who was primarily not a philologist but a historian, was mistaken when he identified the sound as pronounced in the towns with that of the grammarians. In any case we are led to suppose that from the oldest times the letter ق had sometimes the power of a voiced, sometimes that of a voiceless sound. Moreover the modern Arabic dialects⁽¹⁾ exhibit complete parallel sets both of the original (a) and of the palatalized (b) sound, viz. :

(1) Voiced : (a) $g^2 g^1$; (b) dz, dž.

(2) Voiceless : (a) $k^2 k^1$; (b) ts, tš.

thus confirming my assertion about the two-fold power of the one letter.⁽²⁾ The same fact is found in Semitic speech out of Arabic territory; e.g., in the old Babylonian language p had sometimes the power of g^2 or g^1 ; on the contrary, the Hebrew p appears to have gradually changed from k^2 to k^1 ; it cannot be fortuitous, that in modern Palestine ق is pronounced as k^1 .

The second category of شديد, and خو, was not well understood either by S. de Sacy⁽³⁾ or by Wallin.⁽⁴⁾ But Lepsius rendered these terms better by fast ('fest') and loose ('lose'). I prefer the terms tight ('straff') and loose ('locker'), because they point to the etymological meaning and to the modern terminology, the tight sounds corresponding to the stops, and the loose ones to the continuants or spirants.

There are eight stops, viz. :—ا ب ك ت ث, and thirteen spirants, viz. :—س ف ذ ث ز ش ض ظ ص غ خ ح ه, and an intermediate class, including eight sounds, viz. :—(a) Alif and ع, (b) the nasals n and m, (c) the liquids l and r, (d) the half-vowels و and ی. In the same way the Indian consonants are classified as, sparça, antahsthā and ūşman.⁽⁵⁾

¹ A copious illustration of these dialectic varieties is found in the travels of Mr. Doughty.

² In the face of these facts, it is curious to remark that my authorities do not mention any unclassical variety of ق. But Lumsden (i. 36) reports from other sources that the letter ق is sometimes inelegantly permitted to assume a sound approaching that of كاف; as, قمع pronounced as if it were written كعم. (*Vide infra*.)

³ Lettres fortes et faibles. (*Grammaire*⁽²⁾ i. 29.)

⁴ Stark und schwach (*Zeitschrift* ix. 10). These terms may lead to a confusion with the groups of Fortes and Lenes. Wallin is at variance with my authorities when he records sixteen spirants (ix. 16).

⁵ Whitney, Sanscrit Grammar, § 31.

The third category, the classification of sounds by the places of utterance, is most valuable; without it we would often be unable to interpret the unwieldy terminology of the native philologists. I cannot agree with Broch and H. Derenbourg in spelling this term ^ومخرج; the plural ^ومخارج presupposes a singular ^ومخرج, for the plural of ^ومخرج would be ^ومخرجات. Dozy renders the term, not very exactly, by 'son articulé'; Lepsius calls it 'Lokalklasse'; Wallin and Fleischer 'Articulationstelle'; Lumsden and Lane 'place of utterance.' The number of them is sixteen according to Sibawaih (ii. 453) and Zamakhshary (§ 732). Abu Haiyân tells us that four distinguished philologists, Kutrûb (d. 206 A.H.), al-Farrâ (d. 207), al-Garmy (d. 225), and Ibn Dureid (d. 321), combined the places of the letters *l*, *n*, and *r* and 'made the number fourteen.

The sixteen places (مخارج) or circles (حيازات) are:—

- (1) أ Alif, *ʾ*, from the furthest part of the throat.
- (2) ع ح from the middle part of the throat.
- (3) خ غ from the foremost part of the throat.
- (4) ق by the root of the tongue and the opposite soft palate.
- (5) ك a little beneath (before) the place of ق.
- (6) ي ش ج by the middle part of the tongue, and the opposite palate.
- (7) ض by the first part of the side of the tongue, and the molar teeth.
- (8) ل by the whole side of the tongue, and the opposite teeth.
- (9) ن by the tip of the tongue, and the central incisors.
- (10) ر between *l* and *n*, but more dorsal.
- (11) ت د ط by the tip of the tongue, and the tooth-holes of the incisors; *i.e.* alveolar.
- (12) ص س ز by the tip of the tongue, and a little above the incisors.
- (13) ث ذ ظ by the tip of the tongue and the ends of the fore-teeth; *i.e.* interdental.

(14) ف by the inside of the lower lip, and the upper fore-teeth.

(15) ب و م by the upper and the lower lips.

(16) ن pronounced with غنة, going out from the noso-cartilages.

A glance at this synopsis shows that (not counting the last group, which looks like an appendix) it goes on from back to front. By combining some places so as to form wider groups we might reckon a faucial or glottal group (1-3), a guttural one (4-5), a palatal one (6), a dental one (7-13), a labiodental one (14), a bilabial one (15), and a nasal one. It is not superfluous to note that Ibn Yaïsh, dealing with the مخارج, is less clear than Sibaweih and Zamakhshary, inasmuch as he combines, in his exposition, the system of Khalil and the other one.

With the faucial group we may deal here very shortly. Having eliminated Alif, we need only state that ا bears the same relation to ع as ح to ح; the former are stops, the latter are spirants; all are voiceless. As for the formation of these sounds, I may refer to the detailed expositions of Czermak and Brücke. The sounds خ and غ are classed by the Arabic scholars with the sounds formed in the throat (الحنك) without the co-operation of the tongue: we should do better to call them back-guttural spirants, so that the خ has its correspondent in Armenian and Swiss-German speech, the غ also in Armenian.⁽¹⁾ In the course of time they obviously changed, and in the present vernaculars of Egypt and Syria we must identify خ with the German *ach*-sound (also found in Scotland, Spain, modern Greece and Russia), and غ with the voiced correspondent.⁽²⁾ But I suppose—in spite of the contrary statements of Wallin⁽³⁾—that this modern خ had, or has here and there, an alternate palatal sound (the German and modern Greek *ich*-sound). When I was at Damascus two years ago I heard, *e.g.* shaiyâtin = خياطين ‘tailors,’ and shân = خان ‘a traveller’s lodge.’ The guttural خ

¹ Cf. Sievers, Grundzüge⁽³⁾, p. 62.

² Cf. my Lehrbuch (1890), p. 6-7.

³ Zeitschrift, ix. 35.

having no direct connection with *sh*, I venture to conclude from these forms the existence of the palatal *ich*-sound.⁽¹⁾

I might proceed now to the letters ك and ق, but I prefer first to elucidate ج, because otherwise it would be difficult to find the true meanings of the classical and unclassical ك. Our best modern grammars have transliterated the letter ج by the compound formula or affricata *dž* (S. de Sacy, Ewald, Caspari, Schier, Wright, Aug. Müller, Socin). Erpen⁽²⁾ explains it by 'Gallorum *g* ante *e* et *i*,' i.e. *ž* (*zh*). Ewald, Brücke and Socin say that the primary power of ج was *g* (a guttural stop), but they have not explained whether this sound existed in the classical Arabic speech, or only in the primitive period of Semitic speech. Spitta⁽³⁾ is mistaken when he says that the dry sound (*g*) is now rightly used in the ritual recitation of the Korân. Lepsius disapproved of the common transliteration by *dž*, and comes to the conclusion that ج must be pronounced *gj* (*gy*).⁽⁴⁾

From the above synopsis you see that the native grammarians stated two unclassical powers of ج, viz. like ك and like ش. Does "like ك" here mean "identical with" or "similar to" ك? When we look at the other cases, where it is said that one sound is pronounced like another, it seems to me that 'like' must be interpreted sometimes by 'identical' and sometimes by 'similar.' If we are told that the classical but derived ص has the power of ز and the dialectic power of س, I do not hesitate to believe—in examining the examples furnished by Ibn Yaïsh and in comparing modern Arabic speech—that 'ك-like' here means 'identical with.' But when it is said that ب is dialectically pronounced like *f*, the examples of Ibn Yaïsh⁽⁵⁾ show that by this unwieldy terminology the Persian *p* is described; that is to say that 'ك-like' corresponds here to what we

¹ Cf. Socin, *Neuaram. Dialecte von Urmia bis Mosul* (1882), p. 10. Parallel changes are found in Russian, cf. Boltz, "Lehrgang der russischen Sprache," 5 ed., vol. i. (1880), pp. 109, 140.

² *Gramm. Arab.* ed. 1 (1613), and ed. Schultens (1748).

³ *Grammatik* (1830), p. 5.

⁴ L.c. p. 133 ss., Ich bin überzeugt, dass die ägyptische Aussprache, vielleicht noch etwas weiter zum eigentlichen Palatalpunkte, dem höchsten der Gaumenwölbung vorgeschoben, auch der alten correcten Aussprache am meisten glich, für unser Ohr cinem *g* mit dem Nachschlag eines halben *y* am nächsten kommend.

⁵ L.c. ii. 1463: ومثال الباء كالفاء قولهم فى بور [pûr] وهى كثيرة فى لغة الفرس. Abu Haiyân gives the further example Palkh for Balkh.

call, in modern phonetics, 'homorganical.' I suppose that the same meaning must be attached to the unclassical powers of ج, i.e. ج like ك,⁽¹⁾ must be understood as *g*, the voiced stop, and ج like ش, as *ž*, the voiced correspondent of ش.

Here it is very interesting to see that Ibn Ya'ish, in the 7th century of the Flight, knows of the power of ج = *g* only in Yemen and among the lower classes of Baghdad, but not in Egypt. As regards ج = *ž* I can confirm from my own experience, what Dr. Hartmann states in his guide-book of Arabic (1880), that this sound is peculiar to the Syrian shore and the Palestinian dialects. The same sound prevails in Tunis. These two varieties (*g* and *ž*) being excluded, we could easily be led to identify the classical ج with *dž*, but we should be mistaken. This instance shows how firmly an old error can take root. Wallin was not wide of the mark, or perhaps he reached it; but the present text of his above-quoted paper is so doubtful that we cannot be surprised at its being misunderstood. He says (l.c. xii. 606): *dj das ist der Laut welcher von der Kur'ân-Lesern und von der Mehrzahl der Araber unserer Zeit als die normale Aussprache des ج angesehen wird. . . . Dieser Laut kommt, so viel ich weiss, dem englischen g in 'elegy,' dem italienischen gi in 'già' am nächsten; dabei muss jedoch bemerkt werden, dass der auf den Vorschlag folgende Laut j so kurz wie möglich ausgesprochen wird.*" I suppose that Wallin spelt the formula *dj* in the German manner; his editors, either Kellgren or Fleischer, in the French manner; for at present Arabic scholars of all countries are agreed in this, that the true classical power of ج as now used in the recitation of their Holy Book is *dj*, i.e. a yotacised *d*. This spelling is found in every position in a word; e.g. in the beginning, *djābāl*, 'mountain;' in the middle, *ḥadjār*, 'stone' and at the end, *ḥadjī*, 'pilgrimage.' In modern vernaculars the same sound is widespread. I found it in the villages of Egypt, at Alexandria, in Yāfa, Damascus, in the Sinaitic Peninsula, and often in Palestine. In all these countries the affricata is very seldom found; it appears to extend over a large territory in Algeria, and a smaller one in the Ḥigāz. Taking all together, you see that we are not justified either by philological tradition, or by the distribution of modern dialects, in transliterating ج by *dž*.

¹ Ib. 1463: قال ابن دريد هي لغة في اليمن يقولون في جَمَل كَمَل (gamal) وفي رَجُل رَكَل (ragul) وهي في عوام اهل بغداد فاشية شبيهة بالثقة

It would require a long monograph to pursue the question, how from the primary sound, probably *g*, the other varieties branched out, and whether the present state of these sounds could lead us back to the old grouping of Arabic dialects. I confine myself here to one morphological phenomenon, which is to be explained by the classical power of ج. It is confirmed by phonetic analogy and reliable statements that the formula 'dj' may drop out its first element and so become an independent *y*. As for the old language, we are told that shadjara, 'tree,' was dialectally pronounced shayara. I may state that the same fact occurs not seldom in Syria, Palestine and Upper Egypt. On the other side, ي became dialectically ج, it seems especially at the end of a word, e.g. عَلِيٌّ = عَلِي, مَرِيٌّ = مَرَج, etc., in modern speech also in the middle, e.g. sindidiân = sindiyân (al Bistâny, col. 1009a). We learn from Lane's Lexicon (369), that this change was peculiar to the tribes of Tayi and Asad and was called عَجَجَة on account of the often-occurring formula عِي for عِي. From this promiscuous use of ج and ي another curious fact must be explained, viz., the occurrence of ج as a third radical in denominative verbs, e.g. دَلَج, to handle a bucket (دَلْج); and I am inclined to agree with A. Socin (Leipzig), who supposes that the obscure term دَمَج, as found in Ousâma (ed. H. Derenbourg, pp. 148, 13 and 150, 9; cf. Landberg, critica arabica ii. p. 55s.), may be derived from دَم, 'blood.'

In passing to the letter ش, we remark here an original sound and a derived one, occurring mostly in the middle of words; e.g., in أَشْدَق the ش is pronounced like ج. I need only refer you to what I said about ج being pronounced like ش, and you will easily apprehend that أَشْدَق was pronounced aẓdag²; that is to say, the voiceless sound became voiced before another voiced one. This is a very common phonetic fact.⁽¹⁾ But I take this opportunity to call your attention to the unwieldiness of the native terminology, which, in describing an unknown sound,

¹ Lumsden surmised that (i. p. 33) 'the sound of *sheen* in this case is *probably*—but I am not sure—that of the letter *s* of the word *pleasure*.' In the same way the Syriac word ܫܡܐ was pronounced heẓwân, not heġwân, as Merx proposes. (Historia Artis Gram. p. 123; Wright, Syriac Catalogue, i. 104.)

took as starting-point sometimes the classical, sometimes the unclassical power of a letter. Ibn Ya'ish, in his invaluable commentary, puts here a very interesting question (ii. 1463, 15-18), "the same sound *ẓ* is called classical when derived from ش, but unclassical when derived from ج; why so?" His answer is: "In the first case (أشَدَق) two heterogeneous sounds have been made homogeneous [the voiceless sound being assimilated to the voiced one]; in the other case (e.g. أَجْدَر = *aẓdar* or أَجْتَمَعُوا *iẓtama'û*) two homogeneous sounds [both of them stops] have become heterogeneous [the stop *d* being changed into the spirant *ẓ*]."]

The most disputed Arabic sound is ض. It is not found in any of our European languages and—what is worse—the tradition of native scholars about the true nature of this sound is unstable and doubtful. Brücke hastily identified the present sound, as spoken by a modern Egyptian (*v. supra*), with the old classical sound. It is curious to see how often in his instructive investigation about this letter⁽¹⁾ he directly contradicted the clear statements of the native scholars without noticing his fundamental error. All our grammarians followed him and transliterated ض by *ḍ* (*d*²). Against this ordinary transliteration we must object⁽²⁾ that the ض has been classed by native scholars among the spirants, *d* being a stopped sound. Another important indication is furnished by its ranking in the مَخَارِج, or places of utterance, as articulated by the side of the tongue and the molar teeth; that is to say, it is a lateral or side-spirant, and so approaches very near to *l*, and vice-versa.⁽³⁾ The old philologists were not agreed, whether this sound is more correctly articulated on the right side or on the left. Lane says (Lexicon 1759) that the left side was more used. Ibn Ya'ish (ii. 1460, 13) admits the two sides equally. In combining all these characteristics, I do not hesitate to transliterate the ض by 'z (or *ẓ* or *z*²) lateral.'

But we cannot rest contented with these statements. The historical evolution of this sound is too instructive to be passed over in silence. As far as I can see, the classical lateral spirant is not found anywhere in modern Arabic speech. Wherever we turn we find—

(a) Mostly among the Bedouins, a voiced lisping sound, or—to

¹ Beiträge, 310 ss.

² Cf. Lepsius, l.c., pp. 135-142.

³ I am much indebted to Dr. Rost (India Office Library, London) for the suggestion that in the Malay language the ض of Arabic words is transliterated by *dl*, or *l*, and on the Philippine Island Mindanáo by *l* only.

avoid any misunderstanding—a sound which is identical with or very near to the voiced English *th* (ð),

(b) Among the settled populations, a variety of *d*.

Now, we have good guarantees that both of these modern varieties were existing already by the side of the classical lateral sound, in the earliest epochs of Arabic speech. As to the ð-variety, we are told that the Khalîfa ‘Omar did not distinguish ظ and ض; al-Farrâ says (Lane’s Lexicon, 1759) that ض was dialectically pronounced like ظ. You see, that ظ is classed in the *سراج* with ث and ذ, the point-teeth or interdental sounds, and being voiced it must have been a variety of ذ. So we can understand why the oldest Arabic dictionary, the Kitâb al ‘Eyn, shows us the gingival set *ث ذ ض*.⁽¹⁾ Al-Djawâlîkî (d. about 540) records⁽²⁾ that the common people said قذيف instead of قضيف. The efforts of Ibn Mâlik (d. 672) and Abû Haiyân to elucidate or to decide by learned pamphlets the difference between ظ and ض testify to their being commonly confused in Spain. The same interdental sound is wide-spread in modern Bedouin speech, and mostly in districts which are not yet, or very slightly, affected by foreign influences. I heard in 1889 the ð-sound among the Bedouins of the Sinaitic Peninsula. Doughty⁽³⁾ describes the ض of the tribes of Inner Arabia as follows:—“When we pronounce ض as the people of Nejd, the tip of the tongue is not put to the edge of the upper front teeth, but behind the teeth, and pressed to the teeth more than when we pronounce simple þ; the sound is nevertheless nearer to ð. This Nejd ض we might compare also with the (south) Spanish lisping *z*, e.g. in ‘plaza.’” The same fact, the existence of a ð-sound besides the lateral spirant ض, is proved, I think, to have been known in the oldest times, by the inter-Semitic rules of phonetic permutation.

The following phonetic equations are established:—

Arabic.	Hebrew-Assyrian.	Aramaic.
{ ض ض }	צ צ	{ (ק, ע) ע }
{ ث ذ ظ }	ث ז צ	{ ת ד ט }
{ س ش }	ש ש	{ ש ס }

¹ Lane’s Lexicon, 1759. The gingival set elsewhere ascribed to al Khalîl, is ط ذ ث.

² Morgenländische Forschungen (1875), p. 141, 15.

³ Travels, ii. 674.

The second group shows, that where the Aramaic has a stopped sound and the Hebrew-Assyrian a spirant, the Arabic has a lisping (interdental) sound. The third group shows, that where the Aramaic and the Hebrew-Assyrian have a spirant, the Arabic has it also. So I venture to conclude that the first ض (corresponding to an Aramaic stop and a Hebrew-Assyrian spirant) must have been a lisping sound, but the other ض—of less frequent occurrence than the first one—may have been a (lateral) spirant.

As regards the *d*-variety of ض prevailing now among the settled populations, and also much used by scholars, the unclassical sounds of ض (=د or ط), recorded by the best scholars, testify to its existence in old times, by the side of the *ḡ*-sound.

If you bear in mind that we interpreted the classical ط as *d* (*d*²), you will agree with me in transliterating the unclassical variety of ط (pronounced like ت) by *t* (*t*²), 'like' meaning here 'homorganical.' But if the unclassical ط is to be pronounced like ث, I suppose that 'like' means here 'identical with' or the voiced sound become voiceless (having lost its اطباق ? *v. infra*).

In the discussion about ض I anticipated the remark, that the letter ط belongs according to the مخارج to the lisping group, and this fact is also proved by the above-quoted inter-Semitic phonic rules. From these rules and I suppose under the influence of graphical likeness, W. Wright⁽¹⁾ deduced the following equation: "ط bears the same relation to ط as ت to ت and as د to د." This equation is useless, because it elucidates an unknown quantity (ط) by another unknown one (ط). I prefer saying: ط bears the same relation to د as ط to د and as ص to س.

What distinguishes the unknown sounds ط and ص from د and س is the إطباق, or what we generally call emphasis. There is a fourth sound with إطباق, viz. ض, but in the discussion about it I could not enter into this question, because ض has no alternate sound without إطباق, by which it could have been measured. The term الحروف المبطقة (opp. الحروف المنفتحة), applied by the native scholars to these four sounds has not been justly translated either by de Sacy (i. 29, letters vouëtées) nor by Wallin

¹ Arabic Grammar, 2nd ed., 1874, v. i. p. 6.

(xii. 611, geschlossene Laute). The term of De Sacy does not point to the phonic process, the other term leads to a confusion with the category of stops (in German, Verschlusslaute). The primary meaning of أَطْبَق is the covering of an often rounded surface, *e.g.* a pot or a kettle, or (the corresponding form of vulgar Arabic speech, طَبَّق) the covering of a hoof by a horseshoe.⁽¹⁾ I do not think it superfluous to remark, that among the four sounds in question there are three spirants (ص ظ ض) and one stop (ط), three voiced (ط ظ ض) and one voiceless (ص), three with a correspondent non-covered sound, and one without it (ض).

Wallin, after having discussed these sounds, concludes by confessing: "I must say that I have not exactly understood the reason of the peculiarity and of the denomination of these sounds".⁽²⁾ Brücke comes to the conclusion that the characteristics of the so-called emphatic sounds do not consist in a spécial place of utterance, but (a) in their affecting the following vowel, (b) in a different tone of the voice, (c) in the duration of the stopping (as ط).⁽³⁾ Far be it from me to deny the correctness of the statements of this eminent scholar, but I must remark that Brücke did not deal with the classical sounds as described by the old grammarians; he dealt, *e.g.*, with ط as a variety of *t* and with ض as a variety of *d*. On the other hand, I must state—with regard to the modern sounds as spoken in Egypt—the existence of a place of utterance different from that of the "non-covered" correspondents. As regards the stops ط and ض, they are articulated higher up than ت and د, and the tip of the tongue is slightly inverted. As for the spirant ص, I stated two years ago in my grammar⁽⁴⁾ that it is distinguished from *s* (س) by a slight labialization, but further experiments have shown to me that the labializing is neither general

¹ As regards the root طَبَّق, it is remarkable that it does not occur in the northern Semitic languages. It is not improbable, that its numerous and much used verbal forms in Arabic are all derived from the noun طَبَق, the arabicised form of the Persian *tābe*, which means (a) a cooking vessel, (b) a brick or flat piece of clay. From these nouns there originated the verbal meanings, 'cover,' 'put in layers,' &c. Among the nominal derivations of this root, there is the curious form طَبَّاق, which means 'impotent,' 'stupid' and, if applied to speech, 'tongue-tied.' It seems to me, that this form must be connected in some way with the اَطْبَاق, and we may suppose that either اَطْبَاق was derived from طَبَّاق, or—what is more probable—اَطْبَاق was derived from اَطْبَاق (*vide infra*).

² Zeitschrift, xii. 611 s.

³ Cf. Beiträge, 310, 326. Grundzüge der Physiologie und Systematik der Sprachlaute, 1 Aufl. (1856), p. 116; 2 Aufl. (1876), 137, 140.

⁴ Lehrbuch, p. 6.

nor primary, and that the tone peculiar to this sound is produced by a strictly median or middle articulation of the tongue, whilst the hissing stream in producing س breaks on the side, either right or left. By forming this sound and by observing these differences you will see that the median articulation is highly favourable to the labialization.

Lepsius,⁽¹⁾ who had studied the native authorities but was under the influence of Sanscrit grammar, called these four sounds 'linguals' and described them as follows: "the breadth of the tongue either touches or approaches the whole anterior space of the hard palate as far as the teeth, its tip being rather turned below." I would note that this explanation does not tally either with the lateral ض or with the lisping ظ. Five years ago an American scholar, Mr. Allen,⁽²⁾ in starting a new definition of this group of sounds, said: "The peculiarity of the emphatic sounds is a combination of glottal catch with the mouth position. The glottal catch may follow the mouth position, or may be simultaneous with it." Mr. G. F. Moore⁽³⁾ opposed this hypothesis, ultimately based upon some remarks of Wallin and Brücke. All I need here say is that Mr. Allen's opinion is not at all supported by the clear statements of the old Arabic authorities. The glottal catch or همزة is well known to them, nevertheless it is missing in their definition of الإطباق. But there is some truth in this hypothesis, as you will see further on.

Let us now examine the statements of the native philologists. Zamakhshary, in dealing with our subject briefly says (190, 6, s.): الإطباق أن تطبق على مخرج الحرف من اللسان ما حاذاه من الحنك "The covering consists in this, that you cover the place of utterance of the [respective] sound by the part of the palate which is opposite the tongue." Ibn Ya'ish does not make this clearer when he says (ii. 1466, 4.ss.): الإطباق أن ترفع ظهر لسانك إلى الحنك الأعلى مطبقاً له "The covering is, that you raise the ridge of your tongue towards the upper palate so as to cover it." It is only the text of Sibawaih which throws a fuller light on this curious phonetic process. I append it here with a merely literal translation: (ii. 455, 3 ss.) فالصا والصاد والظاء والطاء والمنفحة كل ما سوى ذلك من الحروف لانك

¹ Standard alphabet (1863), p. 74.

² On a new system of transliteration: "Proc. of the American Oriental Society," 1887, Oct., ccxliii-iv.

³ 2 Emphatic consonants: ibidem 1888, May, ccciv-vii; reply of Mr. Allen: ib. 1888, Oct., cviii-cxii.

لا تطبق لشيء منهن لسانك ترفعه الى الحنك الاعلى وهذه الحروف الاربعة اذا وضعت لسانك فى مواضعهن انطبق لسانك من مواضعهن الى ما حاذى الحنك الاعلى من اللسان ترفعه الى الحنك فاذا وضعت لسانك فالصوت محصور فيما بين اللسان والحنك الى موضع الحروف واما الدال والزاي ونحوهما فانما ينكسر الصوت اذا وضعت لسانك فى مواضعهن. “The covered sounds are *ص* and *ض*, *ط* and *ظ*; all other sounds are open, because you do not cover them in any way by raising your tongue towards the upper palate. But [as regards] these four sounds, if you put your tongue at the respective places of utterance, your tongue is covered from the places of utterance up to the spot where it is raised towards the opposite [upper] palate. When your tongue will have obtained this position, the voice (or breath) will be withheld between the tongue and the [upper] palate down to the places of utterance. If you utter sounds like *d* or *z* and so on, the voice (or breath) will already be withheld when you put your tongue to the place of utterance [without raising it towards the upper palate]. But in producing these four sounds the tongue has *two places of utterance*, and consequently the voice (or breath) is withheld in a different manner.” This very clear explanation, combined with other statements of the native scholars, cannot fail to lead us to the true sense of *الاطباق*. Sibawaih and Ibn Yaïsh say: “without the covering *ص* would be a *س*, and *ط* would be a *د*,⁽¹⁾ and *ظ* would be a *ذ*, and *ض* would not exist, because it has no correspondent sound without the covering.” You are aware that I have mentioned the class of raised sounds comprising (a) the four covered sounds, (b) the back-gutturals *ق* and *غ* and *خ*. These qualities of the covered sounds duly considered, we may conclude that their two-fold articulation mentioned by Sibawaih must consist (a) of the dental utterance common to all of them, (b) of a back-guttural articulation, which must have been the articulation of *غ* as regards *ض* and *ظ*, that of *خ* as regards *ص*, and of *ق* as regards *ط*.

At the present time this phonetic peculiarity appears to have been dropped at least in the speech of the inhabitants of the towns. In the Bedouin dialects it probably lasts till now, but I am unable to ascertain it from my own experience. You will now see

¹ By this statement, the voiced nature of *ط* becomes certain.

how the errors common to most of our scholars originated. They identified the ordinary place of utterance of these sounds with the upper palate articulation, and so they were compelled to describe mostly cerebral sounds.

In connection with *الاطباق*, I cannot help entering into the expression 'emphatic' applied to these sounds and some other ones by European grammarians.⁽¹⁾ As far as I see it is a translation of the Arabic term *مفخم* or *تفخيم*, *i.e.* thickening. It is used by orthoepists more than by grammarians, and means a certain variety of the primary sound, be it vowel or consonant; *e.g.* a thickened *a* is a dull labialized *â*, a thickened *l* is the hard *l* well known in the Slavonic languages, a thickened *f* is *p*; but *ص* is not a thickened *س*, nor *ق* a thickened *ك*. It is obvious that *تفخيم* does not mean a well-defined phonetic process, but it varies according to the nature of the sounds. So we had better banish this term as applied to the 'covered sounds,' and confine it to its own province, the science of orthoepics.⁽²⁾

The classical *ك* is generally accepted as *k*¹, the common *k* of European languages. The unclassical *ك* is according to the *Mufaṣṣal* (189, 10) pronounced 'like *ج*,' but *Sibaweih* (ii. 452, 13, 14) calls this variety *الكاف التي بين الجيم والكاف*. *Ibn Ya'ish* quotes the text of *Zamakhshary*, but in commenting upon it he takes up the words of *Sibaweih*, and says that this variety of *ك* is the same sound as the unclassical *ج*, pronounced like *ك*, that is, *g*. So we see that *ك* had (as well as *ق*) a twofold power, the classical being voiceless, the unclassical voiced. As regards the unclassical variety of *ق* recorded by *Lumsden* (i. 36), I suppose that 'like' is here homorganical, *i.e.* *ق* become voiceless (*k*²).

Besides the common *n* the grammarians state the existence of a classical-derived variety, called by them *النون الساكنة (الخفية, الخفيفة)*, and alleged to be characterized by *غنة*, or nasalization. This sound

¹ Wright calls these sounds 'strongly articulated'; Aug. Müller (1887) 'mit Nachdruck auszusprechen.'

² When I read my paper, I knew the Standard Alphabet of Lepsius only from quotations. After having perused the book itself, it may be fair to add that he was the first European scholar who clearly pointed out the combined articulation of the *الروف المطبقة*. On the other side, he obviously confounds the *الطباق* and the *تفخيم* (cf. l. c. pp. 57 s. 74). The same processes being confounded by later Arabic scholars, we may conclude that some phonic changes occurred in recent centuries.

is said to be found in **عَنك** 'anka,' and (Ibn Yaïsh) **مَنك** 'minka,' and we may judge from these examples that this variety is the guttural *n* so well known in English and German before guttural stops, *e.g.* long, lang, bank. But Ibn Yaïsh tells us that the same sound is found in fifteen formulas, viz., ng², nk, ndj (or ng or nž), nš, nš, ns, nz, nd², nz², nž², nd, nt, nž, nþ, nf, *i.e.* preceding gutturals, dentals, and a labio-dental sound. It is obvious that this kind of *n* must be different from the above-stated guttural variety. The common dental and the guttural *n* being out of court, we must find here the nasal vowel much used in French, Portuguese, and Polish, and this opinion, started by Erpen and S. de Sacy⁽¹⁾ is fully justified by the commentary of Ibn Yaïsh (ii. 1462, 10 ss.) **فَمَخْرَجُهَا مِنَ الْخَيْشُومِ لَا عِلَاجَ عَلَى الْقَمِّ فِي اخْرَاجِهَا**. "The sound of *n* [in the quoted formulas] starts from the nose-cartilages without the co-operation of the mouth in producing them." As regards the term **عَنَّة**,⁽²⁾ corresponding with the Sanscrit term anusvâra, it is applied by Zam. and Ibn Yaïsh to the guttural *n* and to the nasal vowel only. But Sib. tells us plainly that the dental *n* also and the *m* are accompanied by it. On the other hand, Ibn Yaïsh (ii. 1461, 1) attributes the nasalisation to the sound **و**.

With the other above-mentioned groups of sounds I may deal here very shortly. 'Raised sounds' (**حُرُوفٌ مُسْتَعْلِيَّةٌ**) is a name given to (a) the covered sounds, (b) the gutturals **ق** and **غ** and **خ**, because, in articulating them, the root of the tongue must be raised towards the soft palate. The other sounds are all **مُنْخَفِضَةٌ** 'not raised.' Five voiced stops, viz., **ج** *dj* (or *g?*), **ق** *g*², **ط** *d*², **د** *d*¹ and **ب** *b* are called **حُرُوفٌ الثَّقَلَةُ** *i.e.* crackling or bursting or exploding sounds, because they are accompanied by a certain jerk (**حَفَزٌ**) and squeezing (**ضَغْطٌ**). The group of the **حُرُوفُ الذَّلَاقَةِ**, comprising the liquids *l* and *r*, the nasals *m* and *n*, the labiodental *f* and the bilabial *b*, has but a lexicographical value, the philologists having noticed that these letters are especially used in forming the quadriliteral and quinqueliteral verbs. The other sounds are called in that respect hard or fast (**مُصَنَّنَةٌ**). The whistling sounds (**حُرُوفُ الصَّفِيرِ**)

¹ Grammaire Arabe, i. 22-3, à peu près comme l'*n* dans le mot français 'entrer.'

² **عَنَّة** is nasalisation, **عَنِي** is to sing. If you will consider the nasalising or snuffling character of Arabic music, you will agree with me in deriving **عَنِي** from **عَنَّة**. Thus singing is, speaking etymologically, a nasal utterance.

are ز ص and س, called in Europe 'hissing sounds.' 'Turning aside' (انحراف) is said to be peculiar to ل. Wallin⁽¹⁾ called it 'deviation,' but interpreted this term 'weil der Laut leicht in andere Laute übergeht.' That would point out the liquid character of ل. Fleischer⁽²⁾ corrected Wallin, the explanation of Ibn Ya'ish leaving no doubt that this term can but mean what we now call 'lateral' or 'side' articulation (ii. 1466, 7). The peculiarity ascribed to ر, viz., التكرير, exactly corresponds with our 'trilling' (in German, 'rollen').

The letter ت was called مهتوت, 'oppressed' or 'weak.' My authorities are silent about the reason of this term, but Lumsden cites a different text from native sources (i. 46): "The term مهتوت has been applied by some grammarians to the letter هاء, and by others to the letter همزة. It is sometimes superseded by the term مهتوف, and both terms are nearly synonymous." From these statements we may judge that the letter ت was so called on account of its capability of being weakened or becoming ه, that is to say, we are led to accept this term in the sense of 'opprimendus,' this meaning of the 'nomen patientis' being very common in modern Arabic.

I must now conclude. I am fully aware that many questions connected with these researches have not been discussed in my paper; but I trust you will allow me a few words about the utility of these phonetic investigations. In the first place, it is evident that they are an indispensable basis of Arabic philology in its highest acceptation. In grammatical and lexicographical matters it will eventually make a great difference, whether ق is k² or g² and ط t² or d², and ص a spirant or lispings or stop. Moreover, these studies are invaluable for dialectic purposes. I have pointed out that some letters had as far back as the oldest times two values or more. If we carefully combine these results with the other intimations scattered over Arabic literature, and with what we know about modern dialects, it will, I think, appear possible to delineate the grouping of old dialects and tribes. These researches would have not only a philological, but a very high historical and ethnological importance. There are two other very intricate questions which would be advanced by means of these investigations.

¹ Zeitschrift, xii. 624.

² Kleinere Schriften, i. 12-13.

It is not too much to say that, according to the prevalent opinion of Semitic scholars, the relation existing between the classical language and the vulgar speech is supposed to be that of a mother and her daughter. But there are many historical and linguistic facts which lead us to assume that the vulgar speech is not at all an offshoot of the classical, but has been independent, from the oldest times, and as a *spoken* language the very universal Arabic. On the other hand, the classical language, as mummified by the native scholars and so handed down to modern times, has never enjoyed more than a *literary* universality. I need not say that we shall arrive at results totally different according as we view the modern dialects in one light or in the other.

More closely connected with this question is another one, viz. that of the genealogical evolution of the Semitic languages. Since the well-known papers of Sprenger and Schrader have been issued, many scholars have nearly identified the Arabic language with the so-called primary Semitic. Nöldeke has corrected this opinion in many points, but nevertheless he lays stress upon the 'original abundance of consonants' in Arabic as an indication of its age and primitive character.⁽¹⁾ I am sorry to say that I cannot share his opinion, because if it is applied to the above-mentioned phonetic equations, many difficulties will arise: most of them would disappear if we would suppose the Hebrew-Assyrian layer of Semitic speech—to which the Ethiopic approaches very near—to be the oldest stage known in history. From this speech there branched off on one side the Aramaic, on the other side the Arabic. As regards the vulgar Arabic, it is very probable that it is an older layer than the classical language, and that therefore the classical Arabic is, from the phonetic point of view, the youngest prehistoric offshoot of the Semitic stock.

¹ "Encyclopaedia Britannica," 9th ed., xxi. 642^a.

XIII.

REMARKS ON THE EARLIEST DEVELOPMENT OF ARABIC MUSIC.

BY

DR. J. P. N. LAND,

Professor in the University of Leyden.

WHEN speaking of "Arabic music," we ought to distinguish, as Dr. Landberg rightly observed at the Leyden Congress of nine years ago, between the native custom of singing poetry to simple tunes, which may be studied to this day among the desert tribes, and the musical art (الغناء الممتقن) developed among town Arabs under foreign influence ever since the first century of Islam. The latter only is directly connected with what we call the general history of music; and although many of its traditions are long since lost, it can be understood up to a certain point from written documents preserved in our libraries. Of these I have had some opportunity, after others, of examining the principal contents, and my present purpose is to show, as far as such an undertaking is possible, that the artistic music of the Omayyads and Abbasids was *not a mere importation from abroad, but a development from native beginnings*, and deserves, notwithstanding all its borrowed elements, the appellation of *Arabic music*.

For our facts we have to rely mainly upon four authorities of the tenth century of our era: 1. The *Kitābo'l-aghānī*; 2. the masterly treatise on music by al-Fārābī (*Kitābo'l-mūsīqī*); 3. that of the society of the *Ikhwāno 'ṣ-Ṣafā*; and 4. the vocabulary of Moham-mad al-Khowarazmī the Scribe.

On a former occasion I have established that al-Fārābī, as a wise man, had no object but to codify and rationalise the rules actually adopted by the leading performers of his time, and that the later theorists, Ḡāfīo'd-dīn, 'Abdo'l-qādir, &c., even those who wrote in Persian, pursued their work on the very lines laid down by that

philosopher, so that they also belong to the same distinct school of art, which we have every reason to consider as Arabic, and of which I am now about to explain the beginnings.

First of all we turn to the important achievement of Ibn-Mosagihh, or rather Ibn-Misgahh,¹ a negro of Mecca, as described in the *Kitābo'l-aghānī*. In the reign of Moāwiya the First (A.D. 661–680), he listened to the singing of certain Persian builders summoned from 'Irāq, and took to himself such of their tunes as pleased him best, adapting the same to Arabic poems; also he composed some of his own in the same style. Afterwards, having gained his liberty, he went to Syria to study the art of Greek barbiton-players and theorists (στοιχειαταί αστοχουσική); thence to Persia, where he learnt many more songs, together with the use of stringed instruments. On his return to Hhigāz he retained the sweetest of those strains; however, "he rejected as much as displeased him among the liftings of the voice (نبرات) and the sounds (نغم) pertaining to the singing of Persians and Greeks, but not to that of the Arabs. He was the first to arrange and observe this style of modulating, and people followed his example: "—

وقد اخذ محاسن تلك النغم وألقى منها ما استقبحه من النبرات والنغم التي هي موجودة في نغم غناء الفرس والروم خارجة عن غناء العرب وغنى على هذا المذهب فكان أول من اثبت ذلك ولحقه وتبعه الناس بعد
(Ed. Kosegarten, p. 9).

Here we have plain evidence to prove that the Persian and Byzantine importations did not supersede the national music, but were engrafted upon an Arabic root with a character of its own.

In those days, and long afterwards, many accomplished singers were content with marking time by means of a rod (قضيب) or a small round or square hand-drum (دَف). Others preferred the use of the lute, or even added a flute (مزمار) to keep them true to the tune and enhance the charm of the voice. There could be no

¹ "Son of Indulgent, or Merciful" *بن مساجح* (Caussin de Perceval). Kosegarten reads *مساجح*. Perhaps *مساجح* (له) ("Pardoned"). However, as Dr. de Goeje showed me, only the form *مساجح* is well supported by testimony as a man's name. In the Bulaq edition of our author (III. 84–88), there is nothing to prevent our following this vocalisation.

question of harmony in our sense of the word, which Moslems have never attempted. Even when on grand occasions there were fifty lutes being played at once, it was all in unison.

The town of Medina was but little behind in adopting the new style of singing. From both of the original centres of Islam it wandered with the Khalifs to Damascus and Bagdad, and, in spite of Puritan opposition against so frivolous an amusement, enjoyed the patronage of many of the first personages of the empire. Under such encouragement and in constant intercourse with professional men and scholars of various nationalities, Persian refinement and Greek speculation were called upon again and again to perfect the inventions of the negro of Mecca without shaking their original Arabic foundation. For we must bear in mind that the music now under consideration was provided in the first place for an Arabic aristocracy with strong national feelings.

Before proceeding to particulars, we must take a look at the instrument which all the musicians of the school in question considered as the most important, and even used like a text to be interpreted when they explained the scale. Its name is invariably ¹ the primitive Arabic one of *al-‘ūd* (العود, "the wood"), whence our word *lute*. The Persians had a similar apparatus, from which several features were borrowed in succession; but then it must have been called otherwise in their own language. Suppose it had been adopted bodily, why not the name together with the thing, as it was in the case of the features just alluded to? In al-Fārābī's time the lute had four strings, made of catgut or silk, of which the lowest and the highest are always mentioned by the Persian names of *bamm* and *zīr*.² On its neck the touches were marked by frets, and these are known invariably as *dasātīn* (singular: *distān*, a Persian word again). So we may well venture to infer that the frets and the two strings were imitated from Persian practice, but that the lute itself was not.

In fact, the proper and constant characteristic of the Arabic lute is the shortness of its neck, owing to the circumstance that a string is never touched beyond the topmost fourth of its sounding length, so that, supposing it, for instance, to be tuned in C, no higher tone than the nearest F is or was ever played upon it.

¹ Only Avicenna describes it by the Greek name of *barbiton*:

والآلة المشهورة هي البربط (MS. Marsh 161 in the Bodleian Library, p. 12).

² Perhaps formerly also as الصَّيَّاح and الشَّحَّاج, the croaker and the shrieker, which afterwards became the names for the grave and sharp terms of any octave.

Originally there must have been only one string (وتر), like that of the hunter's and warrior's bow, from which, as is well known, all stringed instruments are ultimately derived. Julius Pollux, writing under the Emperor Commodus (A.D. 180-192), asserts that the one-stringed twanged instrument (μονόχορδον) is an Arabian invention;¹ so in his time the 'ūd can hardly have rejoiced in a second string. In point of fact, there was no use for it, as long as the tunes went no further than the tetrachord, or say from C to F.

Another regular characteristic of the said lute is the placing of the several fingers of the left hand. If the string be tuned in C, the forefinger is always and everywhere put on D, the middle finger on E flat, the ring-finger on E natural, and the little finger on F. This was sufficient for playing in unison with the oldest melodies, which must have been very like certain simple strains of similar compass that one may hear among the people in various Moham-medan countries, in some remote districts of Spain, and in many other parts to this very day. The melodies are reported² as being of two different kinds, some containing the minor, and others the major third; in other terms, as the tetrachord consists of two tones and a semitone, the semitone was placed either in the middle or at the top. Of course, where the Persians had a scale attaining to the octave at least, and the Greeks even a "perfect" system of two octaves, the intervals past the tetrachord had at all events to be rejected, as Ibn Misgahh did, because they were foreign to Arabic custom and taste.

Now what was the instrument meant by Arabs when they talked of "the Persian lute?" I cannot but conclude that it was the *pandura*, or, as the Arabs pronounced the word, the *ṭanbūr* (طنبور).

Julius Pollux, whom I mentioned just now, an Egyptian Greek living towards the end of our second century, declares that it had three strings, and was called *pandura* by the Assyrians, meaning, of course, the Syrians.³ Nicomachus of Gerasa in Syria, a little before him, speaks of monochords, which the vulgar call *φανδούροι*, and the Pythagorean theorists, *κανόνες*.⁴ Martianus Capella, in the fifth century, mentions the *pandura* as an Egyptian instrument.⁵ Al-Fārābī describes a *ṭanbūr* of Bagdad and one of Khorāsān, both

¹ Jul. Pollux, *Onomasticon*, iv. 9, § 60: Μονόχορδον δὲ Ἀράβων τὸ εὖρημα.

² Kitābo'l-aghānī, p. 182, Kosegarten. Al-Khowarazmī, p. 145 of the Leyden MS.

³ *Loc. cit.* : τριχορδον δὲ ὑπερ' Ἀσσύριοι πανδοῦραν ὠνόμαζον.

⁴ Nicom., *Harm.*, i. p. 8, Meibom. : μονόχορδα . . . ἃ δὲ φανδούρους καλοῦσιν οἱ πολλοί, κανόνες δ' οἱ Πυθαγορικοί.

⁵ Mart. Cap., l. ix. p. 177, Meibom. : Panduram Ægyptios attemptare permisi.

regions formerly belonging to the Persian empire, whereas the instruments differed only in details; and the name, together with the thing, survives to this moment in many varieties.

Taking all the evidence together, we find that the instrument in question was no other in substance than the primeval two-stringed guitar, as it is usually termed, the *nefer*, conspicuous even among the oldest hieroglyphics of Egypt (where, however, it shows but one screw for holding a string), and figured also upon at least one Assyrian monument.¹ It was clearly distinguished from the true lute by a much longer neck and a small round or oval body, so that it differed from the original shooting-bow only by the straightness of the handle and the addition of a sound-box at the bottom. Just as we have in modern Egypt the "poet's *rabāb*" (رباب الشاعر) with one string, and the "singer's *rabāb*" (رباب المغنى) with two, the simpler variety of *nefer* or *pandura* survived for many centuries beside the more common two-stringed improvement, and was also used by Greek theorists in the East instead of the old *kanōn* or monochord in demonstrating the intervals of musical sounds. For the Greeks and Romans in their own countries never employed an instrument with a neck and finger-board; their own *kanōn* (or monochord) was properly a philosophical apparatus,² of altogether different construction, and when it was exceptionally played in practical music, its bridges had to be shifted to and fro, and its many shortcomings to be disguised by an accompaniment of flutes. No wonder that teachers of theory in Eastern provinces preferred to illustrate their lessons by means of the handier native instrument, and raise it to the dignity of a canon. This appellation has afterwards been transferred by mistake to a kind of dulcimer, hardly serviceable for the purpose of teaching the scale by division of a string; but this misnomer belongs to a much later period.

¹ See *Egyptian Texts of the Earliest Period from the Coffin of Amamu in the British Museum* (London, 1886, by S. Birch), pl. xxiii. On the original monuments in the Leyden Museum the one-screwed *nefer* is found as late as the eighteenth or twentieth dynasty. The second screw does not appear there before the twenty-sixth. Dr. Pleyte observed to me that in transcribing hieroglyphic texts as mere characters of writing, European savants are not sure to attend to this difference. The Assyrian specimen is figured in the Catalogue of Musical Instruments in the South Kensington Museum, by Carl Engel (2nd edit., Lond., 1874), p. 25. It shows two tassels, probably the ends of two strings. The figure on the coffin of Amamu (fifth dynasty, or even earlier) seems to show traces of nine frets.

² Figured in Ptolemæi *Harmonicor.* ll. iii., ed. Wallis, Oxon., 1682, i. 8 (time: A.D. 161-180). *Ib.*, ii. 12: ἀεὶ καταλούμενον ἢ κατασυριζόμενον, ἵνα ταῖς ἐξ ἐκείνων κατηχήσῃσι λανθάνη διαμαρτάνον.

If I am not wholly mistaken, that which the Arabs design as the "Persian lute" was really a *pandura* with two strings and several frets, marking the Persian scale named *rāst* or normal, which nearly answers to our diatonic major scale with the seventh flattened. The Arabs, while keeping to their own lute and tetrachord, adopted such frets as they had a use for, and also the second string; the latter because women's and children's voices sound an octave higher than those of men, and had to be accompanied as well as the latter in unison. On both the *bamm* and the *zīr* their playing went from C to F (or whatever the pitch of the tetrachord might be), and no further.

As to the name of *pandur* (-a is either an Aramaic or a Greek termination, as others said *phanduros*), the Arabs, having no *p* in their speech, could not pronounce it as it was. Certain Syrians long before them, encountering the same difficulty, had altered it into *phandur*, as we learn from Nicomachus. They themselves in their turn chose to preserve the hard consonant at the beginning, and change the points of articulation; so they boldly pronounced *ṭanbūr* (طنبور). Perhaps, as is the wont of popular etymology, they had some thought of their own words *ṭonb* (طنب, a rope or string) and *nabara* (نبرة, a lifting of the voice), as if the meaning of the new group of sounds were something like "voice-string."¹

The places for the frets were easily found by dividing the top-most quarter of the length of string into five equal parts. Then the second and fourth points of division yielded a satisfactory D ($\frac{9}{16}$, as with our seventeenth-century theorists, Mersenne, &c.) and E ($\frac{4}{5}$), and the third point a middling E flat ($\frac{17}{20}$), which the more accomplished artists soon endeavoured to improve upon various principles. The Persian performers, even when they took part in the Arabic movement of the court circles, were not conversant with Greek mathematics, and in the days of the Khalifs they are always conspicuous by their merely empirical contrivances to meet the exigencies of the delicate musical ear. The main difficulties of the period concerned the regulation and extension of the tonal system. The old minor third (E flat) was a standing puzzle. Also the first point of division had to be looked after, as there was no apparent reason to leave the first tone (C D) undivided, and there already existed a fret producing an indifferent D flat ($\frac{19}{20}$), employed occa-

¹ Similarly, certain Flemings of the sixteenth century confounded the unfamiliar name of *gavotte* (a dance borrowed from the Pays de Gap) with that of the newly imported instrument called *fagotto*, or bassoon. Cp. also رطل *riṭl* or *raṭl*, from *λίτρα*, a pound, &c. &c.

sionally (as زائد) in ornamenting the tune. Besides this, the difference between the minor tone at the bottom (C D, $\frac{9}{10}$) and the major tone following (D E, $\frac{8}{9}$) seemed an irregularity not sanctioned by the unbiassed ear, and not to be tolerated. Hence the rational plan of the Pythagoreans was soon generally adopted, and the major tone $\frac{8}{9}$ taken as the common measure. At first only the degrees D and E, as we have chosen to call them, were regularised by means of it (on the "di-tonic" principle), as it seems by general consent, while the artists were still fumbling about for their D flat and E flat. Some of them continued to place these, in the Persian fashion, midway between the C, D, and E points; others preferred the more rational method of measuring two major tones backwards from F. Under Hārūn ar-Rashīd (A.D. 786-809) a famous lute-player nicknamed Zalzal, brother-in-law to the celebrated singer Ibrāhīm al-Mauḥilī, did not see why the time-honoured distinction between minor and major thirds should be maintained, and devised a neutral third, determining it by the Persian proceeding, to wit, by tying a fret at equal distances from the Arabic-Persian E flat and the diatonic E, or at $\frac{2}{3}\frac{2}{7}$ of the sounding string, a contrivance admired and imitated by many for centuries afterwards.

He also improved upon the shape of the lute. Hitherto it had been more or less like that of the Persians, barring the relative dimensions of its parts. Zalzal had it constructed in the form of a fish called *shabbūt* (شَبُّوط), which, as the lexicons tell us, has a narrow tail, a broad middle part, and a small head. If I am not mistaken about the so-called Persian lute being simply a *pandur*, the innovation must have been mainly this, that the body and the neck, instead of remaining clearly distinct parts, were made as far as possible into a single object, the one gradually sloping off into the other.¹

Meanwhile the stringing and tuning of the instrument had undergone a change of more vital importance. Composers of melodies had learnt from their foreign friends to go far beyond the ancient tetrachord, and display the full compass of the human voice, and the lute had to follow. There was a gap of three tones and a half between the old scales of the *bamm* and the *z̄ir*, as they were tuned in octave, and went no further than from C to F. To remedy the defect, the Arabic artists now strung two intermediate strings, which they called *mathnā* (مثنى) and *mithlath* (مثلث)—Arabic forms

¹ See drawing from MS. in Land, *Hist. de la Gamme Arabe*, pl. i. 1. In Marsh 161 (MS. in Bodleian Library) the lute is figured with a distinct beginning of the neck.

derived from the numerals for two and three. The four strings were henceforth tuned in fourths, say C, F, B flat, and E flat, each beginning its series of sounds at the point where the other terminated its own, so that the *z̤ir* was raised by a tone and a half, and with its "little finger" (A flat) lacked but two tones of the acme of perfection, the second octave.

In thus perfecting the principles of their art, the practical musicians were assisted by scientific men, more or less familiar with the learning of the Greeks. As early as the eighth century of our era, al-Khalīl, who laid down the rules of pronunciation and metre in poetry, wrote a book upon rhythm and another treating on musical sounds. To the ninth century belong the philosophers al-Kindī, Qostā ben Lūqā, and some others. The doctrines of all were reviewed in a separate book by the great al-Fārābī, a work that seems to have perished, together with those it commented upon—a great loss to the history of musical art. Happily we still possess, in three copies at the least, the same author's Book of Music, a mine of trustworthy information not yet fully exhausted. The object of that treatise has been frequently misunderstood, but, as I stated just now, it was manifestly intended to let in the full light of Greek science upon the living Arabic art of the writer's own age. He attempted, not to reconstruct, but to correct, the practice of music, and to reconcile the pleasure of the senses with the satisfaction of intellectual wants. The one innovation we have some reason to put to his account is the use of a fifth lute-string, called *al-hhādd* (الحَادّ, the sharp), in order to reach the second octave, and so complete what the Greeks described as the perfect system, being the entire range of a singer's voice. But then the same expedient had been occasionally proposed even a century before him.

As I have repeatedly examined all the available evidence, I may venture to express some confidence that my account of the artistic movement in question will be found to tally with all the texts already known, and such as may be discovered afterwards. Still it can be but an outline of the first chapter of some future history of music among the followers of Islam. These people belong to widely different nationalities, and even the unity of religious faith and the general influence of the culture prevailing at the court of old Baghdād, have not produced absolute uniformity of musical education. Even now the native of Hhigāz, as we are credibly informed, does not enjoy the music of Egyptians, which will enrapture a Syrian audience; and how about Central Asia and the African North-

West? It will be needful, in pursuing these researches, to keep the local traditions carefully apart, and to follow up separately the spread of instruments, of scales, rhythms, and tunes, from one part of the Mohammedan world and its surroundings to the other. However, in spite of all the divergences to be expected over an area of such extent, and of the universal decline of prosperity and civilisation in those countries, we should still look out in all directions for remains of that early mediæval art, Arabic as well as (and even more than) what is known as Arabic science, and which, as well as the latter, has left its mark even upon the culture of our own ancestry.

For published materials relating to the subject, see [De la Borde], *Essai sur la Musique Anc. et Mod.*, I., Paris, 1780; Villoteau in *Description de l'Egypte*, edit. in 8vo, vol. xiii.-xiv., Paris, 1823; Von Hammer in *Wiener Jahrbücher der Literatur*, 1840; Kosegarten (*Ali Ispahanensis Liber Cantilenarum*, Greifswald, 1840, *proæmium*); Kiesewetter, *Die Musik der Araber*, Leipzig, 1842; Eli Smith in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, I., 1847, 1849; Christianowitsch, *Esquisse Historique de la Musique Arabe aux Temps Anciens*, Cologne, 1863; Salvador Daniel, *La Musique Arabe; ses Rapports avec la Musique Grecque et le Chant Gregorien*, Alger, 1863, nouv. ed. 1879; Caussin de Perceval in *Journal Asiatique*, 1873; Land, *Recherches sur l'Histoire de la Gamme Arabe*, Leyde, 1884 (also in the *Travaux* of the Leyden Congress of 1883); Id., *Ton-schriftversuche und Melodieproben aus dem muhammedanischen Mittelalter*, in *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, II., Leipzig, 1886; Carra de Vaux in *Journal Asiatique*, 1891; also Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, and many books on Eastern travel.

XIV.

ON THE STUDY OF MODERN ARABIC BY EUROPEANS.

BY

LIEUT.-COLONEL G. T. PLUNKETT, R.E.

OUR President, in his opening address, represented so strongly and eloquently the claims of modern Arabic as a branch of study of the greatest importance to Englishmen, that it is unnecessary for me to enter at length upon this part of my subject. Our rapidly increasing intercourse with Oriental races renders it eminently desirable that all Europeans, and more especially Englishmen, should be given facilities for the practical study of this most useful and widespread language. It is not only requisite for travellers, officials in the diplomatic, military, and consular services, whose duties lead them to Eastern countries, and for those engaged in commercial pursuits, that a knowledge of modern Arabic is necessary, but also to promote between Eastern and Western nations the sympathy and mutual understanding which can hardly exist without the basis of a common tongue. Arabic is not only the language of Arabia, Mesopotamia, Syria, Egypt, and the whole northern coast of Africa to the Atlantic, but is also the medium of intercourse at Zanzibar, in the seaports, and on the rivers and trade routes of a great portion of the whole African continent. Yet for the study of modern Arabic hardly any facilities exist in London at present. Europeans who go to the East unprepared very often pick up a mere jargon, in which anything like real conversation is impossible, while those who study Arabic in English Universities study only the classical written language without the modern idioms, and usually acquire a very faulty pronunciation, so that on arrival among Arabic-speaking people they have almost to begin again. The Imperial Institute, working with University and King's Colleges, has done something to assist this study, but nothing in com-

parison with what is needed. Students are offered one lesson per week, but to obtain a practical knowledge of even a much easier language than Arabic this would, of course, be quite insufficient; and when supplemented by private lessons, the expense is much more than most students can afford; thus they are debarred from obtaining a thorough knowledge of the language or qualifying for examinations. As a matter of fact, the classes in Arabic and some other languages have been very poorly attended, and, whilst giving due credit to the authorities of the Imperial Institute for the beginning that has been made, it is evident that much more remains to be done.

The practical method of teaching an Oriental is no other than that adopted by all the best teachers for imparting the ordinary European languages. The student should devote himself for as many hours as possible in each day to training his ear rather than his eye in the language he wishes to master, reading it, talking it, and listening to it with a native, so as to make the formation of the sounds, and recognition of them when heard, a matter of habit rather than of memory. It is well known what an advantage it is, even in the case of a European language, to learn the pronunciation from a native, and it is far more so with Arabic, which has so many consonants entirely different from any to which we are accustomed, bringing into play various muscles, more especially in the throat, which are little used in forming sounds in our languages. For this reason few Europeans or other persons who have not spoken Arabic from infancy ever acquire an even approximately correct pronunciation, and hardly any but a born Arab is ever qualified to impart this pronunciation to others.

This training of the organs of speech and of hearing is most important, and can only be carried out by constant conversation and reading with native teachers, as above mentioned. At present, not only are there very few good teachers of the language in England, but it is even difficult to find them in Cairo; those who speak it with the greatest purity have not the requisite training for imparting their knowledge to others. Among the modern dialects there are great differences in pronunciation, as well as some in idiom and in vocabulary. There would, I am sure, be no difficulty in finding intelligent Arabs, educated in their own literature and having a good pronunciation, who would be willing to devote themselves to teaching, but such men would be quite useless without special training. It would not be advisable to bring such men straight to London; the change from Arabia, Egypt, or Mesopotamia would be

too sudden, and the best men would probably object to come. I therefore propose that a teachers' training school, which might at first be on a very small scale, should be established, say in Cairo, for a few selected pupils; and when these were trained, two or three should be brought to London under the auspices of some public institution, where moderate endowments would be available, so that English students should be able to get practical instruction either free of expense—as is the case in Berlin and Paris, and I believe also in Vienna and Italy—or, at all events, at a very moderate cost. No doubt a demand for such teachers would also soon arise in our great provincial centres. What I have said applies, though perhaps in a lesser degree, to other Oriental languages, such as Persian, Hindustani, Chinese, &c., but the pressing want is for modern Arabic. Arrangements should be made for the course of lessons in England to be supplemented by a course at the school in Egypt, where perhaps the English student might assist in training the native teachers whilst perfecting his own knowledge of Arabic.

Among other advantages, it would probably result that this school would supply good teachers of English for Arabic-speaking countries, while the English students would by constant intercourse with speakers of Arabic obtain the fluency and familiarity with the tongue that no mere book-learning can ever give. At the present time, England is far behind all the other principal nations of Europe in the facilities it offers for the study of modern Oriental languages; but if such a scheme is adopted as I have attempted briefly to describe, we shall soon be as far ahead. I hope that the many eminent men who are taking part in this Congress will join in urging on the British Government and those responsible for our great educational establishments the importance of this work, and the certainty that with a comparatively small outlay a few years must produce great results. Surely the national exchequer, which can pay for education more than six millions per annum, can afford a few thousands for Oriental languages, and we may also hope that the Prime Minister of this country, who, by taking an active part in this Congress, has shown his great interest in Oriental as in all other branches of scholarship, will lend his powerful advocacy to the cause.

SECTION III.

SEMITIC.

(B.) ASSYRIAN AND BABYLONIAN.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

BY

PROFESSOR A. H. SAYCE,

President.

THE existence of a Section of the Congress of Orientalists devoted exclusively to Assyriology must be a matter of extreme satisfaction to those who have watched the upward struggle of Assyriological studies for recognition. Assyriological science is not more than half a century old, and during a large portion of its career it has had to contend against the hostility or the neglect of the students of the better-known Semitic languages. For many years it was confined to a small band of enthusiastic scholars, who persevered in the work of unravelling the mysteries of the cuneiform script despite the contempt with which their studies were treated, and the cry of "improbable" or "unscientific" with which their results were received. To be a student of the Assyrian inscriptions was for many years regarded in several quarters as equivalent to being a charlatan.

The small band of workers has now become a goodly multitude, and Assyriology, especially in America, is one of the fashionable studies of the day. Chairs have been founded for the promotion of it in France and Germany, in Italy and America, and finally in our own country in the ancient University of Oxford. Last, but not least, a special Assyriological Section has been detached from the main Semitic Section in the Congress of Orientalists.

The rapidity of the progress made by our science is equalled only by the ever-increasing abundance of the materials with which it has to deal. Two of its founders are still among us—Sir Henry Rawlinson and Professor Oppert—to the first of whom we owe the earliest revelation of the meaning of the Assyrian inscriptions, while it was the other who formulated the rules of Assyrian grammar. It is difficult to realise that the wondrous growth of Assyriology has thus been the growth of less than a lifetime. Before Sir Henry Layard excavated at Nineveh, the Assyrian collection of the British Museum was confined to a few small objects in a small glass case;

now the collection embraces a vast literature, which it will occupy generations of scholars thoroughly to exhaust.

It is interesting and instructive to compare the first tentative beginnings of Assyrian decipherment with our present knowledge of the writing and language of the monuments. The hesitating conjectures, the bold hypotheses, the far-seeing conclusions of the pioneers of Assyriology, have developed little by little into a body of certain and systematised facts. A historical inscription of the ordinary kind can now be read with as much ease and certainty as a page of the Old Testament. Assyrian grammar has taken its place in linguistic study by the side of Hebrew, or Arabic, or Syriac grammar, and the Hebrew Lexicon has not disdained the help that has been offered to it by the copious vocabulary of Assyrian.

But the Semitic language of Assyria and Babylonia has not been the only linguistic spoil which has been won by cuneiform decipherment. The Assyrian texts have been the key and vestibule to other texts, equally written in cuneiform characters, but embodying other languages, the memory of which had long passed away. The discovery of the non-Semitic language of ancient Chaldæa—the Accadian or Sumerian, as it has been termed—is one of the chiefest and most unexpected results of the decipherment of the inscriptions. We see in it the oldest form of agglutinative speech of which contemporaneous monuments have been preserved, and the records it has left behind take us back to the grey dawn of Oriental history. In the mountains of Armenia in the north, again, the rocks are covered with cuneiform texts, the decipherment of which has opened out to us a new language, akin, it may be, to the Georgian of to-day. Eastwards, among the snow-clad ranges of Susiania, other inscriptions have been discovered in yet another language of the ancient world, a language which, like that of primitive Babylonia, was agglutinative, though its actual affinities are still a matter of doubt. Even in the west, Assyriological research has revealed to us the records of a speech unlike any with which the philologist has hitherto been acquainted. Among the cuneiform tablets found at Tel el-Amarna—tablets which, as the President of the Congress has been telling us, have revolutionised our ideas of ancient Oriental history and have poured a flood of light on one of its most interesting epochs—is a long letter from the king of Mitanni, on the eastern bank of the Euphrates, in the Aram-Naharaim, or “Aram of the two Rivers,” of Scripture. Enough of the language of the letter has been made out to show that it is characterised by new and peculiar features, which, however, remind us somewhat of the Vannic

language of primitive Armenia. They offer us a glimpse into a group of tongues which must once have existed in Eastern Asia Minor, all traces of which seemed but a short while ago to have long since disappeared for ever.

The various languages and dialects which have made use of the cuneiform system of writing, and for the decipherment of which a knowledge of Assyrian is indispensable, are of themselves a sufficient excuse for separating the study of Assyrian from that of the cognate Semitic idioms, and constituting for it an independent Section. But there is another reason why it is advisable to divide the Semitic Section of the Congress into two Sub-Sections, one of which would be devoted entirely to Assyrian and Assyriology. This second reason is the abundance of the materials with which the Assyriologist is called upon to deal. It is difficult for those who are not Assyriologists by profession to realise how enormous is the mass of Assyrian literature already contained in the museums of Europe, America, and even Africa and Asia. A comparatively small portion only of this literature has as yet been examined, though workers in the field of Assyrian research are multiplying every day, and though the "Students' Room" in the British Museum is continually filled with eager students engaged in copying new texts or collating others, but little impression has after all been made upon the main bulk of the cuneiform literature stored in the British Museum alone. And it must be remembered that Assyrian literature is not a literature the limits of which have been reached. It is not like the literature of the Old Testament, to which there is little hope of our being able to make additions. On the contrary, it is constantly growing; fresh exploratory expeditions are sent to the East, which bring back fresh spoils in the shape of inscribed tablets for the museums of Berlin or America, and the native Arabs are continually bringing to light fresh records of the past, which sooner or later find their way into European hands. The literature of the Assyrian tablets, large as it is, is perpetually growing, and before long it will rival in extent the literature of other extinct Semitic tongues.

There is a further reason why Assyriology should claim a Section to itself. The Assyrian texts are still in process of decipherment. They need a decipherer as well as a philologist. They are not like Hebrew, or Ethiopic, or Syriac texts, the traditional interpretation of which has never been broken. It is true we have grammars of the Assyrian language, but dictionaries in the true sense of the term we can have none. It is impossible to compile a dictionary of a language which is being gradually deciphered, and where a new

text may at any time upset a signification previously attached to a particular word, or clear up the meaning of a term which was previously obscure. Even grammatical rules are hard to lay down in the case of a language which we know only in part. Now and then I have seen statements made by young Assyriologists that a particular grammatical form is "impossible." But such statements are the result of youth and inexperience. Those of us who have watched the progress of Assyrian studies almost from their beginning, have long ago learnt that in Assyrian, as in science, nothing is impossible. There is much that may be improbable, but the Assyriologist has been taught again and again that the rules he has formulated for the Assyrian language are not rules which the Assyrians themselves always obeyed.

The younger Assyriologists of to-day, more especially those who belong to what is called the "Leipzig School," are too apt to forget that the Assyriologist must be primarily a decipherer. The period of decipherment is not yet over, nor will it be over for many years to come. And there is little good in trying to found an Assyrian philology before the work of decipherment has been fully accomplished. The discussions about the pronunciation of certain Assyrian sounds, which are unfortunately too prominent in many Assyriological publications, are a simple waste of time, and not unfrequently conceal the writer's inability to decipher the inscriptions about which he speaks. Unless we can raise an ancient Assyrian to life, we shall never know exactly how he pronounced his words. We do not even know how ancient Greek was pronounced, and there is much in the pronunciation of Latin which is a matter of question; how much more impossible, therefore, must it be to determine the pronunciation of Assyrian. Indeed, I have sometimes noticed that those who write most positively about the pronunciation of the Assyrian vowels and sibilants betray a complete ignorance of the real pronunciation of a modern Semitic language, as heard, for instance, in the bazaars of Cairo.

The primary duty of the Assyriologist, in fact, is to translate his texts, and until he can do this, those of us who belong to the older school may be pardoned if we feel sceptical about his knowledge of the language, or his ability to settle complicated questions of phonology and philology. When a translator makes elementary mistakes, when he shows an ignorance of Assyrian syntax and idiom, and fails to find his way through a simple sentence, it is difficult to treat his grammatical or lexical speculations with respect, however dogmatically they may be expressed. I have been much disappointed of

late to find what little advance has been made during the last twenty years in the art of translating the inscriptions, in spite of the increased facilities for doing so. Grammars and vocabularies, teachers and scholars, have multiplied, numerous texts of all kinds have been published, the native lexical tablets have been ransacked, and the copying of the inscriptions has been carried on with minute care. But nevertheless the translation of an Assyrian text made by a competent scholar twenty years ago is not very far behind that which is made to-day. I have recently been comparing the latest renderings of the texts relating to the Creation and the Deluge with those made by George Smith in the hurry of his last fatal departure for the East, at a time when the language and style of the texts in question were new to the Assyriologists, and when most of the references in them were still obscure. And yet I find that George Smith usually seized the meaning of the passage quite as well as its most modern translator—if not better—and that although here and there the signification of a word or a phrase has been ascertained which was unknown to him, yet, on the whole, what he found obscure remains as obscure as ever, while many of his conjectural renderings are preferable to those of his successors.

That the primary work of Assyriology is thus behindhand is due in large measure to the attempt to create a philology of Assyrian before the task of decipherment is concluded. There are, of course, many temptations to such an endeavour. It is not given to all men to be decipherers; it is easier to learn the rules of a grammar and to look out words in a dictionary than to make out the sense of an inscription without the help of either. Moreover, there has been a special inclination in Germany to show that Assyrian is as much a settled discipline as any of the better-known Semitic languages. To the charge that its study was unscientific, that it was compelled to have recourse to conjectures and to the hypothesis of the decipherer, it was tempting to answer that the age of conjectures and hypothesis had passed away, and that the Assyriologists could now dispense with them quite as much as the Hebraist or the Arabist. The only pity is that the reply was incorrect, and merely proved the ignorance of the respondent, or his misapprehension of the present position of Assyrian research.

What makes the foundation of an Assyrian philology, apart from Assyrian decipherment, so peculiarly difficult is the graphic system of the Assyrian texts. The cuneiform syllabary originated on the one hand in pictorial characters, and on the other hand was intended to represent the words and syllables of a non-Semitic language. The

consequence of this is, not only that the characters are polyphonous and ideographic, but also that they are very ill adapted for expressing the sounds of a Semitic speech. Sounds which were certainly distinct in Assyrian pronunciation are confounded together in writing, while sounds are separated in writing which may have been identical in pronunciation. If we add to this that every character possessed more than one phonetic value, and that the philological aspect and origin of a word will often depend on the value assigned to one of the characters which represent it, it will become obvious that the interpretation of an Assyrian text demands a decipherer rather than a philologist.

But the decipherer can do little more than pioneer the way unless he is a philologist as well. We want not only a solver of riddles, but also a Semitic scholar. And even on this side of the subject, I have to complain that less progress has been made than the number of students and the abundance of materials at their disposal would justify us in expecting. It is true that many Assyrian grammars have been compiled, and different terms proposed for designating the various forms of the verb. It is also true that much has been done for Assyrian lexicography, even if many of the meanings and etymologies proposed for certain words will not bear close examination. But the more subtle and spiritual side of philology, if I may call it so, has been neglected. We still know but little about Assyrian syntax. The syntax of the historical texts is, indeed, usually so simple as to make it difficult for the translator to go astray, and in the bi-lingual hymns the meaning of the text is guaranteed by the Sumerian version as well as by the parallelism of the verses. But there are many texts which the Assyriologist is called upon to decipher in which the syntax is neither simple nor easy to understand. The inscription of Cyrus, for example, in which the king of Anzan relates his conquest of Babylon, and his call to the work by the god Merodach, is full of difficulties which are mainly caused by our ignorance of its syntax. It is sometimes impossible even to determine where one sentence ends and another begins, where the syntactical structure of one passage breaks off, and that of another passage commences. If we turn to a new class of texts, like that of the letters found at Tel el-Amarna, we find ourselves confronted by the same difficulties. Time after time it will happen that the signification of every word in a particular clause is known, as well as of the grammatical forms which occur in it, and that nevertheless the meaning of the whole remains obscure. The syntax of the sentence on which the meaning depends has not yet been cleared up.

There is only one way in which much real progress can be made by the decipherer of the cuneiform texts, and that is by the exercise of his common sense. The old scribes who have bequeathed to us the literature of Babylonia and Assyria must have intended that the words they wrote should have a meaning. They would never have wasted their time in writing nonsense, and we may therefore feel quite sure that if the translations we make of their works do not yield a clear sense, the fault lies not with the original author, but with his modern translator. The enigmatical or unintelligible renderings of Assyrian inscriptions, which have sometimes been put forward, prove only that the translator is unequal to his task. The context is often a better guide to him than the pages of a grammar or of a so-called dictionary, however authoritative may be the name which appears on the title-page. If a translation of a passage will not harmonise with the context, it must be rejected, however unexceptionable it may be from a purely lexical or grammatical point of view. What is nonsense in English, or French, or German, is equally nonsense in Assyrian.

It is the privilege of the old to address warnings to the young, and it is on this account that I have ventured to occupy so large a part of my address to-day with words of protest and advice, which, I am bound to confess, some of the younger Assyriologists seem to me much to need. I belong to the older generation of Assyrian students, to a generation which had none of the helps that are now so plentiful, when opportunities for studying the language were few and scanty, and when the decipherer had to depend almost entirely on his own resources and his own brains for making out the meaning of the cuneiform texts. It was a time when the student still believed that his first duty was to translate his texts, and that in order to do this it was necessary to be saturated, as it were, with Assyrian literature, and furthermore, to be a historian and a geographer, as well as a philologist. Mr. George Smith once said in reply to a question as to the best way of learning Assyrian, "Copy, copy, copy : I know no other way ;" but he should have added, "And when you have copied, translate, translate, translate !" The mere copyist is no better than a photographic camera, perhaps not so good ; the intelligent copyist, who copies in order to translate, will in time become an Assyrian scholar.

But let it not be forgotten that there is no royal road to learning, either in Assyriology or in anything else. We may commit to heart syllabaries and grammars and vocabularies, but for all that we may not be Assyriologists. A real knowledge of the Assyrian

language, a real power to find one's way through the intricacies of a previously untranslated inscription, an instinctive perception of what is probable and what is improbable, comes only with experience and practice. It is the final result of long labour, of unremitting enthusiasm, and a wide acquaintance with all the varieties of Assyrian literature.

We Assyriologists have sometimes been accused of pandering to the desire of the public for something sensational. But the fault lies, not with ourselves, but with the subject of our studies. The results of Assyriological research have so frequently been unexpected and revolutionary, that the very announcement of them has necessarily created what is termed a "sensation" in the intellectual world. The initial fact of the recovery of a vast and ancient literature, lighting up all corners of the old Oriental world, and bringing a dead past once more to life, is of itself a "sensation" of the first rank. Equally startling, equally sensational, was the discovery made almost at the outset of Assyrian investigation, that not only was this literature preserved in well-arranged libraries, it also comprised grammars, vocabularies, and reading-books, as well as numberless works translated from a language which was even then already extinct.

These first-fruits of Assyriological discovery were a foretaste of what was to follow. Before long the familiar names of the princes of the Old Testament were found in the cuneiform records, and we could read the account of Sennacherib's campaign against Judah, as given by himself. Then came Mr. George Smith's discovery of the Chaldæan account of the Deluge, with its striking likeness to the account recorded in the Book of Genesis, and its important bearing on the criticism of the Hebrew Scriptures. Lastly, there has been the discovery of the tablets of Tel el-Amarna, perhaps the most wonderful of all, with the glimpse it has afforded us into the social and political life of Canaan in the century before the Exodus, and the proof that it has given us of the extraordinary literary activity of that early age.

The discovery of the tablets of Tel el-Amarna has led to another discovery, which is a veritable romance of archæological science. Among the letters written in the Babylonian language, and in the cuneiform characters of Babylonia, which were sent to the later kings of the eighteenth Egyptian dynasty by the governors and vassal-chieftains of Canaan, and which have been found in the mounds of Tel el-Amarna, are a good many despatches from the south of Palestine. Several of these are from the vassal-king of

Jerusalem, who claims to hold his office, not by hereditary descent, or by the appointment of his suzerain the Pharaoh, but in consequence of an oracle of a native god. Other despatches are from the governors of cities, which had been deprived of their own kings. One of these cities was Lachish, the governor of which was at one time a certain Zimrida or Zimridi. Among the Tel el-Amarna tablets is a letter from this Zimrida which runs as follows: "To the king, my lord, my gods, my Sun-god, the Sun-god who is from heaven, thus (writes) Zimridi, the governor of the city of Lachish. Thy servant, the dust of thy feet, at the feet of the king my lord, the Sun-god from heaven, bows himself seven times seven. I have very diligently listened to the words of the messenger, whom the king my lord has sent to me, and now I have despatched (a mission) according to his message."

We learn from the king of Jerusalem that Zimrida was subsequently murdered at Lachish by some of "the servants of the king," and a new governor must have been appointed in his place. As the Tel el-Amarna collection contains a letter from another governor of Lachish called Yabni-el, it is probable that this Yabni-el was his successor. Be this as it may, we now know that at the close of the fifteenth century before our era, Lachish was governed by a certain Zimrida in the name of the Egyptian king.

Now, two years ago, Dr. Flinders Petrie undertook excavations for the Palestine Exploration Fund in an artificial mound in Southern Palestine, called Tel el-Hesy. Though want of time prevented him from doing much more than cutting a section through the Tel, what he found, added to his long practical experience as an excavator, enabled him to come to one or two conclusions of considerable importance. In the first place, he identified the Tel with the long-lost site of Lachish, one of the chief fortresses of the old kingdom of Judah. In the second place, he founded the science of Palestinian archæology. His previous discoveries in Egypt enabled him to date certain pottery which he had disinterred at Tel el-Hesy at a particular depth, and in this way to arrange in chronological order the various strata of which the Tel was composed. The lowest stratum, that upon which the *débris* of the later towns rested, went back, according to this arrangement, to pre-Israelitish times. The ruined city it represented must have been one of those cities of the Amorites which had been garrisoned by Egyptian troops before the days of the Israelitish invasion of Canaan.

Dr. Petrie returned to his work in Egypt, and the expense of

clearing away the superincumbent rubbish, so as to reach the remains of the Amorite city, was so great as to make it questionable whether it was worth while to persevere in the work. But the Tel el-Amarna tablets had already been discovered, and, with the exception of those which had been secured for the British Museum, they were all in the hands of Assyrian scholars. We knew, therefore, that Lachish had been the residence of an Egyptian governor, and as letters had been sent from it to Egypt, it was reasonable to suppose that other letters had been received in it and stored away among the official archives. Accordingly I pleaded for a continuance of excavations at Tel el-Hesi, and promised the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund that sooner or later cuneiform inscriptions would be found in the ruins of the Amorite town.

My pleadings were successful, and Mr. Bliss was appointed to continue the work. The first results were disappointing. A considerable amount of money and labour was spent, and little was found except Greek pottery belonging to the uppermost stratum of the Tel. It was not until the excavations were on the point of being closed for the season, at the beginning of the June of the present year, that the great discovery was made.

Mr. Bliss had eventually made his way to the *débris* of the Amorite city, and his latest work must have been in the immediate vicinity of the governor's palace, if not within the walls of the palace itself. Various objects were found which take us back to the age of the Tel el-Amarna tablets, and prove that Dr. Petrie was right in the relative ages he assigned to the successive strata of the mound. Among the objects are Egyptian scarabs and beads of the time of the eighteenth dynasty, and one of the beads has upon it the name and royal title of Queen Teie, the wife of Amenôphis III. and the mother of Amenôphis IV., to whom most of the Tel el-Amarna correspondence was addressed. Besides the scarabs and beads, there is also a porcelain cylinder, which must have been manufactured in Egypt, though it is modelled after the pattern of a Babylonian one. But this was not the only seal-cylinder which was discovered; there are also cylinders which had been imported from Babylonia itself, and which belong to about B.C. 2000-1500, as well as cylinders which were made in Syria and Cyprus, in rude imitation of those of Chaldæa. Similar seal-cylinders have been found in the prehistoric tombs of Cyprus, the date of which is now fixed for the first time. Interesting as the cylinders and beads may be, and eloquently as they testify to the correctness of Dr. Petrie's

chronological conclusions, their interest is far surpassed by that of a discovery which was made on the very day the approach of summer caused the work of excavation to be closed. A small clay tablet was brought to light, covered with cuneiform characters.

I awaited the arrival in England of a cast of it with almost breathless anxiety. Forgeries of so-called cuneiform inscriptions on large slabs of stone have been somewhat plentiful in Palestine of late, and I feared that the new discovery might turn out to be a disappointment of the same kind. My feeling of relief, therefore, may be imagined when the cast arrived—for the tablet itself, in accordance with the terms of the firman, remains in the hands of the Turks—and I found that the text was not only genuine, but of the age of the Tel el-Amarna despatches. The handwriting was similar to that of the letters from Southern Palestine contained in the Tel el-Amarna collection, and the language and formulæ of the inscription were similar also. The promise I had made to the Committee of the Fund was fulfilled, and the first written record of pre-Israelitish times ever found in the soil of Palestine had been brought to light.

But this was not all. When I came to copy and read the text, I found that it was a letter in which the name of that very Zimrida, with whom the Tel el-Amarna tablets had just made us acquainted, is twice mentioned. Such a discovery is without precedent in the annals of archæology. The fellahin of Upper Egypt come across a collection of cuneiform documents, some of which turn out to be letters from the south of Canaan, among them being a letter from a certain governor of Lachish named Zimrida. Hardly have the documents been copied and published, when Dr. Flinders Petrie identifies the site of Lachish, and shows that the ruins of the Amorite city of which Zimrida was governor still exist on the spot. The spade of the excavator is driven into the ground, the Amorite stratum is at length reached, and lo! a cuneiform tablet is discovered buried in the soil. And this tablet, the first which is found, proves to contain the name of the very governor with whom, but a few months previously, the tablets of Tel el-Amarna had made us acquainted. For more than 3000 years the letter which Zimrida had addressed to the Egyptian Pharaoh, and the letter which he had read at home, had been lying beneath the ground, the one on the banks of the Nile, and the other on a desolate site in Southern Palestine. But the time has come when the archæologist and the Assyriologist can work together; and, guided by the Assyriologist, the archæologist has persevered in his work in Pales-

tine until at last his efforts have been rewarded, and the broken halves of a correspondence which was carried on before Moses was born have been once more joined together.

The letter which has been discovered at Lachish contains some words, of the exact meaning of which I am not certain; and the decipherment of it is rendered still further difficult by the fact that the original has been claimed by the Turkish Government, casts only having arrived in this country. But so far as I can make it out, the translation would be as follows:—

“[To] the governor Bal . . . I . . . abi prostrate myself at thy feet. Verily thou knowest that Baya and Zimrida have brought the spoil (?) of the city, and Dan-Hadad says to Zimrida my father: The city of Yarami has sent to me [and has] given me 3 pieces of . . . wood and 3 slings and 3 falchions, since I am prefect (?) over the country of the king, and it has acted against me; but unto my death do I remain. As regards thy . . . which I have brought (?) from the enemy, I . . . , and I have sent Bel (?)—banilu; and . . . -rabi-ilu-yuma[khir] has despatched his brother to this country to [strengthen it].”

The importance of the tablet lies more in what it implies than in what it actually contains. It is a proof that Mr. Bliss has found his way to the entrance of the archive-chamber of the Amorite city of Lachish, and that before long the collection of tablets that was stored in it will be in our hands. Doubtless the larger part of the collection will consist of letters, but the analogy of the collection discovered at Tel el-Amarna would lead us to the belief that other texts also will be met with among them. More than one of the legends of Babylonia was included among the archives of Tel el-Amarna, as well as dictionaries and lists of signs.

The existence of such legends in the libraries and archive-chambers of Canaan would explain the strong Babylonian colouring not only of the cosmology and mythology of Phœnicia, but also of the earlier chapters of Genesis. It would no longer be necessary to suppose, as has been somewhat the fashion of late years, that the close similarity of the Babylonian and the Biblical accounts of the Deluge was due to Jewish intercourse with Babylonia in the age of the Captivity. It would further explain the Palestinian character of the Elohist version of the story, which shows that it had already been long at home in Canaan before it was embodied in the Old Testament. If Babylonian legends made their way to the archive-chamber of the Egyptian Pharaoh, it would have been because they had first made their way to the libraries and archive-chambers of

Palestine. The fact that the Babylonian language and the complicated syllabary of Babylonia were the common medium of intercourse in the civilised East in the century before the Exodus, shows plainly that Babylonian influence in Western Asia had been long and profound. The further fact that each district of Western Asia had its own peculiar form of cuneiform script, so that we can now tell by merely glancing at the handwriting of a tablet whether it had been sent from Mitanni, from the land of the Amorites, from Phœnicia, or from Jerusalem, makes it pretty clear that a knowledge of Babylonian literature had formed a large part of the Babylonian influence which had been carried to the West. One of the cities of Southern Canaan which were destroyed by the Israelites was Kirjath-Sepher, or "Book-town," and long before the discovery of the Tel el-Amarna collection I had maintained that the name indicated the establishment there of a library of clay books similar to those which existed in Babylonia or Assyria.

The cuneiform tablet, therefore, which has been discovered by Mr. Bliss at Lachish is an earnest of more important discoveries that are yet to be made, not only at Lachish, but also on other sites of early Canaanitish culture. Clay does not perish like papyrus or parchment, and we may consequently expect soon to hear of discoveries of ancient libraries in Palestine, stocked with books on imperishable clay. What these libraries may contain who can say? Letters there certainly will be; copies also of Babylonian books; and the analogy of the libraries of Chaldæa justifies us in believing that we shall also find in them records of the cities of Palestine, and histories of the days when Abram the Hebrew contended with the armies of Elam and Babylonia, or paid tithes to the king of Jerusalem.

I have lately come across a curious example of what I may call the solidarity of the literary culture which existed in the ancient Oriental world before the irruption of the Hittites in the fifteenth century before our era separated the Semites of the east from the Semites of the west, and shattered the old traditions of Babylonian influence in Syria and Palestine. Among the tablets found at Tel el-Amarna are fragments relating to a Babylonian myth, about which Dr. Zimmern has written an interesting article: "Where the uninjured part of the tablet begins," says the German scholar, "we find Adapa, son of the sea-god Ea, fishing in mid-sea. The waters lie round about him still and smooth. Then the south wind rises, and causes the sea to sweep over Adapa. Enraged at this, Adapa threatens the south wind, 'I shall break thy wings.'" The narrative

then continues literally as follows: "As he spoke thus with his mouth, the wings of the south wind were broken. For seven days the south wind sped no more across the land. Then Anu (god of the heavens) thus addressed his messenger Ilabrat: 'Why has the south wind not sped across the land these seven days?' His messenger, the god Ilabrat, answered him: 'My lord, Adapa, the son of the god Ea, hath broken the wings of the south wind.' When Anu heard these words he cried out, 'Help!'" The lines which follow are somewhat mutilated. They relate how Anu commands Adapa to be brought before his throne to give account of himself, and how Ea gives his son the necessary instructions safely to pass the trial before Anu. Accordingly Ea arrays his son Adapa in a mourning garment, and says to him: "When thou risest up to heaven and reachest the gate of Anu, the god Tammuz and the god Gis-zida will stand at the gate of Anu; they will see thee and call out: 'Help, Lord! For whom dost thou mourn, O Adapa? For whom hast thou put on this mourning garment?' 'Two gods have gone out from our land (shall Adapa answer), and therefore do I this.' 'Who are the two gods that have gone out from the land?' Then the god Tammuz and the god Gis-zida will look at each other, and raise their voices in lamentation. Then will they speak a word of kindness before Anu, and make thee to behold the propitious countenance of Anu. When thou comest into the presence of Anu they will offer thee food of death. Eat it not. Water of death will they offer thee. Drink it not. A garment will they offer thee. Put it on. Oil will they offer thee. Anoint thyself with it. Despise not the charge that I have given thee; mark well these words that I have spoken unto thee." Then the messenger of Anu arrived: "Adapa has broken the wings of the south wind. Bring him before me!" The line which follows is again mutilated. It tells how the messenger of Anu conducted Adapa to heaven. The text continues: "When he had risen up to heaven and had reached the gate of Anu, the god Tammuz and the god Gis-zida stood at the gate of Anu. When they saw Adapa they called out, 'Help, Lord! For whom dost thou mourn, Adapa? For whom hast thou put on this mourning garment?' 'Two gods have gone out from the land, and therefore do I wear this mourning garment.' 'Who are the two gods that have gone out from the land?' The god Tammuz and the god Gis-zida looked at each other, and raised their voices in lamentation. When Adapa now approached the presence of Anu, Anu espied him and said: 'O Adapa, why hast thou broken the wings of the south wind?' And Adapa answered Anu: 'My

Lord, in mid-sea I was catching fish for the house of my lord, while still and smooth lay the waters around me. Then rose the south wind and dipped me into the waters.'” Then follow some more fragmentary lines, in which Adapa relates how he broke the wings of the south wind in his heart’s hot anger: “Then the god Tammuz and the god Gis-zida speak a word of kindness to Anu; his heart is softened and he says: ‘Why did Ea permit a sinful man to behold the innermost parts of heaven and earth? He made him great and gave him renown, but we—what shall we grant unto him?’ ‘Let food of life be offered to him, so that he may eat.’ Then food of life was offered to him, but he ate not. Water of life was offered to him, but he drank not. A garment was offered to him, and he put it on. Oil was offered to him, and he anointed himself. Then Anu looked upon him and raised his voice in lamentation: ‘O Adapa, wherefore atest thou not? wherefore drinkest thou not? The gift of life cannot now be thine.’ ‘I remembered the words of Ea, my lord, which he spake to me: Eat not, drink not, but put on the garment and anoint thyself.’ And Anu let him return to his country.”

Dr. Zimmern points out the analogy which exists between the prohibition to eat and drink the food and water of life, which to Adapa would have become the food and water of death, and the words of Genesis: “And the Lord God said, Behold, the man is become as one of us, to know good and evil: and now lest he put forth his hand, and take also of the tree of life and eat and live for ever: therefore the Lord God sent him forth from the garden of Eden to till the ground from whence he was taken.” The analogy becomes the greater when we remember that Edin was the Babylonian name of the plain of Babylonia, and that an old hymn, which I have translated in my Hibbert Lectures on the Religion of the Babylonians, tells us that it was in the garden of Eridu, the holy city of the god Ea, that the sacred tree was planted.

The portion of the tablet has been lost which contained the beginning of the story of Adapa, or Adama, as the name may also be read. But where the archive-chamber of the Egyptian Pharaoh fails us, the library of Nineveh has come to our assistance. Some sixteen or seventeen years ago I copied an unnumbered fragment of a cuneiform tablet in the British Museum. The fragment had been found at Kouyunjik, the site of the ancient Nineveh, and for many years the mutilated condition of it prevented me from discovering what it was about. When, however, the legend of Adapa was discovered at Tel el-Amarna, and the text of it published and

made available for study, the nature of the fragment I had copied became clear at once. It was an earlier portion of the same legend, and told us who Adapa or Adama was. He was not only the son of Ea, the god of culture, he was also the first man.

Here is a translation of the fragment in question:—

“[‘Why art thou sitting?’] said [Anu] to him, and he looked up. [‘Why] art thou sitting?’ he said to him, and he rose up; and Anu shouted aloud to the being created by Ea, and the gods of heaven and earth, as many as exist, and whoever (else there was) answered accordingly his command, which, like the command of Anu whoever (was) a prophet [rep]eated from the lowest part of heaven to the height of heaven. He (*i.e.*, Adapa) looked and beheld the terribleness of Anu. Anu [took from?] him what Ea had made to be a covering upon him; he [removed?] what Ea had made his nourishment, [and] his dominion he appointed for future days for a name. . . . ‘Adapa (is) the seed of mankind . . . man and woman with one voice shall revere (?) him . . . to the heaven he shall ascend . . . [and overcome the obstacle?] which they (*i.e.*, the gods) have established in hostility to man.’”

It would seem from this that Adapa had originally been created by Ea like one of the lower animals, and that it was not until Anu interfered that man was raised into an upright posture, and provided with food and raiment suitable to his new condition. At the same time he was given dominion over other living beings “for future days.”

It is impossible not to be struck by certain similarities between the account thus given of Adapa and certain passages in the Old Testament. On the one hand, we read in the Book of Job that, when the world was created, “the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy.” On the other hand, we are told in the Book of Genesis that man was made to “have dominion over . . . every living thing that moveth upon the earth;” and that after the fall the Lord God made “coats of skins” for Adam and his wife.

Letters and legends, however, were not the only contents of the archive-chamber of the Pharaohs at Tel el-Amarna. Last winter Dr. Flinders Petrie discovered there, on the site of what may be termed the Egyptian Foreign Office, fragments of dictionaries and lists of cuneiform characters. One at least of the dictionaries, it would seem, was compiled by “order of the king of Egypt.” It appears to be a sort of comparative vocabulary of three different languages, the first being Babylonian, in which the meaning of the

words belonging to the other two is explained. Another of the dictionaries is important, as it shows that Sumerian, the old non-Semitic language of Chaldæa, must still have been spoken at the time when it was drawn up. Not only are the Sumerian words contained in it expressed by their ideographic equivalents, but their pronunciation is also given. Thus the word which, we are informed, signified "slaughter," is not only written ideographically, but is also spelt out phonetically, *ga-az-ga-az*. We may, therefore, conclude that Dr. Oppert and myself have been right in maintaining that the Sumerian language did not become extinct until a comparatively late period.

But it must not be supposed that Assyrian decipherment sheds light only on those earlier ages of history of which all memory seemed to have been forgotten. Even the historian of the Greek world in the days of Alexander's successors is beginning to be indebted to the labours of the Assyriologist. Numerous tablets exist in the British Museum which belong to the era of the Seleucidæ and the Arsacidæ, many of which have been copied and published by Dr. Strassmaier. One of these, which he published a year ago,¹ ought to be specially interesting to the historian of the Greek kingdom of Seleukos. It refers to the peopling of the "royal city" of Seleukia, if not to its foundation, as well as to a war which is otherwise unnoticed in history.

The tablet is dated in "the 37th year of Antiochus and Seleukos the kings"—that is to say, in B.C. 275. In the previous year it is said that the king had collected his troops, and had gone to the country of 'Sapardu. 'Sapardu was in the neighbourhood of the Black Sea, and is mentioned in the prophecies of Obadiah under the name of Sepharad. From the present text it would seem that it corresponded to the Bithynia and Galatia of classical geography. However this may be, Antiochus left a garrison there, in order to face the Egyptian army at the ford of the river Rûdu. The Egyptian forces, however, crossed the stream. A few days afterwards the governor of Babylonia transferred his property, himself, and his daughters to Babylon and Seleukia, "the royal city," and "twenty elephants which the governor of Baktria had sent to the king were brought to the ford of the river to meet him." The royal body-guard was left in Babylonia "from the beginning to the end of the month." The following month was the first of the new year, and at the commencement of it Seleukos marched to "the ford of the river." Throughout the year, prices in Babylon and the neigh-

¹ In the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vi. 3, pp. 235, 236.

bouring cities were calculated according to the standard of the "Ionians" or Greeks, and there was much sickness in the country.

The first event which marked the beginning of the new year was the return of "the governors of Babylonia and the royal body-guard, which had gone to 'Sapardu to meet the king the previous year, to Seleukia, the royal city, which lies upon the Tigris." On the 12th day of the month the inhabitants of Babylon were transported to the new city of Seleukia. Corn was distributed to the people of Babylon, Borsippa, and Cutha, and a royal palace was built at Seleukia. Bricks also were made above and below Babylon in order to build a temple, apparently in the same place. The temple bore the name of Ê-Sagila, like the ancient temple of Bel-Merodach at Babylon, which had been destroyed by the Persian kings.

With these extracts from one of the later records of Assyriological literature, I must bring my address to a close. It has, I fear, been too long already. But the subject-matter of Assyrian research is so vast, the new points of view which it opens up are so many, and the fresh facts which it is accumulating are so numerous and startling, that it is difficult to compress into a small space even an outline of the work that has been done during the past few months. Indeed, it is not always easy to overtake the latest discovery, or to rearrange our previous knowledge in accordance with the fresh facts that are brought to light. Assyriology is a progressive study in the fullest and truest sense of the word. Much has been accomplished, but much more remains still to be done. The successes of the past are but an encouragement and an earnest of the successes which yet lie before us. If there is any branch of knowledge whose students are called upon to press onwards regardless of old prejudices and prepossessions, and desirous only to discover the truth, it is the science of Assyriology. Our motto is, and must be, "Forward."

II.

ON THE PRESERVATION OF ASSYRIAN AND BABYLONIAN MONUMENTS.

BY

HORMUZD RASSAM.

I HAVE been long anxious about the antiquities in Assyria and Babylonia, which are being daily destroyed by the clandestine diggings of the Arabs.

Though great interest is evinced both in England, America, and on the Continent of Europe in regard to those priceless remains of ancient monuments, no one seems to take active measures to protect them.

I have a few suggestions to make for preserving what remains buried underground in the different sites, and I think I cannot do better than to submit the proposal through the Reverend Professor Sayce, the learned President of the Assyrian and Babylonian Section, to the consideration of the International Oriental Congress which is to be held in London next week.

I understand that a large number of eminent and learned Orientalists and savants from different parts of the Continent intend to be present at the Congress, and I feel sure that if they take the matter up, and use their influence, collectively or individually, with the proper authorities, the desired end would be gained.

It must be remembered that, in consequence of the stringent rules which were framed about twenty-five years ago by the Ottoman Government, no antiquities have been allowed to leave the country, excepting those which I sent to the Museum from 1878 to 1882. This I was able to do through the influence of Sir Henry Layard when he held the appointment of British Ambassador at Constantinople. He obtained for me favourable firmans, by which I was allowed to secure for the British nation the collections which are now exhibited at the British Museum.

Unfortunately the Turkish authorities, both at the capital and in

the provinces, are only vigilant when any European museum tries legitimately to obtain the necessary concession, but they never trouble themselves about the deplorable nefarious diggings of the Arabs, whereby invaluable ancient records are being constantly destroyed for the sake of possessing a few pieces to satisfy the greed of native dealers, who sell them to European purchasers.

The iniquity of carrying on this kind of traffic cannot be too much condemned, because the Arab style of searching for antiquities is too rough to extricate fragile objects with care, seeing they are in hourly danger of being detected, and, when they find any antiquities, in nine cases out of ten they smash and lose a large part of them. But, worse than all, they try to increase their earnings by breaking the inscribed clay or terra-cotta object and dividing it amongst the traders. For instance, if an Arab digger had promised different brokers to supply them with antiquities, he would not wait to give each individual a share of what he could discover, but he would break sometimes a most important relic to divide amongst them. As I was allowed by the terms of my firman to transport any antiquities I purchased, I bought once a valuable terra-cotta cylinder for the British Museum which had met with such a fate. The digger had tried to saw it in two pieces, and while doing so the upper part broke into a number of fragments, some of which were lost. The saw that was used for that purpose must have been very rough, as it had gnawed nearly half-an-inch of the inscription.

I beg leave to relate two other cases which came to my knowledge, to show how valuable antiquities are destroyed through the carelessness of the Turkish authorities.

The first was when the minaret at the Mosque of Nebbi Younis, or Prophet Jonah, was being built. The guardians of the place had to dig a foundation for it in the mound called officially "Ninweh" (or Nineveh). While the digging was carried on, a solid bronze chair or throne, covered with inscriptions and figures of animals, came to light, and as a matter of course the local authorities got possession of it and divided it amongst themselves. I heard that it was afterwards melted and sold to the workers in brass.

The second case of vandalism occurred when some Arabs were digging a grave at a mound called Balawat, and found a bronze hand belonging to a monument of Shalmaneser II., which I discovered afterwards and sent to the British Museum. The Arabs broke in different pieces what they found, and sold them to the Dragoman of the French Consul at Mossul. He, on the other hand,

divided what he acquired between me, Mr. Peretie, his superior, and a Parisian who happened then to be passing through Mossul. Most of the ornamental part and some of the inscription were lost by the rough hacking of the Arabs.

This kind of damage is being perpetrated daily, and when one considers that there are now a large number of dealers who are engaged in the illegal trade, amongst whom, I am sorry to say, not a few are those who were in my employ as overseers and diggers, the destruction which is taking place is incalculable, seeing that they have to carry on their unlawful avocations either at night or by stealth.

I know from experience how difficult it is to dig out with safety unbaked inscribed tablets, even in broad daylight and with a royal license; how much more then when the work is carried on illegitimately, and with every fear of being pounced upon at any moment by Turkish officials?

There are still very valuable records and monuments to be found in Assyria and Babylonia, amongst which are the remainder of my discoveries in different parts of Mesopotamia. Had Sir Henry Layard remained a little longer at Constantinople, I should have been enabled to add most important acquisitions to my late discoveries; but unfortunately when the term of my last firman expired, in July 1882, he relinquished his post, and the Porte refused to renew my firman. Thus I had to abandon the palace I discovered at Aboo-Habba, the ancient site of Sippara or Sepharvaim, and the Arabs, as I understand, have since played havoc with the remaining antiquities, which they have been selling to agents of different museums.

What I would suggest is, that all learned scholars, especially those who are interested in biblical and scientific studies, should set aside national jealousies and solicit the assistance of their respective Governments to use their influence with the Sublime Porte to allow a proper research to be made by experienced explorers, either on their own account, or to intrust the management to agents of foreign museums, and leave the distribution of what would be discovered for future arrangement. By this measure the remaining buried antiquities will be saved from destruction, and the world will be a gainer of further valuable knowledge of ancient history.

[The above remarks were communicated by Mr. Rassam in a letter to the Congress, and a resolution giving effect to his suggestion was unanimously passed by the members attending the Semitic Section. See preliminary matter.—ED.]

III.

THE NEW VERSION OF THE CREATION-STORY.

BY

THEO. G. PINCHES.

THE ambition of the more intelligent of every thinking nation has been, from the earliest times, to try to account for the existence of the world in which they lived, and its surroundings; and the accounts differ according to the intelligence, the civilisation, and the religion of the nations with whom they originated. The Egyptians, noticing how the scarabæus rolled up its eggs into a ball, from which its offspring afterwards came forth, imagined that the earth and the life thereon were created in a similar way, and among many an ancient people the creation-myth of the world-egg was, in one form or another, current.

At first conceived in the form of a myth (for no man having ever seen the creation, no historical account of it could, by any possible means, be handed down), the various accounts developed, as intelligence advanced, into philosophical systems; and as such may the Egyptian, the Indian (in the laws of Manu), the Greek and Roman, and the Hebrew be regarded. Judged from modern scientific and realistic standpoints, they are all more or less improbable or impossible, and, taken together, highly inconsistent with each other.

From earliest childhood we have all been familiar with the Hebrew account of the creation in the first chapter of Genesis—the description of chaos, and the work of the six days of creation, ending with man—and we have been told, on account of certain parallels in the Semitic Babylonian account, which was first published by the late George Smith, that the whole was of Babylonian origin. That there are parallels, and some of them very interesting ones, there can be no manner of doubt; but the dissimilarities may be regarded as even greater than the parallels. The terseness also

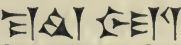
of the Hebrew account contrasts strangely with the lengthiness of the Babylonian one, into which, moreover, is incorporated the long description of the fight between Bel and the Dragon.¹ The Hebrews, however, seem to have possessed two stories of the creation: the one just mentioned, in which man is the end and culminating-point of all things, and that related in the second chapter of Genesis, in which the work of creation practically begins with man, and in which the Garden of Eden and its four rivers are described, and the products of the districts watered by the rivers enumerated.

A short time ago I had the good fortune to bring to the notice of scholars also a second *Babylonian* story of the creation, differing as much from that translated for the first time by George Smith as the two Biblical accounts do from each other. This text, of which I have already published a translation (as has also Professor Hommel²), is inscribed on a small tablet of baked clay. It is in two languages, Sumerian and Semitic Babylonian (or Assyrian), and the text is arranged in such a way that each line of the Sumerian version is divided into two parts, between which the Babylonian translation is inscribed in smaller characters. The text is very clearly written, and the fact that there are two versions (the Sumerian and its rendering into Semitic Babylonian) makes the translation of the whole tolerably certain.

Whilst the version of the first chapter of Genesis begins with a description of chaos, and the old Semitic Babylonian version (that translated by George Smith) with a reference to the time when "the heavens were not proclaimed, and the earth recorded not a name"—a very good parallel to the first verses of Genesis—the new Sumerian version begins with a description of the time when the glorious house of the gods (apparently the sky) had not been made, a plant had not been brought forth, and a tree had not been created; when a brick had not been laid, a beam not shaped, a house not built, a city not constructed, and a glorious foundation or dwelling of men³ had not been made. Certain cities and temples—Niffer and Ê-kura, Erech and Ê-ana, with the abyss or waters under the earth, Eridu, "the good city," and the glorious seat of the house of the gods—had also not been made, and "the whole of

¹ Called in the legend Marduk and Kirbis-tiamtu (or Kirbis-tiamat) respectively.

² *Deutsche Rundschau*, July 1891.

³ This is expressed by the Akkadian word  *adam*, possibly the original of the Adam of Genesis. The Akkadian *adam* stands for mankind, living things, and human habitations (see *J. R. A. S.* for 1891, pp. 402-403).

the lands were sea." When within this sea there was a stream, then Eridu was made, Ê-sagila, "the high-headed temple," was constructed—Ê-sagila, which the god Lugal-du-azaga, "the lord of the glorious abode," founded within the abyss; then, too, Babylon was built, and the earthly Ê-sagila, "the high-headed temple," within it, was completed (apparently it had been begun at an earlier date). Now for the first time comes a mention of the creation of living things, but these are not animals or man, but beings of a much higher station, namely, the gods and the Anunnaki, who were made by a being unnamed, but who was possibly the Lugal-du-azaga mentioned in line 13 of the text. The same deity then "supremely proclaimed the glorious city, the seat of the joy of their hearts." The god Merodach (whose name here appears for the first time in the narrative) now bound together a foundation before the waters, made dust (*épiri ibnî*), and poured it out with the flood (*itti ami išpuk*), and then the gods were to be set in a seat of joy of heart.

So far all has reference to the earth, the abyss, and the gods; but here a change comes in, introduced by the single line, "He made mankind," which is followed by the parenthetical addition which says that "the goddess Aruru had made the seed of mankind with him." Then he made the beasts of the field and the living creatures of the desert, the Tigris and the Euphrates, which he set in their places, and "proclaimed their name well" (said, in fact, that the creation was good, as in Genesis). He (it is apparently still Merodach who is referred to) then created grass, the plants of the marshes and the forests, the verdure of the plain, land, marsh, and thicket-grown tracts. This was followed by the creation of oxen and other large cattle, with sheep, and the meadows and forests where they fed or dwelt. Then "lord Merodach" raised a bank (lit. "filled a filling," *tamlâ umallî*) on the seashore, and the things mentioned in the first few lines as not being in existence were then created or made by him—plants and trees, bricks and beams, houses and cities, Niffer and its temple Ê-kura, Erech and its temple Ê-ana.

Such is a paraphrase of this strange and interesting text, and one of the first things that will be noticed is how well it fills in Professor Hommel's building up of the Babylonian universe—the earth (as he says) like a capsized boat floating upon the watery abyss of the under-world (*apsû*, Sum. *abzu* or *zuab*, or chaos). Upon the earth thus represented, the favoured land of Babylonia naturally had, in the minds of its inhabitants, the first place; and there, when the

creation was, Babylon, the first city, was built, and was followed by the ancient cities of Erech and Niffer and their renowned temples. For the city of Eridu, which is there mentioned as having been made "when within the sea there was a stream," was not the earthly "good city," but the abode of the blessed in Hades or Paradise, where also was constructed "the house of the high head," the Ê-sagila, that Ê-sagila "which the god Lugal-du-azaga founded within the abyss." It is probably the earthly Eridu, however, that is mentioned in line 8, after the reference to Niffer and Erech, as being non-existent, and, judging from the parallelism of lines 3-7 and 36-40, it was probably referred to again in the first wanting line at the end of the obverse (this, if it had been preserved, would have been line 41).

Beneath the "capsized boat" of Professor Hommel (or rather the "inverted saucer," as Professor Sayce calls it¹), representing the earth, was, as has been already remarked, the abyss, the abode of the god Aê, and within the abyss the subterranean but divine counterpart of the earthly Eridu, already identified by Sir H. Rawlinson as "the blessed city or Paradise." There, too, was the counterpart of Babylon's Ê-sagila, "the house head-lofty," a type of the Tower of Babel, which, as we all know, was to reach to heaven itself, thus practically connecting the two divine abodes by means of the *middangeard*, or mid-world, as our Old English forefathers called the earth, because it was between heaven and hell.

This Eridu within the abyss had been founded by the god Lugal-du-azaga. Now Lugal-du-azaga (𒌦 𒌦 𒌦 𒌦 𒌦) is the first deity mentioned in this text, and his name means "the king of the glorious abode." The character transcribed by *du*, "abode" (𒌦), is that which means, in the Semitic historical texts, *tîlu*, "mound," and it is given in the syllabaries as standing also for *šubtu*, "seat;" *āšābu*, "to sit;" *dû*, "abode" (from Akkadian or Sumerian); *mulû*, "mound;" *sukku*, probably "booth" (cf. Heb. שֹׁכֵן); and *nig du azaga* (𒌦 𒌦 𒌦), explained as *abzu* (𒌦 𒌦 𒌦), "the abyss." *Nig du azaga* means, literally, "that which (is) the glorious abode," and it is from this that the god Lugal-du-azaga's name comes. It is not unlikely that this god is the same as

¹ The Babylonians really, however, seem to have regarded the earth as a circular tract surrounded by "the salt river" (*nāru marratum*), with, at fairly regular intervals on the outer margin of "the salt river," tracts in the form of wedges, called *nagû* (generally translated "district"). These tracts seem to have been seven in number, and were so arranged as to give the earth the appearance of a seven-pointed star. Of the circular central portion Babylonia seems to have occupied the principal part.

Eu-du-azaga (𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎺𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶), "the lord of the glorious abode," who is mentioned, with *Ereš-du-azaga* (𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎺𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶), "the lady of the glorious abode," on several incantation-tablets. The name of Lugal-du-azaga, "the king of the glorious abode," also occurs on the tablet K. 2866 (S. A. Smith's *Miscellaneous Texts*, pl. 17, ll. 20, 21), with the names of several water-deities—𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎺𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 *Lugal-a-aba*, "king of the sea;" 𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎺𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 *Lugal-ida*, "king of the river;" 𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎺𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 *La-gu-da* (variant, 𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎺𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 *La-gu-de*), probably "full of speech;" 𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎺𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 *En-zag*, "the primeval lord" (a name of the god Nebo as god of Dilmun); 𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎺𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 *Meš-ki-meš* (meaning unknown); 𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎺𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 *Gan-dimme-azaga*, the name of a daughter of Aê or Êa, god of the abyss, &c., and of deep wisdom; 𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎺𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 *Išimmi* (var. *Išimme*)-*tik-la-šu*, a name possibly meaning "he hears his minister;" 𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎺𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 *Lugal-abzu*, "the king of the abyss" (a name of the god Aê or Êa); 𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎺𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 *Ša*; and 𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎺𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 *Hasisu*, "the wise one." Though many of the above are the names of distinct deities, it is nevertheless possible that they all represent the god Êa or Aê under various forms, either in his character of god of the waters (*cf.* the first, second, and eighth names), or god of deep wisdom (*cf.* the fourth and tenth names). The fourth name, En-zag, "the primeval lord," though identified with Nebo as god of Dilmun, goes naturally back to the idea of the sea being the first-created thing and the abode of wisdom, thus agreeing with the legend which tells of the monsters who came out of the waters of the Persian Gulf to teach civilisation to the people of the land.

Besides the deities above mentioned in connection with "the king of the glorious abode," there were also others, such as "the handmaid of the god of the glorious abode" (*ginna dingir du azaga*), who was daughter of the god 𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎺𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 *En-nu-gi*, the throne-bearer of Bel (*guzala Ellila-gi*), Aê's six sons (Dumuzi-abzu, Kigulla, Nera, Bara, Bara-gula, and Burnuntasâ), with many others. The month Tisri, also, was "the month of the glorious abode" (𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎺𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 *Iti du azaga*), but what this refers to is doubtful. Lugal-du-azaga is rather to be identified with Aê than with Nebo, who, however, was sometimes identified

with him, and, as god of Dilmun (see above), was also called "the god of the glorious abode," a title very similar to that of Aê.

Among the tablets of the British Museum is a fragment which has been regarded as referring to the building of the Tower of Babel and the confusion of tongues. It was first translated by George Smith in his *Chaldean Genesis*, and afterwards published, with the original text, by Mr. Boscawen. That it refers to the Tower of Babel and the confusion of tongues, however, I very much doubt. It speaks of something that was evil to the heart of some one, and of some person who was hostile to the gods, or to whom the gods were hostile. The city of Babylon is referred to, and there is apparently a record of some great personage having destroyed the work (*u rabû uballu dulla*). (Not "[small] and great were mingled on the mound," for that would probably be *šihrâtu u rabâtu uballu* (supposing this word to have the meaning "were mingled") *ina êli tili*.) Farther on we are told that "their cry of grief" (the possessive pronoun is feminine) "arose all day," and they seem to have lain, nursing this grief, upon couches (*ana tazzimti-sina ina mûali*). Revolt or trespassing is spoken of, and some one is then mentioned as changing their counsel (*utakkira milik-šun*), not "making strange their speech;" and in the last line but one of the first column there are traces of $\text{𐎶𐎵} < ti$, followed by $\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶𐎵}$ probably to be read $\text{𐎶𐎵} < \text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶𐎵} ti-a-ma-ta$, "the sea," or dragon Tiamat. The first line of the second column, however, contains the name of the god we are discussing, En-du-azaga ("the lord of the glorious abode") or Lugal-du-azaga (Mr. Boscawen restores the latter), and it is just possible that this mutilated text may refer to the creation also, and be really a description of the founding of Ê-sagila within the abyss, or the coming of the sea-monsters, headed by the god of wisdom, to teach the arts of civilisation to the ancient Babylonians, or both. Be that, however, as it may, it seems extremely improbable that this supposed account of the Tower of Babel and the confusion of tongues gives any record of those events.

The other divine personages referred to in this new account of the creation are Marduk, who created mankind, and Aruru ($\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶𐎵}$), a goddess of the province of Agadé, who was worshipped at Aruru, a town which was probably, in later times, like the city Agadé or Akkad, a suburb of Sipar or Sippara. She was called "the lady of the gods of Sipar and Aruru." There was also a goddess (perhaps identical with her) called Gala-Aruru, "the great one

(of) Aruru," or "great Aruru" (𒀭𒌷 𒊩𒌷 𒌷𒍪 𒍪𒍪𒍪 𒍪𒍪𒍪) who is explained as "Istar the star" (𒀭𒌷 𒄠𒍪𒍪𒍪 𒊩𒌷𒍪𒍪) on K. 2109.

The difference between this new account of the creation and that brought to the notice of scholars by George Smith is very marked. It has a stronger impress of a non-Semitic origin, which is strengthened by the fact that it is written in two languages. It is short, and tells all it has to say in a few words, whereas the other account extends over six or seven closely-written tablets, and introduces at great length the fight between Merodach and Tiamat, or Bel and the Dragon. Moreover, as Professor Hommel has pointed out (*Deutsche Rundschau*, July 1891), with the author of the new version the principal thing in the creation of the world was not merely the creation of men and animals, but rather the founding of the primitive seats of civilisation in Babylonia, and, I would add, the emphasising of their divine origin. And here we may see the reason why this story is placed as the introduction to an incantation; for, judging from the fragment of the reverse which remains, the text seems really to have referred to the dedication-festival or purification of the well-known temple called Ê-zida (now the Birs-Nimroud), and the creation-story with which it begins probably led up to the matter of the foundation of this renowned temple. The small number of the deities mentioned in this portion of our text is worthy of notice, though the names of others occur in the incantation on the reverse.

Parallels with the Biblical account which may be mentioned are lines 25-29, where the creation of plants and some of the cattle are spoken of:—

"Grass, the marsh-plant, the reed, and the forest he made,

"He made the verdure of the plain,

"The lands, the marsh, the thicket also,

"Oxen, the young of the steer, the cow and her calf, the sheep of the fold,

"Meadows and forests also."

With which may be compared Gen. i. 11, 12:—

"And God said, Let the earth bring forth grass, herb yielding seed, and fruit-tree bearing fruit after its kind, wherein is the seed thereof, upon the earth; and it was so. And the earth brought forth grass, herb yielding seed after its kind, and tree bearing fruit,

wherein is the seed thereof, after its kind; and God saw that it was good."

Lines 22 and 28-30 :—

"He made the beasts of the field and the living creatures of the desert. . . .

"Oxen, the young of the steer, the cow and her calf, the sheep of the fold,

"Meadows and forests also,

"The goat and the gazelle he set therein (?),"

correspond with Gen. i. 24 :—

"Let the earth bring forth the living creature after his kind, cattle, and creeping thing, and beast of the earth after his kind, and it was so."

The words "well proclaimed he their name" (l. 24) correspond with "And behold it was very good," of Gen. i. 21.

"He made mankind" (l. 20) corresponds with "And God created man" in Gen. i. 26-27.

The line "The whole of the lands were sea" (*napḥar matāti tāmtumma*) remind one naturally of "the face of the waters" in Gen. i. 2.

On the other hand, however, there are some very considerable differences. There is no true description of chaos, nor of the making of day and night, nor of the placing of the heavenly bodies to give light (this may, however, have been given on the lost portion) and to indicate the seasons. The text is also silent concerning fishes, sea-monsters, and birds. The "days" of the creation are also absent, as in the longer Semitic version. It is, nevertheless, not impossible that in the divine Eridu we may see a reflection of the Garden of Eden, though there is no mention of the Tree of Life, nor the Tree of Knowledge, nor the placing of man therein; and though the Tigris and the Euphrates are mentioned, it is not in connection with the watering of the Garden of Eden, but simply as a record of the creation of the two great rivers which were the life of the Mesopotamian plain. The shortness, the bareness even to crudeness, of this non-Semitic creation-story, seem to me to give it the impress of exceedingly high antiquity, and also to indicate possible late interpolations, which would account for the more modern stamp which some of the lines seem to possess. That the Biblical story is based on it

probably few will contend; but it is not by any means impossible that some of the ideas contained in the Bible version were incorporated, greatly changed, from the versions which we know to have existed in Babylonia in exceedingly ancient times. The real and true original, or originals, of the Bible versions, as they have come down to us, have yet to be found.

The tablet here treated of, like the greater part of the version translated by the late George Smith, was discovered by Mr. Hormuzd Rassam, the explorer to whom we owe the great bulk of the tablets now preserved in the British Museum.

IV.

A PRAYER OF AŠŠURBANIPAL.

BY

S. ARTHUR STRONG, M.A.

THE following text is inscribed on a tablet of clay numbered 1285 in the Kouyunjik collection of the British Museum. It is remarkable not only as an almost perfect specimen of the later Assyrian calligraphy, but for containing a number of rare words and forms—a circumstance which has not made the task of translation and explanation easier. But its chief claim upon our interest and attention lies in the fact that the unknown author displays a depth and delicacy of religious emotion not often reached in Assyrian literature, and hardly surpassed even by the great masters of the spasmodic style, the Hebrew psalmists. On the one hand, it is distinguished from the mass of anonymous compositions which we are accustomed to call hymns and penitential psalms by the absence of any traces of a magical character or purpose, while, on the other, its passionate and unconventional tone forms a striking contrast to the style usually adopted by Assyrian kings, who, even when ascribing unto their lords glory and honour, never forget their own titles, but compose monotonous variations in strict official form upon the three themes of pride, flattery and fear.

The text consists of a series of confessions or appeals on the part of Aššurbanipal, addressed, not, as we might perhaps have expected, to Ištar, but to Nebo. These the god answers at intervals in words of consolation and encouragement. Throughout the text Aššurbanipal is never called king. On the contrary, in one of his replies Nebo reminds him of his smallness and helplessness when an infant.

That these confessions and complaints may have been drawn from Aššurbanipal by the stress of some political crisis is of course possible.¹ We know of at least one such instance in his career; but the text contains absolutely no positive data such as would enable us to connect it with a definite event. The most that can be said is that it cannot be later than 626 B.C.

¹ Cf. e.g., the following passage in an address of Ištar to the same king (K. 883, ll. 17-19), where the reference to Egypt may have been introduced with a political intention :—


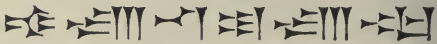
ḫal-la-la-at-ti ḫn-gur-a-ti
at-ta ta-ḫab-bi ma-a mi-i-nu ḫal-la-la-at-ti ḫn-gur-a-ti
ḫal-la-la-at-ti ina (mât) Mu-ṣur ḫ-rab ḫn-gur-a-tê u-ṣa-a.

A striking feature of the inscription is the number of unusual verb forms. They occur in almost every line, and I suggest that they may be explained as a rhythmical device of the composer.

The text has never been published, but a free translation was contributed by Oppert to the second volume of Ledrain's *Histoire d'Israel* (p. 486). This, however, unaccompanied as it is by any explanation of the renderings proposed, I have in most cases been unable to comprehend, much less to follow.

TEXT.



OBVERSE.


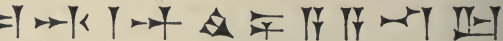



 









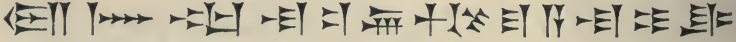
 









TRANSLITERATION.

OBVERSE.

- ¹ up-ta-na-at-ta-ka Nabû ina puḥur ilâni rabûti
² [ḥa-aṭ]-ṭa-nu-u-a la it-ta-nak-ša-du napšâti-ia
³ Ninua at-ta-na-aḥ-ḥar-ka ḡar-rad ilâni âḥî-šu
⁴ [ba]-la-ṭi Aššur-bân-aplu a-na ur-kiš a-na ma-tê-ma
⁵ ana-ku at-tê-'i-la ina šêpâ Nabî
⁶ Nabû ina puḥur ḥa-aṭ-ṭa-nu-u-a
⁷ ab-[ba-liṭ]-ka Aššur-bân-aplu ana-ku Nabû a-di ṣa-at û-mê
⁸ šêpâ-ka la is-sa-nam-ma-a la i-nar-ru-da ḡâtâ-ka
⁹ an-na-a-tê šaptî-ka la ên-na-ḥa a-na mi-taḥ-ḥu-ri-ia
¹⁰ lišan-ka la ta-at-ta-ni-gi-ir ultu šaptî-ka
¹¹ ša a-na-ku da-ba-bu ṭâbu at-ta-na-ad-da-nak-ka
¹² a-šaṭ-ṭaḥ rêšî-ka u-šaṭ-ṭaḥ la-an-ka ina bît Ê-bar-bar

¹³ Nabû iḡ-ṭa-nab-bi ma-a pi-i-ka am-mê-u ša ṭûbu
¹⁴ ša it-ta-na-aḥ-ḥa-ra a-na Ur-kit-tu
¹⁵ la-an-ka ša âb-nu-u-ni it-ta-na-aḥ-ḥar-an-ni a-na i-tu-us-si ina
Ê-bar-bar
¹⁶ šim-ta-ka ša ab-nu-u-ni ta-at-ta-na-aḥ-ḥar-an-ni
¹⁷ ma-a tuk-nu-bi-la ina bît bêlit kalam-ma
¹⁸ napšâti-ka it-ta-na-aḥ-ḥar-a-ni ma-a balat-su ur-rik ša Aššur-bân-
aplu

¹⁹ ka-mê-is ina ki-in-ši-ê-šu Aššur-bân-aplu it-ta-na-aḥ-ḥar a-na
Nabî bêli-šu
²⁰ ad-da-ni-ka Nabû la ta-maš-šar-an-ni ia-a-ši
²¹ balâṭi-ia ina pâni-ka ša-dir napšâti-ia paḡ-dâ ina sîn Bêlti
²² ad-da-ni-ka Nabû gaš-ru la tu-maš-šar-an-ni ia-ši ina bi-rit ḥa-ṭa-
nu-u-a

²³ ê-tap-la za-ḡi-ḡu ultu pân Nabî bêli-šu
²⁴ la ta-pal-laḡ Aššur-bân-aplu napšâti arkûti ad-da-nak-ka
²⁵ šâri ṭâbi ištu napšâti-ka a-paḡ-ḡid
²⁶ pi-ia am-mê-u ša ṭûbu iḡ-ṭa-nar-rab-ka ina puḥur ilâni rabûti

REVERSE.

- ²⁷ ip-tê-tê Aššur-bân-aplu ar-ni-šu it-ta-na-aḥ-ḥar a-na Nabî bêli-šu
²⁸ ša iṣ-ba-tu ina šêpâ šar-rat Ninua la i-lu-aṭ ina puḥur ilâni rabûti
²⁹ ša ina ka-an-ni ša Ur-kit-tu ka-ṣir la i-lu-aṭ ina puḥur ḥa-ṭa-nu-
tê-šu
³⁰ ina puḥur ḥa-ṭa-nu-tê-ia la tu-maš-šar-an-ni Nabû
³¹ ina puḥur ên-sa-as-si-ia la tu-maš-ša-ra napšâti-ia

- ³² ši-ih-ru at-ta Aššur-bân-aplu ša u-maš-šir-ka ina êli šar-rat Ninua
³³ la-ku-u at-ta Aššur-bân-aplu ša aš-ba-ka ina bur-ki šar-rat Ninua
³⁴ ir-bi zi-zi-ê ša ina pî-ka šak-na šinâ tê-ên-ni-ik šinâ ta-ḫal-lap
 ana pâ-ni-ka
³⁵ ḫa-ṭa-nu-tê-ka Aššur-bân-aplu ki-i si-pi ina pa-an mê-ê i-šû-'
³⁶ ki-i bur-bi-il-la-a-tê ša pa-an mat-ti un-ta-ad pa-ru-ḫu ina pâ-n
 šêpâ-ka
³⁷ ta-az-za-az Aššur-bân-aplu ina tar-ši ilâni rabûti tu-na-'ad ana
 Nabû

TRANSLATION.

OBVERSE.

- ¹ I confess to thee, NEBO, in the assembly of the
 great gods :
² my sins, my soul is not subdued :
³ NINEVEH, I make my prayer unto thee, warrior
 of the gods, his brothers :
⁴ the life of Aššurbanipal for a long time
 hereafter :
⁵ I prostrate myself at the feet of NEBO :
⁶ NEBO, in the whole multitude of my sins.
⁷ I will cause thee to live, Aššurbanipal, even I, NEBO, to ever-
 lasting days :
⁸ Thy feet shall not be weary, thy hands shall not tremble :
⁹ These thy lips shall not fail for praying to me :
¹⁰ Thy tongue shall not be put out from thy lips,
¹¹ For I goodly speech will bestow upon thee :
¹² I will go forward as thy head, I will make thy body to go for-
 ward in the house of ÊBARBAR.

-
- ¹³ NEBO spake thus : Thy mouth utters good things,
¹⁴ Which have been offered in prayer to URKITTU :
¹⁵ Thy body which I made has been brought before me in suppli-
 cation, according to her appointment in ÊBARBAR :
¹⁶ Thy destiny which I formed has been brought before me in sup-
 plication,
¹⁷ Thus :—Purity do thou bring in the house of the Queen of the
 Universe !
¹⁸ Thy life has been brought before me in supplication thus :—His
 life do thou prolong [even the life] of Aššurbanipal !

- ¹⁹ Bowing down in his grief, Aššurbanipal made his prayer to NEBO his lord :
- ²⁰ I have given myself unto thee, NEBO, thou wilt not forsake me [even] me :
- ²¹ My life in thy presence is governed, my soul is held in the embrace of BELTIS :
- ²² I have given myself unto thee, NEBO, [thou] mighty one, thou wilt not forsake me, even me, in the midst of my sins.

- ²³ There answered a breath from the presence of NEBO his lord :—
- ²⁴ Fear not, Aššurbanipal, long life will I give unto thee :
- ²⁵ Fair winds from thy life will I appoint :
- ²⁶ My mouth speaking that which is good shall cause thy prayer to be heard in the assembly of the great gods.

REVERSE.

- ²⁷ Aššurbanipal confessed his misdeeds : he made his prayer unto NEBO his lord :
- ²⁸ What he took at the feet of the Queen of NINEVEH he did not conceal in the assembly of the great gods :
- ²⁹ That which with the reed of URKITTU is acquired he did not conceal [even] in the whole multitude of his sins :
- ³⁰ In the whole multitude of my offences thou wilt not forsake me, NEBO :
- ³¹ In the whole multitude of my woes thou wilt not forsake my soul.

- ³² Small wert thou, Aššurbanipal, when I gave you over to [the care of] the Queen of NINEVEH :
- ³³ A suckling wert thou, Aššurbanipal, when I satisfied thee on the lap of the Queen of NINEVEH :
- ³⁴ The full streams of milk which into thy mouth are given, twain thou suckest, twain thou drawest into thy mouth :
- ³⁵ Thy sins, Aššurbanipal, like ripples on the face of water shall they be :
- ³⁶ Like furrows (?) which make manifold the face of the earth shall they be dispersed before thy feet :
- ³⁷ Thou shalt stand, Aššurbanipal, in the presence of the great gods : thou shalt magnify NEBO.

NOTES.

¹ *uptanattaka*, ii. 3, from *pitû*. Cf. the forms *umdanallû* and *ušanallû* (Delitzsch, *Grammar*, p. 232).

² Perhaps we should supply *ina puḥur* as in l. 29, and translate "in (or through) the whole multitude of my sins my soul is not subdued;" *haṭṭānu* seems to be connected with *hiṭṭu*, somewhat as *dilḥu* with *dulḥānu*.

³ *attanaḥḥarka*, from *ma-āru*, lit. "I come before thy presence," i.e., with prayer or offerings.

⁴ Supply *urrik* from l. 7; and with the phrase *ana urkiš* cf. *ana aḫiṣ iḫabbūni* (K. 883, 8).

⁵ *attē'ila*, i. 2, from *nālu*.

⁸ *issanammâ*, i. 3, from *šāmu*. Cf. Arab. *سَامَ*, "to be weary." The meaning of the verb *narādu* or *narātu* is not certain. Cf. G. Smith, *Assurbanipal*, p. 125. The verb also occurs in the phrase *munarriḍ (at) ḥuršāni*, which is often applied as an epithet to gods and goddesses, and may well mean "who causes the mountain-tops to tremble." On the other hand, cf. Delitzsch, *Grammar*, p. 279.

¹⁰ *tattanigir*, iv. 3, from a verb *nagāru*. Cf. Heb. *נָגַר*, *fluere fecit, fudit, effudit*.

¹² *lânka*, lit. "thy side." This line is very obscure owing to the uncertainty of the value of *𐎶𐎵*. Perhaps we should read *amattah, umattah*, and—in view of *מָתַח*, *extendit*—translate: "I will magnify thy head, I will cause thy body to be magnified in the house of Êbarbar." Cf. Oppert's free rendering: *je glorifierai ta tête, et j'ai glorifié tes œuvres dans les temples divins*.


¹³ *pika*. The character representing the suffixed pronoun is defaced, but the traces that remain point rather to *ka* than to *ia*. *ammēu* I have taken as a derivative from *אָמַה*, "to speak." (ilu) *Urkittu* is mentioned with other divinities in the prayer of Aššurbanipal, K. 226, as follows:—*Aššur šarrussu kurub ḫâtâšu Nabû kurub Sin kussâšu takkin (gab?)bi mâtâtî una'udu Urkit(tu)*, l. 8. The phrase in l. 29, *ina ḫanni ša Urkittu*, "with the reed of Urkittu," is interesting in view of the meaning of the closely similar word *urḫîtu*, viz., "grass."

¹⁵ *itussi*, apparently for *itut-ši*, in which case it looks as if the suffixed pronoun referred to *Urkittu*.

¹⁷ Cf. what Ištar says to Esarhaddon (W. A. I., iv. 61, 62a):—*aklu taknu takal mē taknûti tašatti ina libbi êkallika tataḫḫun*.

¹⁹ For the meaning proposed for *kinṣu* (or *kinṣû*) cf. Arab. *كُنْظَ* "to grieve," *كُنْظَة* "anxiety."


²¹ *paḳdā*, permansive, 3 pl. fem. For the meaning, cf. Assurnasirpal, i. 6, *bēl bēliē ša kippat šamiē iršitīm ḳatuššu paḳdu*.

²³ *étaḫla*, for *étaḫala* or *étaḫula*, i. 2, from *apālu*. Cf. *étaḫuš*, *étaḫaš*, from *épišu*. With regard to the meaning, it may be noticed that we find *apālu* given side by side with *rigmu* and *ḳibū* as a value of  (W. A. I., iv. 63, 59).

²⁶ It is difficult to realise the force of *ultu* in this line. Perhaps we should read *ina* or *itti*, and translate: "I will appoint fair winds (*i.e.*, favourable circumstances) to be in or with thy life" (*i.e.*, to pervade it).

²⁷ *iḫtanarrabka*, lit. "shall cause thee to approach with prayer."

²⁹ *iluāt*, for *ilūt*. Cf. the Heb. לוט, and, as regards the form, *imuat* for *imūt*.

³¹ The difficult word *ēnsassi* or *insassi* is perhaps connected with the root נסס, according to the type . Cf. the form *iptennu*.

³³ For the meaning of *lakū*, see W. A. I., v. 23, 33-34; where as explanations of *daddu* we have both *lakū* and *ṣiḫru*. With *daddu* may be compared the Chaldee נָדָה, *mamma, uber*. For the sentiment cf. again Ištar to Esarhaddon (W. A. I., iv. 61, 67a), *apilka binbinka šarrūtam ina burki ša Niniḫ upaš*.

³⁴ *ziziē*, cf. Heb. זִיז, *fluxus emicans lactis*.

³⁵ *sipi* I have connected with the Arab. root سفي, which seems to have originally denoted the action of the wind in scattering and carrying away dust. The meaning given by Freytag to the derivative سافيا, if it be genuine, would exactly suit the present passage—*tractus striae in piscina vento mota*.

³⁶ I am unable to determine the meaning of *burbillatē* (?), though it is evident that it must form some sort of a parallel to the idea in the preceding line. "Furrows" is suggested simply as coming within the terms of the description in the text: they diversify the face of the earth, and are afterwards obliterated. On the other hand, it is true that a word *birbirru* occurs (W. A. I., ii. 35, 6) together with *mēlammu* as one of the equivalents of *šaruru*, and if we assume a connection between this and *burbillatē*, the latter would perhaps mean something like "gleams of light," though such an image hardly seems to suit the character of the passage. With *parūku*, cf. Heb. פָּרַק, Arab. فَرَق.

V.

DAS KALENDERWESEN DER BABYLONIER.

VON

DR EDUARD MAHLER (WIEN).

HOCHGEEHRTE VERSAMMLUNG,—Wenn ich zum Gegenstande meines Vortrages ein Thema wählte, welches ich erst vor Kurzem in den Sitzungsberichten der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien einer ausführlichen Erörterung unterzogen habe, so geschieht dies lediglich zufolge einer mich höchst ehrenden Einladung, welche das geehrte Präsidium durch Herrn *T. G. Pinches*, den Secretair dieser Section, in einem vom 11. Juli laufenden Jahres an mich gerichteten Schreiben freundlichst ergehen liess. Bevor ich mich daher der Lösung meiner Aufgabe unterziehe, erachte ich es als angenehme Pflicht, dem verehrten Präsidenten, Herrn Professor *A. H. Sayce*, und dem Secretair, Herrn *T. G. Pinches*, meinen verbindlichsten Dank auszusprechen.

Im VI. Jahrhundert vor unserer Zeitrechnung wurde durch den mächtigen Perserkönig Cyrus ein Reich zerstört, dem in kultureller Beziehung einer der ersten Plätze unter den Völkern des grauen Alterthums gebührt. Es ist das Reich der Babylonier, mit dessen litterarischen Schätzen wir durch die Entzifferung der Keilschrifttexte immer mehr befreundet werden, und das schon im 3. Jahrtausend vor Christi eine solch' hohe Culturstufe erreicht hatte, wie wir sie nach neueren Untersuchungen nur noch im äussersten Osten Asiens bei den Ureltern der heutigen Chinesen vorfinden. Nichts vermag aber über den Grad intellektueller Begabung eines Volkes besser Aufschluss zu geben, als die Geschichte der Entwicklung seiner Zeitrechnung. Denn die Grundlage jeder Zeit- und Festrechnung wird durch astronomische Anschauungen gewonnen und durch die gesellschaftlichen Beziehungen gefördert. Im ersten

Entwicklungsstadium der Menschheit waren freilich die Begriffe über das Aufeinanderfolgen zeitlicher Erscheinungen wirr untereinander geworfen. Die Vorstellungsart, nach der gewisse Dinge zeitlich aufeinander folgen, waren in einer Epoche, da das Individuum keinen anderen Trieb gekannt hatte, als den der Erhaltung, ziemlich unklar. Erst als das Bedürfniss nach geselligem Leben rege wurde und man die gegenseitige Abhängigkeit der einzelnen menschlichen Individuen von einander merkte, da trat auch die Nothwendigkeit nach Eintheilung der Zeit mächtig auf. Je früher nun dieser Moment bei einem Volke sich fühlbar machte, und je intensiver die Geltendmachung dieser Erscheinung auftrat, desto höher war der Grad des kulturellen Fortschrittes.

Bei den Babyloniern finden wir die ersten Spuren einer solchen Entwicklung schon in einer Zeit vor, da wir anderswo noch nicht den geringsten Culturgrad zu ergründen vermögen. Lange hatte man sich noch bei den anderen Völkern mit den Begriffen von Tag und Nacht, Sommer und Winter — als Gegensätze von hell und dunkel, warmer und kalter Jahreszeit — allein begnügt, und schon war den Babyloniern die Zwölftheilung des Jahres, sowie die des Tages, bekannt. Früher glaubte man zwar folgern zu müssen, dass die Babylonier keine eigene Jahrrechnung hatten, man suchte sogar die Hypothese zu stützen, dass sie Jahrform und Jahranfang den Aegyptern entlehnt haben. Die fortgesetzte Entzifferung der babylonisch-assyrischen Keilschrifttexte lehrte jedoch, dass die Bewohner an den Ufern des Tigris und Euphrats schon in der frühesten Zeit eine vollkommen entwickelte Zeitrechnung hatten. Je weiter man auf dem Gebiete der Enträthselung der im British-Museum aufgespeicherten babylonischen Thontäfelchen fortschritt, desto überzeugender trat diese Thatsache hervor. Vieles, was uns nach den Berichten der griechischen Classiker über das Wissen der alten Chaldäer als Märchen erscheinen konnte oder wollte, offenbart sich nun als Wahrheit, und mit Staunen müssen wir heute vernehmen, dass die Fundamente einer wohlbegründeten Zeitrechnung und eines wissenschaftlich ausgearbeiteten Kalendariums an jener Stätte gelegt und gepflegt wurden, an welcher auch schon die biblische Erzählung in ihrer kindlich einfachen Darstellung ein Zeugniß mächtig emporgeblühter Cultur entstehen lässt.

Hier in Babylon sind die ersten Grundlagen unseres heutigen astronomischen Lehrgebäudes entstanden und mit einer für uns vielleicht beschämenden Bescheidenheit müssen wir bekennen, dass wir auf so manchem Gebiete dieser Wissenschaft noch heutzutage nicht weiter vorgeschritten sind und nicht viel mehr wissen, als

dies bei den alten Babyloniern schon im 2. Jahrtausend vor unserer Zeitrechnung der Fall war. Die Dauer des synodischen Monats kannten sie mit einer Genauigkeit, die nichts zu wünschen übrig lässt. Das Eintreffen von Sonnen- und Mondfinsternissen wussten sie mit solcher Genauigkeit im Voraus zu berechnen und zu bestimmen, dass wir heute nach mehr denn 3000 Jahren in jenen Berechnungen und Beobachtungen ein unschätzbares und lehrreiches Material besitzen, um aus ihnen eine Mond-Theorie (empirische Correction der Bahn des Mondes) ableiten zu können.

Wir wissen heute, dass die Babylonier ein *Lunisolarjahr* hatten, und sind nun auch von dem Schaltcyklus derselben wohl unterrichtet. Es ist aber erst eine Errungenschaft unserer neuesten Zeit, dass wir diesen Cyklus und die Dauer, sowie die Form der einzelnen Jahre desselben genau kennen und nun in der Lage sind, ein altbabylonisches Kalenderdatum auf unsere christliche Zeitrechnung zu reduciren.

Die Erforschung der babylonisch-assyrischen Texte, die unserem Jahrhundert vorbehalten blieb, lehrte zwar bald, dass die Babylonier gleich den ihnen stammesverwandten Hebräern die Monate nach dem Monde, die Jahre aber nach der Sonne geregelt und daher ein Mondjahr hatten, das 12 Mondmonate zählte, zu denen man behufs Ausgleichs mit dem Sonnenjahre ab und zu einen 13. Monat schalten musste. Man lernte auch bald die Namen der Monate kennen, und erkannte die frappante Analogie derselben mit denen im jüdischen Kalender. Sie heissen: —

Im Kal. der Babylonier.

Nisannu.
Airu.
Simannu.
Dûzu.
Abu.
Ululu.
Tišritu.
Arah-samna.
Kislimu.
Tebitu.
Šabātu.
Adaru.

Im Kal. der Juden.

Nisan.
Jjar.
Sivan.
Thamus.
Ab.
Elul.
Thischri.
Marcheschwan.
Kislev.
Tebet.
Schebat.
Adar.

Da aber in den vorexilischen Büchern der Heiligen Schrift die Monate der Hebräer keine besonderen Namen führen, sondern nur durch Ordinalien gekennzeichnet und so von einander unterschieden

wurden, so folgerte man mit Recht, dass die Juden während der babylonischen Gefangenschaft die hier üblichen Monatsnamen adoptirt haben. Man ging dann einen Schritt weiter und nahm an, dass der Kalender der Juden überhaupt nur der babylonische sei. Die Zahl der datirten babylonischen Inschriften wurde aber immer grösser, und da erkannte man, dass die Babylonier in ihren Schaltjahren bald einen 2. Ululu, bald einen 2. Adaru hatten, während wir im Kalender der Juden stets einen 2. Adar vorfinden und einen solchen in der Regel auch immer als Schaltmonat voraussetzen müssen. Als nun auch die Reduction babylonischer Daten auf die christliche Zeitrechnung mit Hilfe des jüdischen Kalenders hie und da auf Schwierigkeiten stiess, da liess man die These von der Identität der beiden Kalender (des babylonischen und des jüdischen) fallen, erklärte den jüdischen Schaltcyklus als eine Nachahmung des griechischen von Meton, und es entstand nun die Frage nach dem Wesen der babylonischen Schaltung. In grauer Vorzeit hatten sie—das wusste man—ein reines Mondjahr mit 1. Nisannu als Jahresanfang; da sie aber merken mussten, dass sich dieser immer mehr von der Frühlingsgleiche entfernte, so schalteten sie zu den 12 Monden des Jahres ab und zu einen 13. Monat ein. Man wusste auch, dass sich bei dem grossen astronomischen Forscherdrange der Babylonier bald das Streben geltend gemacht haben musste, das Schwankende in der Bestimmung ihrer bisherigen Jahrform aufzugeben und sie daher nach nicht allzulanger Zeit eine feste Regel zur Fixirung der Schalt- und Gemeinjahre gesucht und sicherlich auch gefunden haben.

Welches war aber diese Regel? Die Beantwortung dieser Frage bot die allergrössten Schwierigkeiten und war erst unserer jüngsten Zeit vorbehalten. Vor wenigen Jahren versuchte *Pater Strassmaier*, ein um die assyriologische Wissenschaft hochverdientes Mitglied der Gesellschaft Jesu, die im British Museum nach Tausenden zählenden Thontäfelchen aus der Zeit der Arsacidenherrschaft zu copiren. Er transcribirte auch dieselben, trat dann wegen einer etwaigen Enträthselung ihres astronomischen Inhalts mit Herrn *Pater Epping* in Fühlung, und aus dem gemeinsamen Streben dieser beiden Gelehrten ist ein Werkchen hervorgegangen, betitelt: "*Astronomisches aus Babylon*," das in den verschiedensten Gelehrtenkreisen das Interesse in regster Weise in Anspruch genommen hatte. Auf Grund dreier Tablets, stammend aus den Jahren 188, 189 und 201 der seleucidischen Aera, d. i. 124, 123 und 111 v. Ch., wird uns hier ein Stück der chaldäischen astronomischen Wissenschaft überliefert, das—wenn es auch einer ziemlich späten Epoche angehört—in

vielen Beziehungen eine Quelle für das Studium der Astronomie und Chronologie bei den Babyloniern bleiben wird.

Diese Arbeit, in Verbindung mit den seither von denselben Gelehrten veröffentlichten babylonischen Planetentafeln, war es auch, welche mir die Herstellung des Kalenders dieses einstigen Culturvolkes ermöglichte. Die Resultate, zu denen das Studium dieser Keilschrifttäfelchen auf kalendarischem Gebiete führte, sind das wichtigste Material, das wir auf diesem Zweige der chronologischen Wissenschaft besitzen.

Zur Lösung einer derartigen Aufgabe genügt es freilich nicht, über eine gewisse Summe astronomischer Kenntnisse zu verfügen und diese in den Dienst eines philologisch-geschulten Mannes zu stellen; der Forscher muss vielmehr in beiden sonst von einander fernliegenden Gebieten der Wissenschaft gleichmässig orientirt sein, damit sein prüfendes Auge nicht getäuscht oder gar geblendet werde. Es ist ein in letzter Zeit leider häufig vorgekommenes Uebel, dass chronologische oder astronomisch-historische Fragen von Männern discutirt wurden, die entweder kein astronomisches Wissen hatten, oder denen es an philologisch-historischen Kenntnissen mangelte. Die Resultate einer solchen Forschung müssen sich natürlich von der Wahrheit sehr entfernen und geben Anlass zu falschen Folgerungen. Auf diese Weise wird aber die Geschichte einer Wissenschaft nicht gefördert, sondern nur getrübt.

Mit Genugthuung und besonderer Anerkennung muss es daher begrüsst werden, wenn sich Männer finden, welche vor der schwierigen Aufgabe nicht zurückscheuen und bei der Fülle ihrer philologischen Kenntnisse bestrebt sind, auch an dem Borne der astronomischen Weisheit zu nippen. Zu diesen, deren erste Vorkämpfer *Jules Oppert* und *A. H. Sayce* sind, ist nun auch *Fritz Hommel* getreten, der durch seine letzten Untersuchungen über "die Astronomie der Chaldäer," und über "die Mondstationen der Araber," gezeigt hat, was Fleiss und Ausdauer auf diesem wissenschaftlichen Gebiete zu vollbringen vermögen.

Bevor ich daher an die Lösung der Aufgabe schritt, aus den uns erhaltenen und als echt verbürgten Denkmals-Inschriften den Kalender der alten Völker und insbesondere den der Babylonier herzustellen, musste ich bestrebt sein, mir so viel Wissen im Hebräischen, Assyrischen und Aegyptischen anzueignen, um die gestellten und etwa neu auftauchenden Probleme verstehen und richtig erfassen zu können. Nachdem dieses Ziel erreicht war, untersuchte ich alle bisher edirten Täfelchen rücksichtlich ihres chronologischen Inhalts, und schon im December vorigen Jahres (1891) war es mir mit Hilfe

der Strassmaier'schen Arbeiten gelungen, den Schaltcyklus der Babylonier auf empirischem Wege zu entdecken, und bereits am 10. März d. J. war ich in der glücklichen Lage, den "*Kalender der Babylonier*" der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien vorzulegen (siehe Sitzungsbericht der kaiserl. Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien, März, 1892). Diese Untersuchungen lehren, dass die Babylonier einen 19-jährigen Schaltcyklus hatten, und dass jedes III., VI., VIII., XI., XIV., XVI. und XIX. Jahr dieses Cyklus ein Schaltjahr war. Auch die Dauer der einzelnen Jahre des Cyklus ist uns jetzt bekannt. Fünf Jahre, nämlich das I., V., X., XII. und XVII. zählten je 355 Tage; sieben Jahre (das II., IV., VII., IX., XIII., XV. und XVIII.) hatten je 354 Tage, das Jahr XI war ein Schaltjahr von 383 Tagen, während die übrigen Schaltjahre des Cyklus eine Dauer von je 384 Tagen hatten.

Jahranfang war der 1. Nisan und als Schaltmonat galt ihnen in der Regel ein II. Adaru. Ich sage: "*In der Regel*," denn wir finden thatsächlich auch einen II. Ululu als Schaltmonat verzeichnet. Doch wenn wir das uns zur Verfügung stehende, kalendarisch verwertbare Material näher untersuchen, so finden wir, dass bis zum Jahre 202 vor Christi mit nur wenigen Ausnahmen ein II. Adaru als Schaltmonat erwähnt wird, während es in den späteren Jahren Regel ist, das Jahr durch einen II. Ululu zum Schaltjahre zu machen.

Diese Thatsache findet nun in der Geschichte ihre natürliche Begründung. Vom Jahre 222 bis zum Jahre 187 vor Christi regierte nämlich der mächtige Syrerkönig *Antiochus III. der Grosse*, welcher das bereits geschwächte seleucidenreich wieder aufrichtete und mit anderen asiatischen Provinzen auch Babylon wieder an sich gerissen hatte. Dieses wurde nun seines letzten Restes nationaler Eigenthümlichkeiten beraubt. Die Babylonier mussten mit allen bisherigen Gebräuchen und Sitten brechen, ihre Zeit- und Fest-rechnung lassen, denn der syrisch-macedonische Kalender wurde überall als Reichskalender anbefohlen. Das Jahr durfte daher nicht mehr mit dem in der Nähe der Frühlingsgleiche gelegenen 1. Nisannu beginnen, sondern musste, der syrischen Gepflogenheit gemäss, 6 Monate später, mit 1. Thischri, anfangen. Der Schalt-monat, welcher das Jahr der Babylonier als ein dreizehnter Monat beschliessen sollte, konnte somit nicht mehr ein II. Adaru sein, sondern musste gleichfalls in den Herbst verlegt werden und war ein II. Ululu.

Auch die sogenannten Egibi-Täfelchen eigen—wie ich dies in ausführlicher Weise an anderer Stelle zu illustriren hoffe—dass man sich in der Regel eines II. Adaru als Schaltmonat bediente

und nur ausnahmsweise im Herbste einen II. Ululu einsetzte, wenn man durch irgendwelche kriegerische oder politische Ereignisse die cyklische Schaltung im Frühlinge ausseracht gelassen hatte. So erscheint z. B. in diesen Täfelchen: —

Das Jahr	5	Königs	<i>Darius I.</i>	als Schaltjahr mit einem	II. Adaru.
„	8	„	„	„	II. Adaru.
„	11	„	„	„	II. Ululu.
„	13	„	„	„	II. Adaru.
„	16	„	„	„	II. Adaru.

Nun ist aber — wie ich dies aus der Zusammenstellung aller kalendarisch verwerthbaren Egibitäfelchen nachzuweisen in der Lage bin — das Jahr 5 Königs *Darius I.* das III. Jahr des 19-jährigen Cyklus, und daher: —

Jahr	5	Königs	<i>Darius I.</i>	=	Jahr	III	des Cyklus,
„	8	„	„	=	„	VI	„
„	13	„	„	=	„	XI	„
„	16	„	„	=	„	XIV	„

welche — wie ich schon oben erörtert habe — in der That Schaltjahre sind. Zugleich ist aber ersichtlich, dass auch das 10. Regierungsjahr *Darius I.*, weil dem Jahre VIII des 19-jährigen Cyklus entsprechend, ein Schaltjahr sein müsste. Statt dessen sehen wir nun das 11. Regierungsjahr = Jahr IX des Cyklus mit einem II. Ululu verzeichnet. Wahrscheinlich hatte man in Folge der Vorbereitungen, die im 10. Regierungsjahre *Darius I.* zu einem grossen Zuge nach Indien getroffen wurden, die Schaltung ausser Acht gelassen und hat sie dann im darauffolgenden Herbste durch Einschaltung eines II. Ululu nachgeholt.

Ein ähnliches Bild zeigt die Regierung des Königs *Nabonidus*. Das 6. Regierungsjahr dieses Königs, welches dem Jahre VIII des 19-jährigen Cyklus entspricht, erscheint als ein Schaltjahr mit einem II. Adaru, desgleichen das 12. Regierungsjahr *Nabonid's*, welches dem XIV. Jahre des Schaltcyklus entspricht. Nun sollte der Regel nach auch das 9. Regierungsjahr, weil dem Jahre XI des Cyklus entsprechend, einen II. Adaru haben; statt dessen finden wir aber im darauffolgenden Jahre (10. Regierungsjahre = Jahr XII des Cyklus) einen II. Ululu erwähnt. Und thatsächlich finden wir in den historisch beglaubigten Berichten über König *Nabonidus* genügende Anhaltspunkte, welche die Ausserachtlassung der Schaltung im 9. Regierungsjahre zu begründen geeignet sind. Um mich nicht in langspaltigen Citaten einlassen zu müssen, verweise ich

hier blos auf Hommel's "Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens" (Siehe daselbst Seite 783 und 784).

Aus gleichen Gründen erscheint auch das 17. Regierungsjahr dieses Königs als Gemeinjahr, wiewohl es als Jahr XIX des Cyklus ein Schaltjahr sein sollte. Dafür erscheinen aber dann unter *Cyrus* zwei aufeinanderfolgende Jahre als Schaltjahre: Jahr 2 des Königs *Cyrus* = Jahr II des 19-jährigen Cyklus hat einem II. Ululu, und Jahr 3 dieses Königs = Jahr III des Cyklus erscheint als Schaltjahr mit einem II. Adaru.

Die Erkenntniss des XIX-jährigen Schaltcyklus der Babylonier ist aber von der grössten culturhistorischen Bedeutung. Schon längst gilt es—wie bereits oben erwähnt wurde—als feststehende Thatsache, dass die jetzt üblichen Namen der Monate im jüdischen Kalender babylonisch sind. Nur bezüglich des 19-jährigen Cyklus, welcher gleichsam die Grundlage des heutigen Festkalenders der Juden bildet, war man allgemein der Annahme, dass derselbe dem Meton'schen Cyklus entlehnt worden sei. Zwischen dem jüdischen Ritus und dem Cult der alten Griechen sind zwar keinerlei Berührungspunkte zu entdecken gewesen, doch nachdem sich der Hellenismus in den letzten Jahrhunderten vorchristlicher Zeit überallhin geltend gemacht und sogar die Zeitrechnung der alten Aegypter und mehrerer asiatischer Völker beeinflusst und verdrängt hatte, so glaubte man, dass auch Hillel, der vermeintliche Verfasser des heutigen jüdischen Festkalenders, seinen Rechnungen den Cyklus von Meton und das Sonnenjahr des Hipparch zu Grunde gelegt hatte. Heute, von dem Schaltcyklus der Babylonier unterrichtet, dürfen wir behaupten, dass *der 19-jährige Cyklus der Juden babylonisch und nicht griechisch sei*. Schon früher vermuthete man, dass der Kalender der Babylonier mit dem der alten Hebräer verwandt gewesen sei. Denn so wie die alten Babylonier die Schaltjahre nicht gleich nach einer cyklischen Rechnung zu bestimmen vermochten, sondern zunächst auf die durch fleissige Beobachtungen gewonnene Empirik angewiesen waren, so wird uns auch von den Hebräern berichtet, dass sie noch lange nach der mosaischen Periode ihre Jahre entsprechend der Reife der Feldfrüchte zu regeln bemüsst waren. Als man aber hieraus die vollkommene Identität des heutigen jüdischen Kalenders mit dem der alten Babylonier folgern wollte und dabei auf einige Schwierigkeiten stiess, da liess man diese These fallen, um so mehr, als man aus den bishin bekannten babylonischen Texten wohl Schaltjahre, aber keinen Cyklus nachweisen konnte.

Während indessen die Babylonier — wie wir nun wissen — im Anfange des siebenten Jahrhunderts vor unserer Zeitrechnung schon längst den oben erörterten Schaltcyklus hatten, war es bei den Juden noch immer Brauch, im 12. Monate (Adar) nach reif gewordenen Feldfrüchten zu suchen und demgemäss den folgenden Monat als einen dreizehnten des laufenden Jahres oder als ersten des kommenden Jahres zu bestimmen. Erst während des babylonischen Exils adoptirten sie den hier üblichen Kalender und damit nicht nur die babylonischen Monatsnamen, sondern auch deren neunzehnjährigen Cyklus. Nur in so ferne könnte man die bisherige Annahme, die Juden hätten ihren Kalender den Griechen entlehnt, immerhin gelten lassen, als auch dem Meton'schen Cyklus sicherlich der babylonische als Basis diene. Mit der allmäligen Verbreitung morgenländischer Cultur haben die Griechen die Sonnenuhr, den Schattenzeiger (Gnomon) und die 12 Theile des Tages, von den Babyloniern übernommen. Es ist nun gewiss in hohem Grade wahrscheinlich, dass sie auch die babylonische Schaltmethode adoptirt hatten.

Damit soll aber nicht etwa gesagt sein, dass der Meton'sche Cyklus eine Copie des altbabylonischen sei. Dies ist auch der jüdische nicht. Nur so viel ist gewiss, dass sowohl Meton, als auch der Verfasser des jüdischen Festkalenders den Cyklus der Babylonier zum Muster hatten, indem die Grund-Idee eines 19-jährigen Schaltcyklus, welcher 7 Schaltjahre und 12 Gemeinjahre zählt, auf Babylon als Mutterstaat hinweist.

Hochverehrte Versammlung! Indem ich Ihnen hier, der freundlichen Einladung des geehrten Präsidiums Folge leistend, das Wesen des babylonischen Kalenders in flüchtigen Umrissen entworfen habe, ist ein Stück alter Culturgeschichte zu unserem Bewusstsein gelangt. Das gewaltige Babylon, welches einst das Flussgebiet des Euphrat und Tigris beherrschte, gehört zwar einer grauen Vergangenheit an, aber nicht unbedeutende Reste seiner hochentwickelten Cultur sind uns erhalten geblieben und üben einen wohlthuenden Einfluss auf unsere culturellen Einrichtungen. Wir sehen aber zugleich, dass es immer möglich ist, gewisse Producte des Geistes zu schaffen, die weder der stets nagende Zahn der Zeit noch sonstige Unbillen völlig hinwegzuräumen vermögen. Seien wir daher von dem Streben erfüllt, unseren späteren Geschlechtern zum mindesten solche Schätze zurückzulassen, wie wir sie von unseren Alvorderen in Babylon erbt haben!

VI.
DIE
IDENTITÄT DER ÄLTESTEN BABYLONISCHEN
UND ÄGYPTISCHEN GÖTTERGENEALOGIE
UND DER
BABYLONISCHE URSPRUNG DER ÄGYPTISCHEN
KULTUR.

VON
PROF. DR. FRITZ HOMMEL.

DER in den folgenden Blättern abgedruckte Vortrag war so, wie ich ihn im Herbst 1892 auf dem Londoner Orientalistencongress gehalten, eigentlich nur ein Resumé über die beiden ersten Kapitel meiner autographirten im August 1892 (also wenige Wochen vor dem Congress) ausgegebenen Broschüre über den babylonischen Ursprung der altägyptischen Kultur. Ich gebe in folgendem die Nachweise der Identität der ältesten babylonischen und ägyptischen Göttergenealogie in ganz anderer Form als in der Broschüre und benutze zugleich die Gelegenheit, zu den übrigen Kapiteln eine Reihe von Nachträgen zu bringen, besonders zu dem wichtigen Punkte über die vielen sumerischen Lehnwörter im altägyptischen, deren Zahl weit grösser ist als ich noch vor einem halben Jahre annehmen konnte; ich setze also dabei (wie ich das auch schon in meinem mündlichen Vortrage gethan) die Benutzung der genannten Broschüre von Seite der Leser voraus, zumal dieselbe ja auch in England leicht zu beschaffen ist.¹

¹ Fritz Hommel, Der babylonische Ursprung der ägyptischen Kultur. München, G. Franz'sche herzoglich bayerische Hofbuchhandlung, 1892, viii. und 65 Seiten in Quart (in London bei Luzac & Co.). Preis 5 sh. In obigem als Urspr. citirt.

Es ist bekannt, dass bei den Babyloniern die Götter Anu, Bel und Ea von Alters her (so schon in den Gudea-inschriften, Statue B, col. 8, Zeile 45 ff.: *an-í*, ➤| *Gun-lil-í*, ➤| *Nin-ghar-saggá-gi*, ➤| *Gun-ki*, d.i. „Anu, Inlilla oder Bel, dessen Gemahlin ‚Herrin des Gebirges,‘ nämlich der Wolkenberge, und In-ki,“ wobei *In-* nur die landläufige jüngere Aussprache des sonst mit der Ziffer „zehn“ geschriebenen Ideogrammes 𒂗 *gun*, „Herr,“ ist) an der Spitze des Pantheon stehen. *Anu*, meist voller *Anum* (aus *Anun*, wie äg. *Nu* aus *Nun*) ist der Himmels ocean,¹ *Gun-lilla* oder (semitisch) Bel der „Herr der Luft“² und *Gun-ki* oder Ia (𒂗 | 𒈪 𒀭 , gewöhnlich Ea gelesen) „Herr der Erde“ und dann auch der unterirdischen Gewässer. In den bilinguen Texten steht allerdings *Anum* in der semitischen Columnne, während die sumerische Form *an-na* (oben bei Gudea mit Mouillirung *an-í*, d.i. *ayi*, wozu man Haupt, K. T., No. 21, Z. 29/30 *bít* 𒁺 𒁺-ak = 𒈪 𒂗 𒀭 vergleiche) lautet, was ursprünglich „Mutter“ (vgl. 𒄍 mit eingeschriebenem, die Aussprache anzeigenden *an*, neusumerish *ama* „Mutter,“ türkisch *ana*) bedeutete und in mythologischer Uebertragung dann für den in Gestalt eines Weibes über die Erde sich neigenden Himmel verwendet wurde, der eigentlich sumerish *gish*, *gi*, neusumerish *mush*, *mu* hiess. Aber auch die in der semitischen Uebersetzung der bilinguen Texte stehenden Götternamen sind ja meist sumerischen Ursprungs (vgl. Urspr., S. 17). Was den Gott 𒂗 𒀭 , *Gun-kia*, „Herr der Erde“ anlangt, so muss derselbe, wie aus der Schreibung *GUN-KI-ga* hervorgeht, daneben auch eine auf *g* endende Aussprache gehabt haben, welche, wie ich „Semiten“ i., S. 376 ausführte, nur *Dugga* „der Gute“ (neusumerish *Sibba*) gelautet haben kann. Ebenso hiess ja *Nun-ki*, die heilige Stadt des Ea und zugleich die Heimat des ganzen ältesten Göttersystems, wenn die Verlängerung *-ga* dabei steht, auch 𒂗 𒀭 𒂗 𒀭 𒂗 𒀭 𒂗 𒀭 𒂗 𒀭 𒂗 𒀭 , ist das zweite und dritte Zeichen gewiss als *nu-dugga* (neusum. *lu-sibba*) „der Gute,“ Synonym von *-alim-*

¹ Vgl. Urspr., S. 12—17.

² Man vergleiche $\equiv \text{III} \text{ (I)} \cdot \text{d.i. } lil(-la) = za\acute{k}ku$, und ungar. *lel* „anima“, türk. *yel* „Wind.“

nunna in $\rightarrow\text{I}\langle\text{I}\rangle\text{I}$ -*Alim-nunna*, also wieder eines Beinamen des Ea, aufzufassen. Da Bel, wie der Eigennamen $\rightarrow\text{I}\text{I}\text{I}\text{I}\text{I}$ \star $\rightarrow\text{I}\text{I}\text{I}\text{I}\text{I}$ -*nunna* (d.i. Igur Sohn Nunna's) beweist, als Sohn des Himmelsocéans von den Babyloniern aufgefasst wurde (vgl. auch noch Urspr., S. 37, Z. 6 v. u. *Bel már rishtû shamî*), so ist es nach der stereotypen Folge Anu, Bel, Ea, mehr als wahrscheinlich, dass sie auch den Ea als Sohn Bel's betrachteten und dass in der Reihe *Anum* (*Nun, anna*), Bel (*Gun-lilla*), Ea (*Gun-kia* oder *Dugga*), Merodach, die älteste babylonische Göttergenealogie vorliegt.

Bei einer solchen genealogischen Reihe kommen aber auch die Gemahlinnen, bezw. Mütter, der betreffenden Gottheiten in Betracht. Anum hat keine Gemahlin, zumal er ja selbst gelegentlich als Göttin (vgl. oben das zu *anna* bemerkte) aufgefasst wurde; wie leicht zu sehen, ist das Fem. *Anatu* der lexicalischen Listen erst eine spätere Abstraction, welche in den alten bilinguen Texten wie in den Inschriften von Tello noch nirgends vorkommt, während das hebr.-phön. ענת vielmehr (wie עשתרת, *Gishtar*; עִשְׁתַּי *gish-tan*) ein babyl. Original *ghanna-t* voraussetzt, welches noch in $\rightarrow\text{I}$ $\rightarrow\text{I}\text{I}\text{I}\text{I}\text{I}$, $\rightarrow\text{I}$ $\rightarrow\text{I}\text{I}\text{I}\text{I}\text{I}$, $\rightarrow\text{I}$ $\rightarrow\text{I}\text{I}\text{I}\text{I}\text{I}$ $\rightarrow\text{I}$, $\rightarrow\text{I}$ $\rightarrow\text{I}\text{I}\text{I}\text{I}\text{I}$ $\rightarrow\text{I}$ *Ghanna, Ghanni, Ghalla, Gulla*, wie auch in *Ghammu, kimtu* vorliegt. Dagegen ist die Gemahlin des *Gun-lilla* oder „Herrn der Luft“ die gewöhnlich *Nin-lilla* „Herrin der Luft“ genannte Göttin, welche aber noch andere Namen gehabt haben muss. Einen derselben lernten wir oben bei Gudea kennen, nämlich *Nin-ghar-sagga* „Herrin des Gebirges“, wie ja auch Bel selbst der „grosse Berg“ (gemeint sind die Berge des Luftreichs, die Wolken) genannt wird; ein anderer war $\rightarrow\text{I}$ $\rightarrow\text{I}\text{I}\text{I}\text{I}\text{I}$, eine ausgesprochene Himmelsocéansgöttin, welche in den bilinguen Texten als „Mutter des Gottes Ea“ (also demnach als Gemahlin des Vaters des Ea, eben des Bel) bezeichnet wird (4 R. i., 36b). Das ohne Gottheitsdeterminativ nur *gur* (mit *-ra* verlängert) gelesene Ideogramm $\rightarrow\text{I}$ stellt urspr. einen Kreis, $\rightarrow\text{I}$, mit eingeschriebenem $\rightarrow\text{I}$ *ghal*, altbabyl. \times (beachte den Unterschied von \times , d.i. $\rightarrow\text{I}$ „Himmel“, „Gott“) dar; da *ghal* auch den Lautwert *bulugh* hat und sowohl $\rightarrow\text{I}$ als auch $\rightarrow\text{I}$, *gur*, mit *garâru* „eilen, laufen“ übersetzt wird, so wird ein älterer Wert dieses Zeichens *ghul*, der älteste aber *ghur, gur* gewesen sein, woneben auch noch eine Aussprache *du* (vgl. den analogen Uebergang von *gim* zu *dim*, *agar* zu *adar*) existirt hat. Als Göttin aber scheint $\rightarrow\text{I}$ $\rightarrow\text{I}\text{I}\text{I}\text{I}\text{I}$ nicht


5. Wie es einen Gott $\gg\text{I}$ $\gg\text{II}$ \square (= Ea, dann als Sohn der $\gg\text{I}$ \square , urspr. aber wol = Bel) gibt (Jensen, Kosmol., S. 245), so gab es auch einen Gott $\gg\text{I}$ $\gg\text{II}$ -Ba-u¹ (Urspr., S. 19, Anm. 1). Wie es einen altbabyl. Königsnamen Ur- $\gg\text{I}$ \square gab (der bekannte gewöhnlich Ur-gur gelesene König von Ur), so gab es auch, nur wenige Jahrhunderte früher, einen Ur- $\gg\text{I}$ Ba-u (Patisi von Sirgulla); und auf einem dem Dungi (Sohn des Ur- $\gg\text{I}$ \square von Ur) geweihten Siegelcylinder ist als der Stifter dieser Weihung ein Kilul-la, Sohn des Ur-ba-u (dort im Gen.: Ur-ba-bi-gi), also vielleicht ein Halbbruder Dungi's selbst, genannt (siehe meine Geschichte Babyl. und Assyriens, S. 336, f.).

6. $\gg\text{I}$ \square ist bei den Aegyptern die Morgendämmerung (siehe unten) wie bei den Babylonern die Ba-ú (3 R. 55, 49b.).

7. Endlich wird die Göttin $\gg\text{I}$ \square , die doch die Mutter Ea's ursprünglich ist, in späterer Zeit in ganz gleicher Weise zur Gemahlin Nirgal's (4 R. 32/3, col. 3, 30; vgl. 2, 46 die Gula als Gemahlin Nindar's) wie andererseits und zwar schon in den Gudea-inschriften, die Ba-u, unbeschadet ihrer Rolle als Tochter Anu's, zur Gemahlin des Ningirsu (= Nirgal) wird (Statue G, 2, 6), während doch sonst die Göttin $\gg\text{I}$ \square (Ghanna) die Schwester (Gudea, Cyl. A., 5, 17) und Gemahlin des Ningirsu-Nirgal ist.

Aus all diesen Anführungen geht hervor, dass $\gg\text{I}$ \square und $\gg\text{I}$ Ba-u reine Synonyma sind, ganz dieselbe Göttin von Haus aus bezeichnen, und dass höchst wahrscheinlich auch die gewöhnliche Aussprache von $\gg\text{I}$ \square Ba'u war, während die andere Aussprache gur offenbar nur dem unpersonificirten mythologischen Begriff \square (ohne Gottheitsdeterminativ) eignete. Ich habe dies deshalb so ausführlich und eingehend hier bewiesen, weil in einem viel citirten Buche die betreffende Identification eine „auch jeglicher Begründung entbehrende“ genannt worden ist (Jensen, Kosmologie, S. 245), und

¹ Vgl. auch 3 R. 67, 57: $\gg\text{I}$ $\gg\text{II}$ II (Var. von $\gg\text{II}\equiv\text{II}$!) $\gg\text{III}$ -, $\gg\text{I}$ \square -ra, Nin- \square -ra, woraus zugleich hervorgeht, dass man später allerdings $\gg\text{I}$ \square Gurra las, was aber natürlich für die alte Zeit nichts beweist; was $\gg\text{II}\equiv\text{II}$ (guná von $\gg\text{II}$ II anlangt), so entspricht bei Gudea das Zeichen Amiaud No. 31, wovon $\gg\text{III}$ \square nur eine weitere neuassyrische Variante ist.

dann vor allem, weil das Ideogramm  gleich weiter unten noch eine wichtige Rolle in dem gemeinsamen mythologischen Inventar der Babylonier und Aegypter spielen wird.

Ausser der *Ba'u-Ninlilla* begegnen in der ältesten Zeit besonders noch zwei Göttinnen häufig, nämlich die $\Rightarrow | \Leftarrow \nabla |$ (*Ninni, Ishtar*, altbabyl. Zeichen No. 266, wozu meine Gesch., S. 207, Anm. 1 zu vergleichen), die Schwester und Gemahlin des Merodach, und die $\Rightarrow | \Leftarrow \boxed{\nabla \nabla} |$, die Tochter des Gottes Ea (4 R. i., 38b.) und Gemahlin (und Schwester, siehe oben) des Nirgal (bezw. *Nin-girsu, Nin-* $\Rightarrow | \Delta |$ -*a*). Zu der einzig möglichen Lesung *Ghanna* dieser letzteren Gottheit vergleiche man Urspr., S. 36, wozu noch die Schreibung $\Rightarrow | \nabla \nabla \Leftarrow \nabla \nabla$ (d.i. *Ghanni*) 4 R. 52 (59), 5b, dort unmittelbar nach der *Laz*, der Gemahlin Nirgal's, als Bestätigung tritt; das Ideogramm besteht aus dem Zeichen des Hauses, mit eingeschriebenem, die Aussprache anzeigendem *gha(n)*.

Dass die Gemahlin des Ea *Dam-gal-nun-na* (also: „grosse Gemahlin des *Nun*,“ wozu man *Anunit* vergleiche, fem. von *Anun*, *Nun*, wie *Ishtarit* von *Ishtar*), kontrahirt *Dam-kinna*, hiess, ist bekannt und braucht keiner weiteren Erläuterung. Zu beachten ist, dass sowol Bel (*Gun-lilla*) als Ea (*Gun-kia*) weibliche Personifikationen des Himmelsocéans (*Ba'u*, *Nun*) zu Gemahlinnen bekamen, während doch eigentlich der weiblich gedachte Himmelsocéan nur als die Mutter des Bel und die Grossmutter des Ea streng logisch figuriren könnten.

Um zu recapituliren, so haben wir im vorhergehenden als das älteste genealogische Göttersystem folgende Reihe bei den Babyloniern gewonnen :

Nun, Anum, anna (Himmelsoccean)

Gun-lilla (Luftgott) oder Bel \cup *Nin-lilla* (Ba'u)

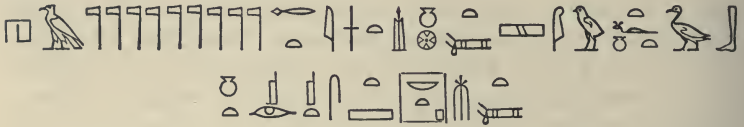
Gun-kia (Erdgott) oder Ea \cup *Damgal-Nunna*

Merodach (und seine Geschwister,
siehe später)

wozu ich gleich jetzt bemerke, dass die älteste Schreibung des Gottes Merodach, wie schon in meinen Semiten (i., p. 377, oben) erwähnt wurde, $\gg\text{I} \quad \gg\text{I} \langle\text{I}\rangle\text{I}$, war, welches Zeichen aus $\gg\text{I}\text{I}$ *gur* „Wohnsitz“ mit eingesetztem $\langle\text{I}\rangle$ d.i. *Alim* „Widder“ besteht,

und wol „Sitz (d.i. Manifestation) des Widdergottes,“ nämlich seines Vaters Ea bedeutete; im Lauf der Zeit setze man dann der Deutlichkeit halber noch den Namen Ea's in anderer Form (*nu-dugga*, *alim-nunna*) dem allein nicht mehr verständlichen Ideogramme $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$ nach (s. schon oben, S. 2). Ähnliche Namen Merodach's sind $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$ $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$ $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$, d.i. *Gul-alimma*, bei Gudea, und $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$ $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$ $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$, d.i. *Gi-limma*, in der von Mr. Pinches veröffentlichten sumer. Welterschöpfungslegende, während in den Namen $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$ $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$ $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$ ¹ und $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$ $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$ (*Agurru*, *Awáru*) nur das Element $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$ mit Vocalvorschlag in verschiedenen Aussprachen wieder gegeben ist.

Nun erst sind wir soweit, um einen Blick auf die älteste ägyptische Göttergenealogie, die sog. grosse Götter-neunheit, zu werfen. Dieselbe liegt uns bereits in den Pyramideninschriften der 6. Dynastie in folgender Stelle (Mer. I., Z. 205 = Pepi II., Z. 665) als geschlossenes System vor:



d.i. „o grosse Götter-neunheit, die da ist in Onu (Heliopolis, $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$): *Tum*, *Shu*, *Tef-Nut*; *Seb*, *Nut*; *Us-ir*, *Usit*, *Set* ($\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$), *Nebt-ha'at* (Nephthys)—Sprösslinge des Tum!“

Nach den sonstigen Angaben der Denkmäler stellt sich diese Enneas als genealogische Reihe also dar:

Tum (Himmelsocan)

$\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$
Shu (Luftgott) \cup *Tef-Nut*


$\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$
Seb (Erdgott) \cup *Nut* (Himmelsocan, weibl.)


$\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$
Us-ir (Osiris) \cup *Usit* (Isis); *Set* \cup *Nebt-ha'at* (seine Schw. u. Gemahlin, wie Isis die des Osiris)

wozu im Einzelnen, noch bevor auf die vollständige Gleichheit mit


¹ Zur Lesung vgl. den Excurs Urspr. S. 24 („nachträgl. Bemerkung“). Dass hier $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$ neben seinem zweiten Wert *gid* noch einen Wert *gur*, *gir* gehabt haben muss, geht allein schon aus der Var. $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$ $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$ $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$ -*ri-gi* bei Samas-sum-ukin (dort Nominativ) hervor.


der babylonischen aufmerksam gemacht wird, noch folgendes bemerkt sei:

Tum ist zwar späterhin (wozu sich der Anfang schon in den Pyramidentexten findet), die Abendsonne, was aber unmöglich die ursprüngliche Bedeutung sein kann, da es in der Pyramide des Teti, Z. 201, vom Luftgott Schu heisst, dass er „hervorgehe von Tum“; wenn damit nicht etwa bloß gesagt sein soll, dass Schu der Sohn des Tum ist, sondern eine räumliche Vorstellung vorliegt, so kann hier Tum unmöglich die Sonne, sondern muss der lichte Himmelocean, der über dem Luftreich sich ausdehnt, gemeint sein. Damit stimmt auch, dass in der Unis-pyramide 593 der Sonnengott Rê „die Schönheit des Tum,“ d.i. des Himmels, den er in seiner Barke alltäglich durchfährt, genannt wird; denn nur so kann mit V. von Strauss (Altæg. Götterglaube, II., 205) der Name Nofer-Tum übersetzt werden. Auch die ägyptischen Theologen fassten die ursprüngliche Rolle des Tum nicht anders auf, da sie in dem alten 17. Kapitel des Todtenbuches die Worte „ich, *Itmu* (Nebenform von Tum), bin Gott, der grosse, das Werden, er selber“ durch „das ist der Himmelocean (*Nun*), der Vater der Götter“ erklären (Brugsch, Mythol., p. 22). Und da auch sonst *Nun* oder *Nu* bei den Aegyptern, und zwar schon in den Pyramidentexten, deutlich den Himmelocean als den Urgrund aller Dinge bezeichnet (V. von Strauss, Altæg. Göttergl., I., p. 46), in der oben mitgeteilten Liste aber Tum diese Rolle führt, so folgt schon daraus mit grösster Wahrscheinlichkeit, dass ursprünglich Tum nur ein Synonym von Nun war; allerdings schon wol mit Hinblick auf die im Himmelocean schwimmende Sonnenbarke, da das Ideogramm, womit Tum geschrieben wird, , eben eine solche vorstellt.



Tum aber sowol, als vor allem auch Nun, stehen auch in Babylonien an der Spitze der Götter. Für Nun, welchen mythologischen Begriff ich zuerst in meinen „Semiten,“ Band I., p. 369 als solchen keilinschriftlich nachgewiesen, verweise ich einfach auf die oben gegebene babylonische Göttergenealogie. Was dagegen Tum anlangt, so gibt es eine babylonische Gottheit  *Dun*, woneben auch die phonetisch geschriebene jüngere Variante *Da-mu* vorkommt, die zwar gewöhnlich ein Synonym der Himmeloceansgöttin *Ba'u* ist, doch aber einmal in der Sternliste 5. R. 46, direct dem Himmelsgotte Anum gleichgesetzt wird; was aber, noch mehr als die lautliche Uebereinstimmung (*Dun*, *Damu* gegenüber dem daraus durch Verhärtung entstandenen æg. Tum), die Identität beweist, ist die Gleichheit des Ideogrammes, indem die altbabyloni-




nische Form des Zeichens *dun* klar und deutlich ebenfalls die Himmelsbarke (den sog. Schlitten) darstellt (Urspr., pp. 26, 37, 63). Und wie bei den Aegyptern allmählich Tum geradezu zu einem Synonym des Sonnengottes geworden, so finden wir auch im sumerischen das Epithetum *dun* (semitisch *itlu* „erhaben“) mit Vorliebe dem Sonnengott beigelegt (vgl. *ur-sag dun* ► | ▲ | bei Brünnow, Classified List No. 9869).

Eine weitere sichere Gleichung ist das ägyptische *Du'a* (gelegentlich auch *Tu'a*, so z.B. Unis 210), welches ideogramatisch durch einen Kreis mit eingesetztem ✕ geschrieben wird. Nach den Aegyptologen bezeichnet es die untere Hemisphäre des Himmels-oceans, hat aber gewiss ursprünglich Himmels-ocean überhaupt bedeutet. Denn genau das gleiche Ideogramm, Kreis mit eingeschriebenem ✕, in der urspr. Stellung ✕ (Variante Ψ), eignete, wie wir oben gesehen haben, der Himmels-oceangöttin Ba'u, bzw. dem mythologischen Begriffe *gur*, dessen neusum. Variante *dur*, *du* sogar lautlich mit dem äg. Worte identisch ist.¹ Wie dann Ba'u später von den Babyloniern mit der Ghanna verwechselt wurde, einer zum untern Teil des Himmels-oceans in engster Beziehung stehenden Göttin, so haben ganz ähnlich die Aegypter ihr *Du'a* gewöhnlich eben dieser unteren Hälfte des Himmels-oceans gleichgesetzt. Eine weitere Bestätigung gibt der Umstand an die Hand, dass das äg. *Du'at* auch Morgengrauen, bzw. die elfte Stunde der Nacht bedeutet, während bei den Babyloniern Ba'u (hier phonetisch Ba-u) die Göttin der ersten Tageszeit (*shêru*,  Morgendämmerung) vertritt (die Belege s. Urspr., p. 37 f.). Dass *Tef-Nut* auf eine ältere Form *Tu'a-Nut* zurückgehn dürfte, habe ich Urspr., S. 18 vermutet, wozu als Analogie äg. *ît*, sum. *ad* „Vater“ nebst seiner Weiterbildung *itf*, babyl. *ittû* (Lehnwort aus sum. *ad*) zu vergleichen wäre; die ebendasselbst ausgesprochene Vermutung, dass auch *Tum* etymologisch zu *Tef* und *Tu'a* gehöre, war falsch, da Tum auf sumerisches *Dun* zurückgeht.


Dass der Name des äg. Erdgottes in ältester Zeit Sib gesprochen wurde, darüber kann wol kein Zweifel mehr sein, da der Lautwert des Zeichens für Gans, mit welchem der Gott in den Pyramidentexten stets geschrieben erscheint, sicher *sî* oder *sî* war, und auch sumerisch *us* die Gans bedeutet hat; die von Brugsch angeführte Stelle, Mer. 126, wo *igbbg* in offenbare Beziehung zum Namen  gesetzt ist (Urspr., p. 39), kann auch nur einen Reim darstellen,

¹ Vgl. Rev. Ball, Proc. S.B.A., xii., p. 404, Note 2 (June 1890).

und die weitere von Brugsch, Proc. S.B.A., x., 450 f. (June 1888) beigezogene Stelle, wo  in Alliteration mit *Sb* steht, beweist weit mehr für eine Lesung *Seb* als für *Geb*, da gerade in den Pyramidentexten  das Ideogramm für *dbn*, *sbn* „kreisen“ ist.¹ Was die eigentliche Bedeutung von *Sb* war, hatten die Aegypter natürlich längst vergessen. Nun kann es aber kein Zufall sein, dass, wie oben gesagt wurde, ein gewöhnlicher Beiname des babyl. „Herrn der Erde“ *Dugga*, neusum. *Sibba* „der Gute“ war,² wie der des æg. Erdgottes *Sb*; auch sonst haben wir in sumer. Lehnwörtern des ägyptischen ein *s*, wo im sum. selbst nur das ältere *l* überliefert ist, z.B. ein *s*: „Sohn“, sum. *dur*, *du*.

Von der allergrössten Wichtigkeit ist ferner der Umstand, dass das Ideogramm des ersten Sohnes des Erdgottes nicht blos bei den Babyloniern aus den Zeichen für Wohnsitz und Auge bestand, sondern auch bei den Aegyptern; denn die Hieroglyphe für Osiris ist schon in den Pyramidentexten   (*Us-ir*, Osiris). Nur haben die Aegypter nicht mehr die ursprüngliche Bedeutung dieser Zeichen gekannt, während im babylonischen dieselbe noch ganz durchsichtig ist, indem das Auge nur eine andere Schreibung für den Widder, das Symbol des Vaters des Merodach-Osiris,³ darstellt; Widder hiess auf babyl. *alimma* (aus *ghanimma*, *ghanumma*, daher æg. *khnum* „Widder“), woraus  (Auge) = *lim* nur eine Abkürzung ist.⁴ Auf diese Uebereinstimmung der beiden Ideogramme hat schon Rev. Ball in den Proc. S.B.A., xii., p. 401 f. (June 1890) hingewiesen; ebendasselbst p. 407 f. verglich derselbe hervorragende Gelehrte auch das æg. *sn* „Bruder“ mit dem babyl. *siš* „Bruder“⁵

¹ Brugsch selbst gibt (Mythol., S. 172) zu, dass die Namen des æg. Erdgottes *Seb* und *Keb* lauteten; für *Sb* führt er daselbst die alliterirende Stelle an: „hervorkommen (*sebsi*, vgl. babyl. *šubšū*, *ušabši*!) lässt für dich Seb (d.i. der Erdboden) was ihm zugehört.“

² Es ist übrigens durchaus nicht unmöglich, dass die älteste Form des sumer. Wortes für „gut“ nicht *dug* sondern *gug* (dann neusum. etwa *gib*, *dib*, *sib*) war, denn der Lautwert *ghi* des betr. Ideogramms weist auf ein *ghig* oder *ghib* neben *dug* hin (vgl. die ganz ähnliche Entwicklung bei : *gug*, *dug*, *dib*, *su*).


³ Auch die Aegypter brachten den Widder noch mit dem Gotte *Seb* in Beziehung, Brugsch, Mythol., S. 579, weshalb ihn (den Gott *Seb*) auch Brugsch geradezu den „Stellvertreter des kosmogonischen Chnum“ nennt. Darüber, dass der æg. *Khnum* nur eine Differenzirung von *Seb* ist, siehe ausführlich Urspr., S. 29–31.

⁴ Vgl. Urspr., S. 22 und Anmerkung.







⁵ Dass dem so ist, und dass *siš* aus *sin* entstanden, lehrt allein schon der andere babyl. Lautwert *urin* (durch Rhotacismus aus *usin*); dass auch die beiden Ideogramme identisch sind, habe ich Urspr., S. 63, No. 27 (noch ohne an die Gleichung *sn* = *siš* zu denken) ausgesprochen.

und fügte dazu folgende Note: "The evidence of this and other common vocables points to a very early connexion between the primitive languages of Babylonia and Egypt; although the latter has developed on quite independent lines and been influenced by its own environment."

Vergleichen wir nun die beiden Göttergenealogien (oben S. 6 f.), so ergibt sich nicht nur, dass bei Aegyptern wie Babyloniern der Himmels ocean das erste, der Luftgott das zweite, der Erdgott das dritte und der solare Osiris-Merodach das vierte Glied derselben ist, sondern dass auch die Namen (bezw. Ideogramme von No. 1, 3 und 4 identisch sind, wie ferner dass No. 1 (Himmels ocean) keine Gemahlin hat, dass aber No. 2 und 3 weibliche Personificationen des Himmels oceans (No. 1) zu Gemahlinnen haben, was besonders schlagend bei der Gemahlin des Erdgottes (*Nu-t* = *Dam-gal-Nunna*, „grosse Gemahlin des Nun,“ während doch Nun = Anum der Grossvater des Erdgottes ist) sich zeigt. Wenn schon hier jeder Zufall ausgeschlossen erscheint, so ist das umsomehr der Fall, wann wir einen Blick auf die anderen Kinder des Erdgottes werfen.

Da begegnet uns zuerst die Schwester und Gemahlin des Osiris, die Isis (*Uś-t*), ebenso wie bei den Babyloniern die Schwester und Gemahlin des Merodach, bezw. des Sonnengottes, die Ishtar. Dann der bald freundliche bald feindliche Bruder des Osiris, Set, der im Nindar-Nergal der Babylonier sein Gegenbild hat; bes. als Feind des Osiris entspricht so genau wie möglich der babyl. Nergal oder *Shit-lam-ta-uddūa*, der „feindliche Gott,“ wie er geradezu (als Planet Saturn) genannt wird (Urspr., S. 34 und 35). Dass die oft in babylonischen Texten sich findende Bezeichnung des Nindar und seines Doppelgängers Nergal als „Held des In-lilla“ (Gudea Cyl. A., 7, 5, Ningirsu geradezu: Sohn des Inlilla) hier nur den Enkel des In-lilla (Bel) meint, geht daraus hervor, dass die Schwester und Gemahlin des Nindar-Ningirsu, die Göttin  (Ghanna, s. oben, p. 6), deutlich in einem bilinguen Text (4 Rawl. 1, 38b) „Tochter des In-ki,“ d.i. des Ea (vgl. auch Gudea, Cyl. A. 20, 16, „Tochter von Nun-ki,“ d.i. der Stadt des Ea) heisst. Endlich als viertes der Kinder des Seb die Nephthys, die Schwester und Gemahlin des Set, welcher die eben erwähnte Ghanna sogar bis aufs Ideogramm entspricht, denn beide werden mit dem Bilde des Hauses

¹ Ganz ähnlich heisst in der Pyramide des Unis (5. Dyn.), Z. 240 ff. der mit Osiris identifizierte todtte König Sohn des Tum, Sohn des Schu u. der Tef-Nut (und dann erst Sohn des Seb und der Nut, und Bruder der Isis, des Set, der Nephthys und des hier noch dazu gerechneten Mondgottes Dhuti, wie auch noch: Vater des Hor).



geschrieben, æg. Nebt-ḥa'at („Herrin des Hauses“) Haus mit eingeschriebenem Zeichen für *nb-t* „Herrin“ und babyl.  „Haus“ mit eingeschriebenem Zeichen *ghan* (s. oben, S. 6), wozu noch das Synonymum   „Haus der Unterwelt,“ *bît irṣiti*¹ im Königsnamen    -*tu* (d.i. *Ghammu-rapaltu*, אמרפל) Proc. S.B.A., xv., p. 110 (Jan. 1893) hinzukommt. Ausser dieser officiellen Genealogie der Pyramidentexte spielt aber auch noch Horus, der Sohn des Osiris und der Isis, eine grosse Rolle, wie er denn in späteren Listen als letztes Glied der Enneas, die dann erst von Schu ab gezählt wird, figurirt; ganz ebenso bei den Babyloniern der Feuergott Nabû (Nin-gish-zidda, Gibil, etc.) oder Nusku, der Sohn Merodachs.² Bei den Babyloniern ist dieser Gott speciell der Richter der Unterwelt, eine Rolle, welche bei den Aegyptern sein Vater Osiris führt; doch ist zu beachten, dass wie Samas dem Gishdubar-Nusku³ diese Hades-richterrolle überträgt, so bei den Aegyptern umgekehrt Osiris den Horus zum Richter über die Götter und Menschen (auf der Oberwelt) macht, während für die unterirdische Rolle des Nabû-Nusku die Aegypter eine besondere Gottheit, den *Inpu* (Anubis) differenzirten, dem sie den Osiris zum Vater und die Nebt-hat zur Mutter gaben, und dessen Name höchstwahrscheinlich die babylonisch-semitische Bezeichnung des Gottes, nämlich *Nabû* bewahrt hat.⁴




Damit dürfte bis zur Evidenz erwiesen sein, dass die grosse Götterneunheit der ägyptischen Mythologie, welche bis in den Anfang der Pyramidenzeit zurückverfolgt werden kann und die Grundlage des ganzen Göttersystems bildet, auf die babylonische Mythologie zurückgeht, ja dort erst in vielen Einzelheiten seine richtige Erklärung findet.⁵ Es könnten ja allerdings manche, die um jeden

¹ Vgl. zu diesem mythol. Begriff, Haupt's Keilschrifttexte No. 21, Z. 29 und 30.

² Auch *Dun-shag-ga* bei Gudea, der de Sarzec, Découv., pl. 29, No. 1, Z. 1 und 2 „Lieblingssohn des Ningirsu“ heisst, ist eine verwandte Gottheit.

³ Dass diese beiden urspr. identisch sind, habe ich in meinem Aufsatz über Gishdubar, Proc. S.B.A., May 1893, dargelegt.

⁴ Urspr. p. 32 f. Der Vokalvorschlag ist gerade so zu beurteilen, wie *Itmu* neben *Tum*, während die Verhärtung des ursprünglichen b zu p in *Apep* (Apophis) = babyl. *abûbu* wie auch in späteren Lehnwörtern (so in *hurp* , M. Müller, Asien u. Europa, S. 304, oder in *Apriu* = ) ihre Analogie besitzt.

⁵ Für eine ganze Reihe weiterer Entsprechungen, welche zum Teil auch noch mit dem obigen zusammenhängen, muss ich hier des Raumes halber einfach auf meinen „Ursprung“ verweisen, so für *Ré* = Osiris (wie Samas = Merodach) und seinen Kampf mit dem Drachen *Apep* (= *abûbu*) auf S. 20 f., 29 und 40, für *Chnum* = *Ea* auf S. 30, für *Iaru* (Elysium) = *Aralu* auf S. 9, *Dḥuti-Chonsu* =    auf S. 31

Preis die ägyptische Mythologie für Aegypten retten wollen, den Stil umdrehen und in Folge dessen die babylonische Göttergenealogie auf Aegypten zurückführen; denn dass überhaupt die beiden von Haus aus identisch und die eine von der andern abgeleitet ist (welche Ableitung in die Anfänge der betreffenden Kultur zurückdatirt werden muss), das wird wol nach meinen Ausführungen kein Unbefangener mehr leugnen oder gar als zufällige Uebereinstimmung erklären wollen. Aber der Umstand, dass die meisten der in obigem System als identisch erwiesenen Namen sumerischen (nicht semitischen) Ursprungs sind und dass auch sonst die ägyptische, in Grammatik und einem guten Teil des Wortschatzes jetzt mehr und mehr als semitisch erkannte Sprache, eine grosse Zahl sumerischer Lehnwörter aufweist (siehe darüber noch weiter unten), zwingt allein schon kategorisch, den gemeinsamen Ursprung beider Kulturen nur auf babylonischem Boden zu suchen.

Ist es aber nicht ein gewagter Sprung, wenn ich jetzt plötzlich, statt blos von der schon im Titel dieses Vortrages als Hauptthema desselben namhaft gemachten gemeinsamen Göttergenealogie zu reden, dies gleich zu einem gemeinsamen Ursprung der ganzen Kultur der Aegypter und Babylonier erweitere? Darauf ist jedoch zu antworten dass wo die Mythologie eines Volkes in solchem Umfang von der eines andern Volkes abhängig, bezw. mit derselben identisch ist, von vornherein kaum ein anderer Schluss übrig bleibt, als dass auch alle übrigen Kulturelemente in ähnlicher Weise wenigstens ihren Grundlagen nach als entlehnt sich herausstellen werden; es ist ja einfach nicht denkbar, dass ein so uraltes Kulturvolk wie die Aegypter nur in seinem Götterglauben von einem anderen geographisch so wenig entfernten ebenfalls uralten Kulturvolke, wie die Babylonier es sind, sollte abhängig gewesen sein. Die religiösen Anschauungen durchziehen und beherrschen bei einem Volke des Altertums so sehr alle Fasern des kulturellen Lebens, mit der Religion ist Architektur, Astronomie, Schrift, &c. so innig verbunden, dass wenn die erstere entlehnt ist, es notwendig auch die übrigen sein müssen. In der Tat lässt sich das auch in den wichtigsten Punkten mit Leichtigkeit nachweisen.

So habe ich, was die Abhängigkeit der Pyramiden von babylonischen Vorbildern anlangt, schon im Jahre 1885 in der ersten Lieferung meiner „Geschichte Babyloniens,“ den Nachweis zu liefern gesucht, dass die chaldäischen Stufentempel die architektonische

(wozu noch Unis 195: das Verb *hns* speciell von Dehuti als Mondgott zu vergl.), für Onnu=Nun(-ki) auf S. 25 f. etc. etc.

Vorlage derselben waren (siehe daselbst, p. 16—19, nebst den dazu gehörigen Abbildungen). Seither ist es mir gelungen, noch einige wichtige Bestätigungen beizubringen; so einmal, dass, wie Mr. Flinders-Petrie gezeigt hat, die alte, dem Pharao Snofru (4. Dyn.) angehörigen Pyramide von Mèdûm ebenfalls ursprünglich aus sieben auf einer Mastaba aufgeführten Stufen bestand¹ gleich den berühmten babylonischen Etagentempeln, deren sieben die sieben Sphären (Mond, Merkur, Venus, Sonne, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn) symbolisirenden Stufen schon Gudea (ca. 3000 v. Chr.) in seinen Statueninschriften (G. 1, 13; E. 1, 14; D. 2, 9) erwähnt (siehe Amiaud, Zeitschr. f. Assyriol., iii., 36 f.), und dann des weiteren, dass auch in den babylonischen Stufentempeln sich das Grabmal des Königs sich befand, wie das besonders aus der letztangeführten Stelle (Gudea, D. 2, 9) klar hervorgeht, wo es heisst:




„Den Tempel der Zahl Fünfzig² . . . hat er erbaut, darin seine geliebte Grabstätte (*gi-gunnu*) mit Weihrauch und Cedernholz ausgestattet,³ seinen siebenstufigen Tempel I-ghadda (= Tempel der Spitze?) erbaut⁴ und darin die Morgengabe der Göttin Ba'u (d. i. der Gemahlin Inlilla's, s. oben), seiner Herrin niedergelegt.“

Den entscheidenden Ausdruck *gi-gun* haben die bisherigen Uebersetzer der betreffenden Inschriften, Amiaud und Jensen, leider unerklärt gelassen, während doch in obigem Zusammenhang nur die von A. Jeremias aus einer Senacheribstelle richtig erschlossene Bedeutung „Grabstätte“ in Aussicht genommen sein kann.⁵ Auch hier in der Architektur weisen demnach gerade die ältesten ägyptischen Denkmäler (denn auch die Stufenpyramide von Sakkara hat sich als dem König Zoser der 3. Dynastie angehörig seither herausgestellt, Erman, Z. f. äg. Spr., 28, 1890, p. 111 f.) auf babyloni-

¹ Vgl. die Notiz in der Academy vom 18. April 1891: „It (the pyramid) consists of a small stone Mastaba, heightened and built around repeatedly until there were *seven steps* of construction; over all these a continuous slope of casing was added, so that it appeared with one long face from the top to the ground.“ Ferner: Ten Years' Digging in Egypt (London, 1892), p. 141 (nebst der Abbildung auf p. 142). Petrie's grosses Werk über Medum ist mir leider noch nicht zugänglich.

² Das ist die dem Gotte Inlilla (Bel) und seinen Enkel Ningirsu-Nindar heilige Zahl.

³ Bis hieher auch ganz gleichlautend Statue B, 5, 15—20.

⁴ Sum. ,  ub VII-na-ni mu-na-ru. Aus E. 1, 14—17, „welcher den Tempel der Zahl Fünfzig des Gottes Ningirsu, den Tempel der Spitze () das Haus der sieben Stufen, erbaut hat“ geht hervor, dass beide Bauwerke entweder geradezu identisch waren, oder aber, dass sie in engem Zusammenhange standen; dass auch der Tempel I-ghadda dem Ningirsu geweiht war, ergibt sich klar aus G. 1, 13.

⁵ A. Jeremias, Vorstellungen vom Leben nach dem Tode, S. 51 f.

schen Ursprung hin. Der gegen mich von Eduard Meyer seiner Zeit ins Feld geführte Satz, dass „analoge Verhältnisse auch hier mit Naturnotwendigkeit zu analogen Resultaten führen,“¹ hat seine Grenzen, und die Uebereinstimmungen sind gerade bei den ältesten Pyramiden und den babylonischen schon für Ur-Ghanna's Zeit (ca. 4000 v. Chr.) bezeugten Stufentempeln so schlagend, dass jener Satz hier unmöglich mehr zur Erklärung ausreicht. Petrie's Funde in Medum haben übrigens auch noch andere höchst wichtige Resultate ergeben, die sogar Petrie selbst, der von meinen Aufstellungen ganz unbeeinflusst war, veranlassten, den Ursprung der ägyptischen Kultur ausserhalb Aegyptens und zwar nicht allzulang vor der Zeit der dritten Dynastie, zu vermuten. Die Sache ist zu wichtig, als dass ich nicht seine eignen Worte hier anführe:²

„The most attractive matter was the study of the inscriptions on the tombs (belonging to the great pyramid at Medum), which show us the earliest forms of the hieroglyphs yet known. We have no remains certainly dated older than these . . ., they (the objects used as hieroglyphs) lead us back to the third dynasty, or even earlier times, and they show us various objects which are as yet quite unknown to us till much later ages . . .

“Some matters point to a stage which passed away soon after. *The sign for a seal is not a scarab, or a ring, but a cylinder of jasper . . . this points to a connection with Babylonia in early times . . .*”³ And some suggestion of the original home of Egyptian culture near the sea is made by the signs for water being all black or dark blue green. This is a colour that no one living on the muddy Nile would associate with water; rather should we suppose it to have originated from the clear waters of the Red Sea.”

Des weiteren spricht Mr. Petrie von der zweifachen Bestattungsweise in den Gräbern von Medum; während die Edeln, wie das später in Aegypten allgemein üblich war, in ausgestreckter Lage bestattet sind, fanden sich die Niederen mit eingezogenen Knien (also gerade wie in den von Mr. Taylor blosgelegten Gräbern von Ur in Chaldæa) begraben. „Here (fährt Mr. Petrie fort) is clearly a total difference in beliefs, and probably also in race; . . . and it seems that the aborigines used the contracted burial, and the dynastic race the extended burial, which—with its customs—soon became the national mode. Is it likely that the bulk of the people should

¹ Gesch. Aegyptens, S. 2, wozu noch S. 55 und 105 f. des nämlichen Werkes zu vergleichen.

² Ten Years, etc., p. 143 ff.

³ Die Hervorhebung durch Cursivschrift ist von mir.

have resisted this change for some 800 years, and then have suddenly adopted it in two or three generations? Does not this rapid adoption of the upper-class custom, between the beginning of the fourth dynasty and the immediately succeeding times, suggest that the dynastic race (nämlich die Priester und Edeln, welche die Kultur von Babylonien nach Aegypten brachten) did not enter Egypt till shortly before we find their monuments? At least, the notion that the stages preceding the known monuments should be sought outside of Egypt, and that this is the explanation of the dearth of objects before the fourth dynasty, is strengthened by the change of custom and belief which we then find."

Hiezu möchte ich nur das eine bemerken, dass ich an die Aboriginer nur insofern glaube, als auch sie, meinerwegen vielleicht ein Jahrtausend früher als die übrigen, von Babylonien gekommen sind. Denn wir haben in der uns vorliegenden ägyptischen Sprache schon von den ältesten Denkmälern ab eine Mischung zweier,¹ beiderseits nach Babylonien zeigender Sprachen: Formenlehre und Syntax rein semitisch (und zwar deutlich aufs babylonische semitisch, nicht etwa auf das westsemitischeweisend, wie ich das im vierten Kapitel meines „Urspr.“ dargelegt), der Wortschatz aber zu einem grossen Teil, ja wie es scheint zur grösseren Hälfte, sumerisch. Ich stelle mir die Sache so vor, dass die ältesten Einwohner reine Sumerier waren; ihnen gehören diejenigen sumerischen Lehnwörter an, welche noch nicht die sog. neusumerische Form aufweisen, wie Chonsu (altsum. *Gun-zu*, neusum. *In-zu*) oder wie Chnum (altsum. *ghanumma*, neusum. *alimma*, „Widder“). Dann folgte die zweite Einwanderung, Semiten, in deren Gefolge aber jedenfalls auch noch viele Sumerier sich befanden, kurz vor Beginn der historischen Zeit, wol zwischen 5000 bis 4000 vor Chr. Geb. So ist es auch wol kein Zufall, dass gerade der Kultus des Chonsu und Chnum² als speciell oberägyptisch gilt, denn die ersten Einwanderer werden von den zweiten, soweit keine Vermischung stattfand, nach dem Süden zurückgedrängt

¹ Vgl. Erman, Z.D.M.G., 46 (1892), p. 126: „Dagegen wird man sich die Frage vorlegen müssen, ob nicht etwa (das Aegyptische,) diese Verwandte der semitischen Sprachen, von Ureinwohnern des Nilthales oder von anderer Seite [von mir hervorgehoben] in grösserer Menge fremdes Sprachgut in ihren Wortschatz aufgenommen habe. . . . Die grosse Mehrzahl der aegyptischen Worte, und gerade auch der gebräuchlichsten [von mir hervorgehoben] wird einen Semitisten fremd anmuthen.“

² Ich mache ausdrücklich noch darauf aufmerksam, dass nur *alimma* die bis jetzt keilinschriftlich nachweisbare Aussprache des sumer. Wortes für Widder ist, dass aber *nim* die ältere Aussprache von *lim*, und dass mit a anlautende Wörter auch sonst vorn einen Guttural verloren haben (z. B. *a-* für *gha-* beim Optativ u. Imper., wie ja auch das Imper.-praeфик *umun-* aus *ghumun-* entstanden ist).







worden sein. Weiter die Sache auszumalen, gestatten uns vielleicht fernere Funde und Entdeckungen; dass aber auch in Aegypten derselbe Dualismus zweier Sprachen und Rassen wie in Babylonien in greifbaren Spuren vorhanden ist, das getraue ich mir schon heute als unzweifelhafte Tatsache zu proclamiren.




Was die ebenfalls in urälteste Zeit zurückgehenden Uebereinstimmungen in der babylonischen und ägyptischen *Astronomie* anlangt, so hatten, wie ich das in meinen Aufsätzen im „Ausland“ („Astronomie der alten Chaldäer“, iii., Jan.-Feb., 1892) und der Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellsch. (Bd. 45: Urspr. und Alter der arabischen Sternnamen) nachgewiesen habe, die Babylonier dem Tierkreis in 36 Planetenstationen (sog. Dekane), 24 Mondstationen und 12 Sonnenhäuser eingeteilt, womit natürlich die ägyptische Einteilung in die 36 Dekane und die 24 Stundensterne übereinstimmt. Die ältesten Dekanlisten und Stundensternverzeichnisse stammen aus dem Anfang des neuen Reiches. Gerade weil sie in Einzelheiten und den Namen der Sternen nur hie und da mit der Einteilung der Babylonier zusammentreffen so muss das Gemeinsame (einmal die Idee, den Zodiacus gerade in 36 und in 24 Unterabteilungen zu zerlegen, und dann auch die Benennung mehrerer Sternbilder) in die älteste Zeit zurückgehen; denn wäre sie erst in der Mitte des 2. vorchristlichen Jahrtausends erfolgt, so müsste man im Detail eine weit grössere Aehnlichkeit, wenn nicht directe Gleichheit, erwarten. Zu den Coincidenzen einzelner Sternbilderbezeichnungen gehören der Löwe mit der darunter liegenden Hydra (bezw. Krokodilschwanz), der Sirius als Stern der Istar-Isis (und vielleicht auch als Bogenstern, falls sein Name *Spd* mit *pd* „Bogen“ zusammenhängt), der Orion (sumerisch *shu-gi*, äg. *šeh*), Wassermann (Dekanstern *khu*, babyl. *gu*) und noch einige andere. Auch von den Planeten gilt das eben bemerkte. Wie ich in meinem Aufsatz: „Babylonian Astronomy“, i., the Planets (Babyl. and Oriental Record, vi., p. 169—172) gezeigt habe, stimmt die ägyptische seit der 19. Dynastie nachweisbare Ordnung der Planeten fast vollständig mit der bei Sargon und bei den Medern (letzteren natürlich von den Assyriern überkommenen) üblichen Reihe, geht aber nach dem von Dio Cassius 37, 19 angegebenen Verfahren ebenfalls auf die altbabylonische (nach der Entfernung der Planeten von der Erde bestimmte) Anordnung zurück. Wir haben nämlich in der 19. Dynastie die Liste: [Sonne; Mond;] Jupiter (Osiris, Stern des Südens); Saturn (Horus, der Stier, Stern des Westens, Horus-Apollo); Mars (rother Horus, Rê); Merkur (*sebg*, Gott Seth); Venus (Stern

des Schiffes des Bennu-Osiris or Phœnix). Da sonst Horus-Apollo Merkur, und Sebak-Set der babylonische Nirgal-Saturn ist, so war die ursprüngliche Form dieser Liste offenbar :






Sonne, Mond, Jupiter, Merkur, Mars, Saturn, Venus, also ganz genau wie die Reihe von Ekbatana (Herodot i., 98) und auf dem Observatorium des Sargon. Das ist aber, wofern wir nur Sonne und Mond, die ja auch die ägyptischen Listen auslassen, dislociren, und wenn wir bei der Venus (von hinten herein) beginnen, die Ordnung unserer Wochentage; vgl. Venus (Freitag), Saturn (Samstag), Mars (Dienstag), Merkur (Mittwoch), Jupiter (Donnerstag). Und der Ordnung unserer Wochentage liegt, wie man das bei Dio Cassio genau ausgeführt findet, die auf die 24 Stunden der Tage verteilte altbabylonische Reihe: Sonne, Venus, Merkur, Mond, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars (vgl. die Reihe des Stufentempels von Borsippa: silber Mond; blau Merkur; weissgelb Venus; gold Sonne; rosenrot Mars; braunrot Jupiter; schwarz Saturn) zu Grunde. Daneben haben wir auf keilinschriftlichen Listen noch folgende Ordnung: „Mond, Sonne; Merkur, Venus; Mars, Jupiter, Saturn,“ auf welche wiederum die bei den Aegyptern stereotyp angewendete Anordnung der Farben (Brugsch, Aegyptologie, p. 83): silber, gold, grün (für blau), hellblau (für weiss), rot, dunkelblau (für purpurbau, purpurn) und schwarz unverkennbar hinweist. Und dass endlich die Zusammenfassung von Mond und Sonne einer- und von den fünf Wandelsternen andererseits zu der heiligen Siebenzahl der Planeten auch bei den Aegyptern in die ältesten Zeiten zurückgeht, sieht man aus dem oben über die sieben Stufen der Meidum-pyramide bemerkten; wenn bei den Babyloniern, wie das erwiesen ist, die Tempel der sieben Stufen die Planeten symbolisch darstellen, so ist das selbstverständlich auch bei den nach babylonischen Vorbildern erbauten ägyptischen Stufenpyramiden der Fall.

Weisen demnach auch Architektur und Astronomie wenigstens in ihren Hauptzügen auf Babylonien hin, so ist das nicht minder mit der ägyptischen Hieroglyphenschrift der Fall. Bereits in meiner Broschüre („Urspr.“, Cap. 5, „das ägyptische Schriftsystem,“ auf S. 61—64) habe ich 34 äg. Zeichen mit ihren babylonischen Entsprechungen zusammengestellt, denen ich Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch. vol. xv., pp. 111—112 (Jan. 1893) noch elf weitere hinzugefügt habe. Seitdem hat sich mir diese Liste wiederum um sieben Nummern vermehrt (No. 46—52), so dass es also jetzt im ganzen ein halbes Hundert Beispiele sind, bei deren Mehrzahl eine zufällige Uebereinstimmung ausgeschlossen ist. Darunter sind nur ver-

schwindend wenige (wie Nr. 32 die babylonische Form von  Sonne, Tag, und äg.  Sonne, Tag, oder Nr. 10 die altbabyl. Form von  Weib, eigentl. vulva, äg.  Weib), bei denen eine Entlehnung anzunehmen unnöthig ist, da ja jedes primitive Volk die Sonne durch einen Kreis oder das Weib durch das Bild der vulva ausgedrückt haben wird. Für solche Zeichen, aber auch nur für solche, würde gelten, was der berühmte Aegyptologe und Sinologe *Victor von Strauss* in seiner mir in allen Hauptpunkten zustimmenden Besprechung meines „Ursprung“ (Babylonien und Aegypten, Neue kirchl. Zeitschrift, Bd. 4, S. 128—137) gesagt hat: „Im Altchinesischen [das übrigens, wie Terrien de Lacouperie und Rev. Ball zu höchster Wahrscheinlichkeit erhoben, ebenfalls babyl. Ursprungs ist] sehen die Begriffszeichen für Sonne, Berg u.s.w. genau so aus wie im Altbabylonischen, und wenn in diesem und dem Altägyptischen ein Schmelztiegel, ein Sitz, eine Menschengestalt, ein Fisch, ein Haus durch einen anähnelnden Umriss ihrer Erscheinung bezeichnet sind, so schliesst dies nicht notwendig eine Entlehnung des Zeichens ein“ (a. a. O., S. 135). Etwas anderes ist es aber schon (was von V. von Strauss in diesem Fall übersehen worden ist), wenn das Zeichen dreier Bergspitzen (Nr. 2 meiner Liste) im babylonischen nicht bloß Berg, sondern auch Land, im äg. aber nur Land (nicht etwa Berg) bezeichnet, oder wenn das Bild des Schmelztiegels im babyl. wie im äg. (vgl. Nr. 5 meiner Liste) gerade das Kupfer (nicht etwa eines der anderen Metalle, wie z.B. Silber) ausdrückt, oder wenn das Zeichen für Wohnsitz (No. 19) in beiden Systemen einen auf *gus* zurückgehenden Lautwert hat und die beiden, mit dem Zeichen für Auge (Widder) combinirt, den Sohn des Widdergottes darstellt, oder wenn das Zeichen für Haus (No. 30) in beiden die Schwester und Gemahlin des Nergal-Set (siehe oben) symbolisirt, oder endlich wenn im babylonischen das Bild des Fisches *ghan*, und ein daraus erweitertes Bild *bish* gesprochen wurde, während im äg. der Fisch den Lautwert *in* (neu-sumerische Weiterentwicklung aus *ghan*) und ein daraus erweitertes Zeichen,  oder , den Lautwert *bes* hat. Zu solchen Fällen wo Bild und Aussprache stimmen, gehört z.B. auch das Zeichen für „coïre“ Unis-pyramide 628, *nk*, welches genau dem altbabylonischen Zeichen *nik* (dieser Lautwert ist wol semitischen, nicht, wie sonst oft, sumerischen Ursprungs, vgl. arab. *nakaḥa*), zusammengesetzt aus den Ideogrammen für vulva und Phallus, entspricht (No. 50 meiner Liste). Interessant ist auch Nr. 48 meiner Liste, das babyl. Ideogramm für

„Kampf, Schlacht,“ semitisch *kablu*, syn. *šašmu*; es ist genau das Bild einer Sesampresse (Sesam hiess babyl. *šammašammu* und *šašmu*, vgl. Formen wie *dadmu* von der reduplicirten Wurzel *דמם*) und identisch mit der äg. Hieroglyphe der Oelpresse , Lesung *šesmu* (so z.B. schon in den Pyramidentexten als Namen eines Dekan-sterne); nun ist aber die Heimat der Sesam-kultur (auf welche doch sowol das babyl. *šašmu* als auch das äg. *šesmu* weist) Babylonien, und nicht etwa Aegypten, wo von ältester Zeit her die in Babylonien fehlende Olive statt des Sesams zu Oel gepresst wurde! Auffallend und unmöglich auf Zufall beruhend ist ferner die Gleichheit der babyl. und äg. Darstellung des Jahres (æg. *ren-pet* „Name des Himmels,“ sumer. *mu-anna* ebenfalls „Name des Himmels“) durch das Bild einer Blume oder Pflanze mit darunter gesetztem Ideogr. für Himmel (Nr. 49 meiner Liste), welche sinnreiche Bezeichnung zugleich für die oben zusammengestellten gemeinsamen astronomischen Grundvorstellungen eine hübsche Bestätigung liefert; was den Namen anlangt, so sind zu solchen Uebersetzungen sumerischer zusammengesetzter Ausdrücke auch mehrere äg. Ortsnamen schlagende Analogien, wie z.B. *Men-nofer* (Memphis, wörtlich „gute Stätte“) auf *Uru-dugga* (ebenfalls „gute Stätte,“ hier in Babylonien mit Bezug auf den „guten Gott,“ den Ea, wie andererseits in Aegypten Osiris, der Sohn des Seb-Ea auch *Un-nofer*, wie Merodach *Gurru-lu-Dugga* heisst), siehe schon Urspr. S. 23 f., ferner *D-pt*  („Hand des Himmels“) aus babyl. *shu-anna* (Beiname Babels) „Hand des Himmels,“ oder  „Stätte des Lebens“ (Name der Nekropolis des heroopolitanischen Nomos) aus *Din-tirra* („Stätte des Lebens,“ *shubat balâti*), dem bekannten alten Namen der gleichen babylonischen Stadt—wozu sich bei weiterer Forschung gewiss noch mehr Beispiele finden werden.¹

Professor Georg Ebers hat meinem „Ursprung“ eine überaus freundliche Besprechung (Literarisches Centralblatt 1893, Nr. 13) zu Teil werden lassen, in welcher er die verschiedenen von mir ge-

¹ So habe ich z. B. schon seit lange die Vermutung, ob nicht der Name des uralten neben On religiös so eminent wichtigen Abydos, aeg. *'Ib-du*, nur eine ägyptisirende Umprägung von   (*Lib-zu?*) = *Assur* ist; ist ja doch *libbu* „Herz“ im aeg. zu *yib*, *ib* geworden, und wie Osiris der Gott von Abydos (*Eßwr*) ist, so trägt Merodach auch den Namen   . In ganz ähnlicher Weise ist ja auch *Nun* (-ki), bezw. *Ukiḫ-Nun* (-ki) und zwar als *Unnu* (On, Heliopolis) neu in Aegypten localisirt worden (Urspr., S. 25—28).

gebenen Nachweise von Uebereinstimmungen in Mythologie, Schrift, etc. nicht in Abrede stellt, aber doch auch noch anders erklärbar glaubt, als ich es gethan; speciell von den Uebereinstimmungen im Schriftsystem meint er, dass sie eher auf eine ägyptische als babylonische Herkunft deuten, vor allem weil „die ägyptischen Hieroglyphen sich so eng an die Natur des Nilthales und seine Producte anschliessen, dass sie kaum wo anders als dort entstanden sein können.“ Dabei ist aber übersehen, dass ich ja nicht und nirgends behauptet habe, dass nun alle Hieroglyphen (auch solche, wo der Nachweis einer Identität mit altbabylonischen Zeichen nicht möglich war) schon in Babylonien vorhanden gewesen sein mussten. Gar manche Zeichen werden die Aegypter neu gebildet haben; wir kennen z.B. nur etwa 300 altbabylonische Ideogramme, wozu von solchen, die wir nur in späterer mehr keilförmiger Umbildung (sog. neu-babyl. und neu-assyr. Keilschrift) kennen, etwa noch weitere 100 dazu kommen, während die äg. Hieroglyphenschrift deren fast das dreifache (auch schon in den Pyramidentexten) aufweist. Andere Zeichen die sie schon von Babylonien mitbrachten, haben sie höchst wahrscheinlich im Lauf der Zeit umgebildet und der Natur und den Producten des neuen Bodens mehr angeglichen, wie wir das sogar in einigen Fällen noch nachweisen können; so hatte z.B. die Hieroglyphe für „Schwein“ den Wert *db*,¹ welcher sich mit den speciell babylonischen, (im westsemitischen fehlenden, von P. Jensen seiner Bedeutung nach seiner Zeit richtig nachgewiesenen) Worte *dabû* „Wildschwein“ deckt, später aber machten die Aegypter das Bild des speciell afrikanischen Nilpferdes daraus, welches aber trotzdem die Lesung *db* behielt.

Ebers fährt in der angeführten Recension fort: „Auch nach der Meinung des Leipziger Physiologen Ludwig kann die grosse That der Zerlegung der Sprache in die Laute des Alphabetes nur an *einer* Stelle der Erde verrichtet worden sein, und in Aegypten beherrschen gerade in den ältesten Texten, den Pyramideninschriften, die Buchstaben das System.“ Was nun das ebenfalls aus Silbenzeichen entstandene² sog. ägyptische Alphabet anlangt, so habe ich schon im „Urspr.“ darauf hingewiesen, dass doch selbst die Pyramideninschriften, die man oft irrtümlich als rein alphabetisch geschrieben

¹ Vgl. Karl Piehl, Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch., vol. xv., p. 31 (Notes de philologie Égyptienne, No. 67).

² Vgl. Birch, im Suppl. zu Wilkinson's Egyptians in the time of the Pharaohs, London, 1857, und (unabhängig von ihm) W. Golenischeff, Sur l'origine alphabétique de certains hiéroglyphes, p. 77—87 des Actes du 6. Congres intern. des Orientalistes à Leide.

ansieht, schon den ganzen Ideogrammen-, Determinativen- und Silbenzeichenapparat, der die æg. Schrift characterisirt, aufweisen, nur dass in jenen alten Inschriften noch nebenher der grösseren Deutlichkeit halber die bereits vorhandenen Lautzeichen allerdings in weiterem Umfange als später angewendet wurden, welcher Umstand mir gerade ein unverdächtiger Zeuge der Entlehnung der ägyptischen Hieroglyphenschrift von auswärts her zu sein schien (Ursprung, S. 64). Es ist von vornherein klar, dass Semiten (oder aber sumerische Priester für die *semitische* babylonisch-ägyptische Sprache) die æg. Lautzeichen aus schon vorhandenen nur *einen* Consonanten (mit Vokal) enthaltenden Silbenzeichen sich zurecht gemacht haben, wie das allein aus den Zeichen für h, ḥ, | oder š (neben — od. s), k (Δ), ‘ayin und ʾ (od. š), die nur dem semitischen (nicht dem sumerischen) eignen, hervorgeht. Wahrscheinlich geschah dies erst, als die babylonischen Colonisten bereits auf ägyptischem Boden sassen. Auch späterhin waren es ja wiederum Semiten, welche (aber in viel consequenter Weise, so dass man eigentlich erst hier von einem wirklichen Alphabet reden kann) aus babylonischen Ideogrammen und Silbenzeichen sich das sog. westsemitische (südarabisch-kanaanäische) Alphabet geschaffen.¹ Ich begreife nun nicht, wie irgendwie die Existenz dieser ägyptischen Lautzeichen gegen meine Aufstellung von der Herkunft der ägyptischen Kultur (und damit auch der Grundlagen des Hieroglyphensystems) aus Babylonien sprechen soll. Im Gegenteil, ein Umstand allein beweist hinreichend, dass das sog. ägyptische Alphabet etwas secundäres ist, nämlich die daneben noch in grossem Umfang (auch schon in den Pyramideninschriften) angewendeten *Silbenzeichen*. Wenn man auch begreifen kann, dass der Deutlichkeit halber Ideogramme und Determinative neben den Lautzeichen beibehalten wurden, so ist die Beibehaltung auch der (nunmehr doch ganz unnöthig gewordenen) Silbenzeichen, die sich, unbefangen betrachtet, wie ein durchaus unnützer, zwecklos aus vergangenen Zeiten mit weitergeschleppter Ballast ausnehmen, der sprechendste Beweis dafür, dass es auch für die ägyptische Schrift eine Zeit gegeben haben muss, wo nur Ideogramme (bezw. Determinative, denn das sind ja nur nachgesetzte Ideogramme) und Silbenzeichen—also ganz wie in der sumerischen Schrift, bezw. in den davon abgeleiteten ältesten semitischen Schriftdenkmälern wie z.B. des Sargon und Naram-sin

¹ Siehe meine Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens, S. 50—57, und meine (eben im Druck befindliche) Minäo-sabäische (südarabische) Chrestomathie, Capitel I.

von Agadi—in Anwendung waren. Wenn nun eine ganze Reihe von ägyptischen Hieroglyphen sich ungezwungen mit den entsprechenden (entweder gleiche Bedeutung oder sogar auch gleiche Aussprache besitzenden) babylonischen deckt, wie ich das an ca. 50 Beispielen gezeigt habe,¹ so dürfte damit der gleiche Ursprung des ägyptischen und babylonischen Schriftsystems zur Genüge erwiesen sein.

Nun erhebt sich für Skeptiker immer noch eine weitere Frage, nämlich die, ob nicht unter diesen Umständen eben doch etwa Aegypten, und nicht Babylonien, die ursprüngliche Heimat und der Entstehungsherd der beiden in Mythologie, Architektur, Astronomie und Schrift so vielfach übereinstimmenden (nicht blos gleichartigen) Kulturen gewesen sei. Auch Ebers sagt ja in seiner oben angeführten Rezension, dass nach seiner Meinung die Frage nach dem Ursprung dieser Uebereinstimmungen (die er zu einem grossen Teil zugibt) noch andere Antworten als die meinige zulasse. Da ist nun wie ich das noch in folgendem kurz auseinandersetzen werde, das für Babylonien und gegen Aegypten entscheidende die *ägyptische Sprache* mit ihrer rein semitischen, aber in den charakteristischsten Punkten nicht an das westsemitische sondern an das babylonisch-assyrische sich anschliessenden Formenlehre² und vor allem ihrem zu einem grossen Teil sumerischen Wortschatz.

Schon „Ursprung,“ S. 42 habe ich auf mehrere unzweifelhaft sumerische Lehnwörter im altägyptischen (vgl. auch schon das oben S. 13 angeführte) hingewiesen, im Anschluss an das ja ohnehin schon bedeutsame Factum, dass die mythologischen Coincidenzen (*Nun, Chnum, Chonsu, 'Ialu-Aralu*, etc.) grösstentheils sumerischen (nicht etwa semitischen) Ursprungs sind. Hierin ist ganz unabhängig auch schon Rev. Ball mit mir zusammengetroffen, wie dessen Bemerkungen in den „Proceedings of the Soc. Bibl. Arch.,“ vol. xii. (June 1890), p. 408, note, und weiter (allerdings schon nach Erscheinen meines „Ursprung,“ vol. xv. (November 1892), p. 48—50 beweisen. Seither hat sich mir aber die Liste solcher Uebereinstimmungen (und es sind zumeist gerade die gewöhnlichen äg.

¹ Wüssten wir von vielen babylonischen Bildzeichen noch die ursprüngliche Bedeutung, so würde sich, das bin ich fest überzeugt, diese Zahl noch bedeutend vermehren.

² Dieser Punkt ist von mir im 4. Kapitel meines Ursprungs (S. 46—60) bereits eingehend dargelegt worden, so dass ich hier einfach darauf, wie auch auf den ergänzenden schon vorher geschriebenen Aufsatz in Delitzsch's u. Haupt's Beiträgen, ii., S. 342—358 (Ueber den Grad der Verwandtschaft des altaegyptischen mit dem Semitischen) verweisen kann.

Wörter, die sich als sumerische Lehnwörter ausweisen) der Art vermehrt, dass ein Zufall hierbei unbedingt ausgeschlossen erscheint.

Man vergleiche nur *nib* „Herr, jeder,“ sumer. *nin*, jüngere Form *nib* (bes. als Objectspräfix der 3 sing.) „der von“ (d.i. Herr von, wie arab. *du 'l-baiti* = *ṣāhibu 'l-baiti*), dann aber auch indefinit „irgend einer, jeder“ (vgl. *nin-nam*); æg. *ib* „links,“ sum. *gub* (was neusum. zu *ib* werden muss), æg. *dw* Gebirge, sum. *dul*, *du*; æg. *gś* „Hälfte,“ sum. *gas* „zwei;“ æg. *wś* „Sitz, sum.“ *gur* (durch Rhotacismus aus *gus*, neusum. *us*, *is*, *ir*); æg. *mś* *ḏr* „Ohr“ (berberisch *amezzugh*), sum. *gish-dug* (neusum. *mush-dug*) „Ohr“ (diese Gleichung nach Rev. Ball); æg. *wn* „existiren, öffnen“ (in andern sog. hamitischen Sprachen *vin* „gross“), sum. *gal*, neusum. *val* „existiren, öffnen, gross;“ æg. *kek* „dunkel,“ sum. *gig* „Nacht, dunkel;“ æg. *a* „Hand,“ sum. *gad*, *ga*, *ya*; æg. *tm* „toll, delere,“ sum. *dum* „bringen, führen, fortbringen, vernichten;“ æg. *mś* „gebären,“ sum. *mugh*, *mud* „gebären, erzeugen;“ æg. *it* „Vater,“ sum. *ad* (dann auch semitisirt *ittū*) „Vater;“ æg. *ua* „Schiff, Barke,“ sum. *ma* (*wa*) dasselbe; æg. *mḥ* „Kranz, Krone,“ sum. *mir* (*migh*); æg. *gu* „Ochs, Kuh,“ sum. *gud*, *gu*; æg. *nen* „nicht,“ sum. *nu*, *nan*; æg. *nu* „Ort,“ sum. *unu*; æg. *tś* „Land,“ sum. *da* „Seite, Gegend;“ æg. *nr* „Mann, mächtig,“ sum. *nir* „Held;“ æg. *ib* „Priester, rein,“ sum. *gub*, neusum. *ib*; æg. *tp* „Kopf,“ sum. *dub* in *dub-sag* = *kudmu*, *maḥru* und *mut'u* „Stirne;“ æg. *pt* „Himmel“ (*p* mit Fem.-endung), sum. *gish*, neusum. *vush*, *vu* „Himmel“ (wozu man 𐎶 = *ghad*, *vad*, *va*, *pa* als Analogie vergleiche); æg. *ḥn* und *ḥm* „Weib,“ sum. *gin*, *gim* „Sklavin“ (Rev. Ball); æg. *ḥm* „sich zurück wenden,“ sum. *gin* (neusum. etwa *gim*) „zurückkehren“ (ebenfalls Rev. Ball); æg. *śn* „Bruder,“ sum. *sisḥ* (aus *sin*, wie die durch Rotacismus entstandene Nebenform *urīn* beweist); æg. *rō* „Mund,“ sum. *ka*, *ra* (letzteres aus der Grundform *gha* entstanden, also mit gutturalem *r*); æg. *sś* „Gans,“ sum. *us*, *us-dur* (wobei aber zu bemerken, dass das sumerische *dur* im Munde des Volkes weiter zu *sur*, *su* wurde, so dass man des weiteren vergleichen kann æg. *sś* „Sohn“ mit sum. *dur*, *du*, *su* „Sohn“ und æg. *sś* „Mann“ mit sum. *gur*, *dir*, *dil* (letzteres im Munde des gemeinen Volkes etwa *si*) „Mann.“

Diese Beispiele lassen sich unschwer vermehren und erwecken bei vorurteilsfreier Betrachtung den Eindruck, dass wo gerade bei den gewöhnlichen Wörtern so viel Uebereinstimmung herrscht, noch viel mehr stecken wird, was sich nur noch unserer teilweise noch unvollkommenen Kenntniss des sumerischen Wortschatzes entzieht.

Das interessanteste dabei ist übrigens, zu beobachten, wie diese zahlreichen sumerischen Lehnwörter des ägyptischen fast durchweg schon die neusumerischen Formen voraussetzen. Die früheren Anschauungen vom Alter des neusumerischen und vom Eindringen der Semiten in Nordbabylonien sind ohnehin ganz aufzugeben; wir wissen jetzt, dass die nordbabylonischen (bereits semitischen!) Könige von Agadi, die sich auch Könige von Kish (ohne *ki*, also wol = *kiššati*, d.i. „der Welt“ oder „der Gesamtheit“) nennen, und welche nach der Tradition der babyl. Priester ca. 3800 vor Chr. lebten (3200 Jahre vor Nabonedus), Zeitgenossen der älteren Patisi von Sirgulla waren.¹ Dieselben werden auch schon in der uralten Geierstele als Könige von *Kish-an-ki* (denn so ist Heuzey's *Nir-ki-an* zu lesen) d.i. „der Gesamtheit Himmels und der Erde“ (vgl. den ähnlichen Titel *lugal an-ub-da iv.-ba* „König der vier Himmelsgegenden“, semit. *šar kibrāti arba'i*) erwähnt, und in der in London bei einem Häuserbau gefundenen Inschrift des Königs und Patisi² *I-anna-du* (Proc. Soc. B.A., xiii., p. 64) rühmt sich dieser sumerische Herrscher, den König von Kisch besiegt zu haben (Col. 3, 2 ff: *lugal Kish, ki-bi na-dibbi*, d.i. „den König von Kish, sein Land nahm er weg,“) eine historisch überaus wichtige, bisher wegen der falschen Lesung *nir* statt *kish* nicht erkannte, auch von Winckler und Hilprecht bisher übersehene, Stelle. Die Semiten waren also ca. 4000 vor Chr. Geburt schon in Nordbabylonien eingerückt und im Besitz der sumerischen Kultur; und dass das altsumerische eine erstarrte und nur noch in der Priestertradition weiter lebende Sprache war, die längst im Munde des Volkes (in Südbabylonien) durch das neusumerische verdrängt gewesen ist, beweist allein der Umstand, dass nicht bloß unter den semitischen Silbenzeichen der Babylonier sondern auch in den Silbenzeichen der (altsumerisch abgefassten) Inschriften der Könige von Sirgulla sich bereits solche neusumerischen Ursprunges finden.³

Bei dieser Sachlage, dass sich nicht bloß in der Mythologie, sondern auch im Wortschatz die unzweideutigsten sumerischen Elemente neben den semitischen (ja diese sogar an Zahl übertreffend) vorfinden, kann es keinem Zweifel mehr unterliegen, wo die Heimat der auf einen Ursprung zurückgehenden babylonisch-ägyptischen Kultur zu

¹ Hilprecht in seinem grossartigen Werke, The Babyl. Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, vol. i. (1893), p. 19.

² Er ist der Sohn des Akur-gal und Enkel des Ur-Ghanna (Orkhamus) von Sirgulla und nennt sich in seinen Inschriften bald König, bald Patisi.

³ Vgl. „Ursprung,“ S. 43, wozu sich jetzt noch weitere Belege beibringen lassen.

suchen ist. Eine solche Mischsprache, als welche das altägyptische sich uns darstellt, kann nur in einem Teile desjenigen Landes entstanden sein, wo wir noch in althistorischen Zeiten wirklich die zwei Volks- und Sprachelemente, das semitische und sumerische, nebeneinander finden, das ist eben Babyloniens.

Nun komme ich zum Schluss noch einmal auf die Uebereinstimmung der babylonischen und ägyptischen Göttergenealogie, von der ich zu Anfang dieses Vortrages ausgegangen bin, zurück. Ich habe nämlich unterdessen eine bisher ganz unbeachtete mythologische Darstellung auf einen altbabylonischen Siegelcylinder, welcher in de Sarzec's *Découvertes*, pl. 30 bis, No. 21, veröffentlicht ist, entdeckt. Dieselbe bestätigt in ungeahnter Weise meine aus den Texten gewonnenen Aufstellungen. Die Legende des Cylinders steht in keinem Zusammenhang mit der bildlichen Darstellung; sie lautet *I-ki-rapal-tu* (d.i. *Ghammu-rapaltu*) *lugal* (König von) *Gishgalla-ki* (Babel). Das Bild zeigt einen liegenden Mann, über ihm eine weibliche Figur mit gespreizten Beinen in ziemlich naturalistischer Stellung, dieselbe wird an der Hand geführt von einem zur Seite stehenden zweiten Manne (bezw. Gotte). Wie ich nachher herausfand, stellt diese Scene die Empfängnis des Sonnengottes (Mero-dachs) vor; der liegende Mann ist der Erdgott Ea (sein Vater), die über diesem hockende Göttin die Gemahlin Eas, die Himmelsgöttin Damgal-nunna, und der die Damgal-nunna an der Hand führende Gott der Luftgott In-lilla oder Bel, der Vater des Ea. Dass dem wirklich so ist, und dass vor allem der liegende Mann der Erdgott und die über ihm befindliche Göttin des Himmel sei, darauf kam ich durch eine Stelle von Brugsch's *Religion und Mythologie der alten Aegypter*, S. 224: „zurückgelehnt zeigt sich (so z. B. auf der S. 210 und 578 des gleichen Buches sich findenden Abbildung) die lang ausgestreckte Gestalt des Erdgottes unter dem mit Sternen besäten und vom Lichtgott Schu gestützten Körper der Himmelsgöttin Nut auf dem Boden liegend . . . ; die Darstellung ruft unmittelbar eine Stelle bei Stobaeus ins Gedächtniss zurück, in welcher Hermes sich also äussert: Die Erde in der Mitte des Alls liegend erscheint zurückgebeugt wie ein Mensch, nach dem Himmel schauend, mit so viel Gliedern versehen wie ein Mensch sie eben besitzt; sie blickt wie auf ihren eigenen Vater nach dem Himmel, damit sie mit den Veränderungen desselben auch ihre eigenen zusammenfallen lasse.“ Mein College und väterlicher Freund, Professor Ebers, war, als ich ihm kürzlich die betreffende altbabyl. Darstellung zeigte, ganz überrascht von diesem Zusammentreffen und sagte mir, es gäbe auch bei

den Aegyptern noch andere Abbildungen als die von Brugsch gegebene, welche in der gleichen realistischen Weise wie es auf den babyl. Cylinder geschieht, den geschilderten mythologischen Vorgang vor Augen führen. Also nicht nur, dass, wie ich früher gezeigt, die älteste Göttergenealogie bei Babyloniern und Aegyptern, zum Teil bis auf die Namen hinaus, die gleiche ist, sondern es findet sich auch eine Vorstellung wie die von der Empfängnis des Sonnengottes (Merodach, Rê-Osiris), welche man bisher für speciell ägyptisch angesehen,¹ bereits in alter Zeit auf einem echt babylonischen Siegelcylinder.

Nachschrift: Eben wird mir durch die Güte meines Kollegen Ebers noch eine Einsicht in das prächtige Werk von Flinders Petrie: *Medum* (London 1892) möglich. Darin ist mir besonders wichtig die Tafel, auf welcher die Graffiti aus der Zeit des Snofru (4. Dyn.) veröffentlicht sind (pl. xxxii.); diese cursiven Hieroglyphenumrisse erinnern sehr an die hieratische Schrift, die ja gewiss auch schon in der Pyramidenzeit existierte, da nach Maspero manche Verschreibungen in den Pyramidentexten sich nur aus einer hieratischen Vorlage erklären lassen. Bestand aber damals schon eine der Schrift der Papyrusrollen ähnliche Cursivschrift, von der einzelne Zeichen, so z.B. die für die verschiedenen Vögel, so auffallend den ältesten babylonischen Hieroglyphen gleichen (vgl. nur die Zeichen für *ghu* „Vogel“, *ri* „fliegen“ und *nam* „Vogel“ und „geflügeltes Insect“), so ist es sehr die Frage, ob nicht vielmehr die ältesten hieratischen Formen² den von Babylonien mitgebrachten Schriftapparat darstellen und ob nicht erst die ägyptischen Priester dieselben in die landläufigen Hieroglyphen umgebildet haben. Eine primitive Bilderschrift beginnt wol mit rohen Umrissen nach Art der ältesten babyl. Hieroglyphen und der äg. hieratischen Zeichen (bezw. der der Graffiti), aber nicht mit den künstlerisch vollendeten Hieroglyphen, wie sie uns schon in den Gräbern der vierten Dynastie neben den Graffiti entgentreten.

¹ Anspielungen darauf begegnen nach Brugsch schon in den Pyramiden-Inschriften.

² Natürlich brauchen dieselben nicht ganz die gleiche Form darzustellen wie auf den uns noch überkommenen Papyrusrollen, sondern sie werden eine Art Mittelglied gebildet haben zwischen diesen und den eigentlichen Hieroglyphen. Jedenfalls ist es der Mühe wert, dieser von mir hier aufgeworfenen Hypothese nachzugehen und darauf hin einmal die hieratischen Zeichen zu untersuchen, von denen so viel ich weiss es leider noch immer keine Zusammenstellung nach Art der Hieroglyphenverzeichnisse gibt.

VII.

THE SACRED TREES OF ASSYRIA.

BY

DR. E. BONAVIDA.

I SHOULD premise that a part of this paper was discussed in the *Babylonian and Oriental Record*.

The object of reading it is to show—

(a.) That the sacred trees of the Assyrians embodied emblematically ideas mainly of the great usefulness of those trees.

(b.) That the “horns” attached to them indicate a superstition then prevalent regarding the “evil eye;” and that horns were supposed, as now in the South of Europe, to have the power of averting, in favour of the objects to which they were attached, the injurious effects of the evil eye.

(c.) That the “fleur-de-lys” of heraldry, instead of being, as was supposed, derived from the form of a lily or an iris, is in reality a derivation from the groups of horns seen on the sacred trees.

(d.) That the cone-fruit of the monuments, about the meaning of which there has been a good deal of discussion, is meant for nothing more than an “aspergillum” for sprinkling the holy water contained in the bucket; the bucket itself, which invariably accompanies the cone-fruit, sufficiently supports this idea.

(e.) That the winged genius with aspergillum and bucket was meant to indicate a spiritual invisible power which guarded their date-trees, the person of the king, the entrance of their temples, palaces, &c., and that the Assyrian artists indicated the spirituality of this power by giving *wings* to their figures, as the only way in which they could express this notion in pictures.

The Assyrians appear to have had several forms of sacred trees.

We call them sacred because kings, priests, and genii of various sorts are shown standing or kneeling before such trees in an atti-

tude of adoration. Moreover, the genii are in the attitude of performing some office, which evidently, in the eyes of the Assyrians, had some spiritual or supernatural meaning.

All their trees are more or less conventional, as we find them in all ancient sculptures and paintings, when art was in its infancy; but their sacred trees are much more conventional, and they are made up, as we shall see, of some interesting elements.

It is probable that most ancient people have had one or more trees, and other plants, which they held in veneration. The oak is said to have been held in veneration among the ancient Gauls. The Hindus have not only the "deodar" and the "peepul" (*Ficus religiosa*), but many other plants, which are dedicated to their gods.

The origins of sacredness in the different trees may have been various; either some wise person, saint, or god may have lived under the tree; or sacrifices may have been performed there; or meetings held under it; or it may have been a very useful plant to the community; or because, like the deodar, it grew up in the clouds—in heaven, as it were—and so forth.

Then the imagination of wise men and the superstitions of the people would have soon created round it a "halo of luck," or owing to its usefulness it would be considered a thing upon which their life or their comfort depended.

I believe that it was mainly the usefulness of a tree that made those people look upon it as a thing to be revered.

In the *Migration des Symboles* the author says, at p. 161, that the sacred tree, as it migrated from country to country, was changed into the tree which in the estimation of the people was the most precious; "so we see figuring turn by turn as the sacred tree the date-palm in Chaldea, the vine or the fir-tree in Assyria, the lotus in Phœnicia, the fig in India." And in a note he quotes Mr. Didron,¹ who remarks that every Christian people has chosen for its tree of temptation the one it preferred—the fig and orange in Greece, the vine in Burgundy and Champagne, the cherry-tree in Isle de France, and the apple in Picardy. All which considerations go to strengthen my belief that it was mainly the *great usefulness* of the tree as a gift of Nature which induced them to elevate it into a *sacred tree*.

Count Goblet d'Alviella, in the work just mentioned, at p. 167, says, "I would be the first to admit that considerations of usefulness may have originally inspired to the Mesopotamians the cult of

¹ *Manuel d'Iconographie Chretienne.*

certain trees, which may afterwards have served to represent the sacred tree. . . . But it is evident from the importance given to it that it must be something more."

No doubt in those days nothing was thought of without being mixed up with the supernatural. The supernatural in this case, I think, came in very naturally and reasonably. *It was a Divine gift.* After that, poetical minds transfigured the whole thing, and may have added myth upon myth.

Judging from their monuments, the Assyrians appear to have had a variety of these trees. As far as I have been able to make out, four or five different kinds of sacred trees are traceable on the monuments. Some are readily identifiable, but others, and especially those which are found on seals, are less so, owing to the smallness of the figures.

These are the date-tree, the vine, the pomegranate-tree, the fir-tree, and probably the oak.

In studying the origin of these sacred trees, one should bear in mind that they are represented in a rude manner, mostly on flat stone surfaces. If we add to this the fancy of the artist in producing a picture pretty to look at, and suited to the place in which it was to be shown, the conventionality of these sacred trees will be sufficiently accounted for. The object of the artist being rather to suggest the *idea* than to give an accurate delineation of the *thing*.

The conventionality of these trees should be looked upon much in the same conventional mode of delineating flowers and other objects which designers of carpets, curtains, wall-paper, &c., make use of in the present day; only the decorative art of those days was in its infancy.

The tree which seems to have been most revered in Assyrian times was the date-palm, and we can fancy the importance of such a tree in those regions. Herodotus stated that the whole plains of Babylonia were planted with it, and that, in addition to the fruit, every part of the tree was turned to account.

In the Nimrood Gallery of the British Museum there are several elaborate and very conventional sacred trees. They cannot be mistaken for other than date-trees. The stem is decorated with angles pointing upwards. These alone are enough to show that it is intended for the *stem of a date-tree*, for the real tree has its stem, up to a certain age, covered with the angular bases of the old leaves.

Other forms less elaborate are to be found in Rawlinson's "Five Great Monarchies."¹

¹ Vol. ii. p. 7.

Besides the botanical characteristics of this conventional date-tree, there are other curious elements. The stem is decorated in three places, base, middle, and summit, with either one or two pairs of ibex-horns, tied on with two or three turns of a string. Moreover, each group of ibex-horns has over it a pair of ram's horns.

There can be no mistaking these for anything else but ibex and ram's horns, for they are the *identical* things that Rawlinson gives on the heads of their ibex and ram.¹

There are two important points we have to consider with reference to the date-tree:—

(a.) Its usefulness and its plentifulness became to the Assyrians and Babylonians the "tree of life." For after they multiplied like flies, it became *indispensable* to them—as indispensable as the "staff of life" of our day.

(b.) When they thoroughly understood its cultivation and propagation, so that they might utilise it in their migrations for founding other settlements, it became to them also the "key of life."

It would appear to me that there can be no question that its great usefulness in many ways was the first cause of its adoration. Adoration, after all, is only exaggerated love. All the other divine *entourage* could have easily been evolved *afterwards* in the minds of religious poets.

This, then, the date-palm, is the most notable of the sacred trees of Assyria.

The next on our list is the vine. It is so frequently and unmistakably represented on the Assyrian monuments, that in those days it must have been growing everywhere like a weed. This plant, with its slender stem, must have often been seen climbing up date-trees,² and festooning itself among them. So that probably the sacred tree already described may be an artistic and conventional combination of a date-tree with the slender stems of vines festooned among the main tree, and the smaller heads of foliage repeated for decorative purposes.

The Assyrians, however, had another form of this tree, in which the date-tree figures as before, but the contour is decorated with numerous cones springing from the stem and foliage.³ The cones have crossed lines on them indicating a rough surface.

The question arises, what are these cones meant for?

¹ Vol. i. p. 221.

² Rawlinson's "Monarchies," vol. i. p. 353, shows a vine climbing up a pine-tree.

³ See Rawlinson's "Monarchies," vol. ii. p. 7.

Lenormant¹ says: "This tree has all round it a series of branches, regularly disposed, each branch ending in a cone of fir or cedar. Nevertheless," he adds, "the artist has not given to his plant the foliage or the habit of a coniferous tree."

I do not in the least wonder that the Assyrian artist did not give this tree either the foliage or the habit of a coniferous tree, for I do not think he ever intended those cones for anything but bunches of grapes.

My reason for saying so is, that the vines on the monuments have frequently bunches with their surfaces indicated by the same crossed lines. Moreover, the cones are not straight, like those of a fir-tree, but their tips are turned either to the right or left. Now if you take a bunch of real grapes, and hold it by the stalk, you will find that its apex will frequently be turned to the right or left, and this little feature may not have escaped the eye of those ancient artists.

This view of those cones is strengthened by an ivory fragment in the British Museum.² It consists of foliage with realistic bunches of grapes emerging from the angles between the leaves. And when this is compared with the embroidered pectoral from Layard,³ which has cones with crossed lines and turned tips emerging from the identical angles, we are not left in much doubt what the cones on the sacred tree were meant for, viz., bunches of grapes. If this be so, that sacred tree and the previous one were meant for the same thing, only in the former case the vine stems were shown leafless in their winter aspect, while in the latter the vine is shown in its summer aspect, with grapes on it; both forms being probably symbolical of the *food* and *drink* of the people.

The Assyrians must have known the art of making wine. Even in ancient Egypt this art appears to have been known.

Lenormant, on the supposition that the sacred tree is meant to represent the "tree of life"—a sublime religious notion of those people—argues at some length upon the, so to speak, magnetic effect of the point of the cone-fruit, presented at the king or at a tree, "as if it were the means of communication between the protector and the protected, the instrument by which grace and power pass from the spirit to the mortal under his care." But I would ask what becomes of this sublime *spirituality* if the "tree of life" admits of being taken in a vulgar and realistic sense, viz., that the

¹ *Origines de l'Histoire*, vol. i. p. 83, note 2.

² Rawlinson's "Monarchies," vol. i. p. 573.

³ Perrot and Chipiez, vol. ii. fig. 255.

arbre de vie is the producer of the *eau de vie*—a tree from which wine can be got, which imparts *new life*, and changes the thoughts and humour of the drinker?

Indeed, Lenormant has not overlooked the realistic and utilitarian part of his conception of the "tree of life;" for in vol. i. p. 81, of his *Origines de l'Histoire* he says, "In a certain part of Chaldea, south of Babylon, the *arbre de vie* was the date-tree, which furnished the greater portion of the food of the people, and from the fruit of which they made an intoxicating drink, a kind of wine. To this tree they attributed, in a popular song, as many benefits as there are days in the year."

A third sacred tree occurs on cylinders. It consists of a column-like stem, from which issue branches ending in pomegranates.¹

The pomegranate-tree was one of their commonest trees, seen in jungles on the monuments. Why they should have raised it to the rank of a sacred tree, undoubtedly meaning thereby that they thought it of great importance, is not very clear.

In Oriental countries the juice of the grains is largely used for making "sherbet," and the fruit-rind is still found in modern pharmacopeias as a vermifuge; but its real value would appear to be as a tree furnishing a tanning material.

The art of tanning must have been known to the Assyrians. Besides using skins for clothing as well as for sandals and shoes, they used them for carrying water, and also inflated them for floating rafts and for swimming purposes. These skins, continually in contact with water, unless tanned would soon have rotted and become useless. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that the art of tanning was well known among those people.

That they used the stem and branches of the pomegranate-tree for firewood can be seen from the monuments. The fruit of the better kinds must have been considered worthy of being presented to the king, for in No. 42, Kouyunjik Gallery, British Museum, we have men carrying piles of pomegranates to the palace.

There can be little doubt that the pomegranate-tree in those days was an all-round useful tree. Standing before the sacred fir-tree in the Louvre, Sargon is shown with a bunch of three pomegranates in one hand. All this indicates that, for whatever reason, the pomegranate-tree was held in veneration. Its usefulness and commonness brought it readily to the artistic mind.

A fourth sacred tree is to be found in the Louvre. It consists of a tapering stem with symmetrical drooping branches terminating

¹ Assy. cylinder, Brit. Mus., Perrot and Chipiez, vol. ii. p. 273.

in triple cones. On the branches there are erect and pendant cones, also by threes.

I don't think that this sacred tree can be mistaken for anything but a conventional fir-tree. It shows that the Assyrian artists, when they wished to represent a fir-tree, knew very well how to idealise it for decorative purposes, without suppressing its character. From its drooping branches, it would seem they meant it for a cedar-tree, perhaps a deodar, which more than others has that character.

Not improbably, long before the time of the Chaldeans and Assyrians, the deodar was a sacred tree. It grows on the Himalayas, on the fringe of the eternal snow, wrapped up in the clouds as if it were in heaven. It is no wonder that a gigantic tree, growing up in the clouds at the gate of heaven, should have been given the name of deodar, and its cones, its wood, and the whole tree be considered sacred.

It is stated that certain hymns mention that the fir-cone had imprinted within it the name of God, and therefore was placed in the hand of sick persons as a sort of charm that would cure their ailments.

I find a fifth form of sacred tree. It is found on cylinders, such as the royal cylinder of Sennacherib.¹ It has branches terminating in something like acorns. It is perhaps not improbable that the artist may have meant them for acorns.

In Mr. G. Nicholson's "Encyclopædia of Horticulture," under the heading of "Oak," I find the following:—" *Kermes* is the insect which yields a scarlet dye nearly equal to cochineal, and is the 'scarlet' mentioned in Scripture; it feeds on *Quercus coccifera*, an oak from Asia Minor. The acorn cups of *Quercus ægilops* (commercially called *vallonea*) are largely imported from the Levant for the purposes of tanning, dyeing, and making ink. The oak-galls of commerce are yielded by *Quercus infectoria*, also a native of the Levant; these are much more rich in tannin than those produced in this country." There is also an oak on the Lebanon mountains called *Quercus Libani*.

So we see that the Assyrians must have been acquainted with more than one variety of oak, but whether they may have raised this tree to the rank of a sacred tree owing to the scarlet dye of *kermes*, or to its tanning qualities, is impossible to say. That they must have been acquainted with the art of tanning seems clear enough.

¹ Layard's "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 174 and p. 168.

I would here give a little warning. It does not follow that *because* they are like acorns, that *therefore* the fruits of this sacred tree are meant for acorns. The hardness of the engraver's stones—for this form of sacred tree is to be traced only on cylinders—his rude tools, and the *small space* on which he had to work, may have been some of the reasons why the engraver made them look like acorns, although perhaps nothing may have been further from his mind than to *mean* them for acorns. It is not impossible that the engraver may have meant them for *bunches of grapes*. In certain bunches the shoulders are broad, and the central portion is small and conical. In such a small representation the engraver might represent the shoulders by an oval outline, and the other part by a cone projecting from the oval.

This completes the list of sacred trees which are to be found on the relics of the Assyrians. I think they can be readily identified with the useful and common trees of those regions. The fifth is rather problematical. It may be an oak-tree; it may be a vine. We have never, I think, been told why the ancient Gauls venerated the oak-tree. It may have been some tradition they got from Orientals.

As everybody knows, the elaborate sacred tree of the British Museum sculptures has on its stem groups of horns. What can this profusion of horns mean, and why has the artist utilised them as an additional motive in his conventional sacred tree?

Horns must certainly have had some great significance in those days. In my opinion the horns—and one cannot doubt they were meant for horns—shown on the sacred trees were not imaginary and irrelevant decorative features, put there simply to break the monotony of the straight stem of a date-tree—a monotony which would appear to have been hateful to the artistic mind from the beginning of time.

I don't think that these horns were introduced by the Assyrian artist for decorative effect alone; no, they would seem to have been things which, in those days, must have been *frequently seen tied on real date-trees*.

If so, what could have been the meaning of horns tied on date-trees.

The date-tree, as is well known, has female flowers on one tree and male flowers on another, which in itself might have appeared to the Assyrians a fact sufficiently wonderful.

In those days the date-palm must have been largely grown from seeds. We know, from the records of Herodotus, that the Assyrians

were acquainted with cross-fertilisation (hybridisation). They may not all have fertilised the female flower of one tree with the pollen of another with the object of obtaining *hybrids*, but with the object of making the female flower *set fruit*. Nevertheless, the practical result was that of modern horticulturists, viz., that of producing hybrids and *variations* through the raising of plants from the *crossed* seed.

Now, in the Persian Gulf and in other places, the fine kinds of date-trees—and there are hundreds of them—are propagated by offsets, which grow at the foot of the stems, and which will in due course reproduce the *same* kind of fruit as the parent. The offsets would, in short, be nothing but slips or cuttings of the tree.

A great number of date-trees figured on the monuments show these offsets at the foot of the stem, so that even this seemingly unimportant bit of reality has not been overlooked. Whether the Assyrians had learnt the value of these offsets or not, it is impossible to ascertain from the monuments. Anyhow, propagation by seed must have been known to them from the most remote times. It could not have been otherwise, as the date-stones thrown about near their dwellings, and those scattered by birds and other animals, would have germinated in quantities.

Now, it is well known that propagation by seed sometimes leads to the *creation*, so to speak, of *new* and *startling* varieties, with fruit larger, sweeter, and more pulpy than that of ordinary trees. Such a godsend, when it occurred, would have undoubtedly attracted the attention of the Assyrians.

It is enough to read all that has been said and written of this wonderful palm to realise in what estimation some varieties are now held, and how much more reverence they must have shown to the date-tree in Chaldean times, when the existence of the people must have largely depended on this one tree. When any new and finer variety came into being from seed, they naturally would have made a sort of divinity of it, and tried to save it from destruction.

How were these people to guard against the destruction of those new-comers the date-trees that produced the more valuable sort of fruit?

From very remote times it was believed that a glance from an "evil eye" was enough to wither any tree, or bring destruction upon anything, living or non-living. It was a superstition mixed up, no doubt, with magic, witchcraft, and devilry.

It appears that horns of animals, even at the present day, are considered most efficacious in keeping off the injurious effects of the

evil eye from anything to which they may be attached. We may therefore fairly assume that in Assyrian days horns were also used, tied on to choice date-trees, in order to attract the evil eye from the trees themselves, and so protect those fine varieties from injury.

Layard gives an illustration of a house in Kurdistan¹ which has three skulls with horns on its front, one of them being on the entrance-door, so that every evil-eyed person that enters that house may see it.

In Naples and Sicily the coral-shops contain innumerable charms in imitation of hands, with the index and little finger distended horn-fashion. These are avowedly used against the evil eye.

The open hand which the Arabs stamp on the walls of their houses has a similar significance, so that the hand of the Arabs and the horns of the Assyrians may be combined in the Neapolitan charm.

This fixing of horns on trees and other places must have been a very common practice in Assyrian times. We find artists in those days introducing them as decorative motives, not only on their sacred-trees, but as a decorative termination of columns, poles of royal tents, &c.²

An object constantly *en evidence*, as I assume it to have been, was sure sooner or later to have been taken up by artists and modified in various ways into decorations for walls, temples, palaces, &c.

I believe that the "fleur-de-lys" of heraldry was one of these modifications, that is, an emblem derived from the "luck-horns" of Assyria, and not, as has been supposed, from the form either of the iris or the lily.

I shall now endeavour to develop this idea further. In *Notes and Queries*³ there is a long discussion about the origin of this heraldic emblem. It is found on shields, on coats-of-arms, on the head-dress of sphinxes,⁴ &c. Archæologists have thought it taken from the form of either the iris or the lily. It came into general use in French heraldry about the time of the Crusades.

Mr. Moncure Conway, writing in *Frazer's Magazine* of December 1870, says, "It was probably through the sanctity with which the words of Christ invested the lily that the 'fleur-de-lys' became the emblem of France; one legend being that, after one of the

¹ Layard's narrative of his expedition to Assyria, p. 131.

² See Layard's "Monuments," 1st series, pl. 30; and tent-poles on Balawat gates, British Museum.

³ Second Series, vol. i.

⁴ See head of Sphinx, pl. 31, fig. 3, "Grammar of the Lotus;" also p. 59 of Miss Amelia Edwards' "Pharaohs," &c.; "Mystic Trees and Flowers," p. 716.

battles of the Crusaders, their white banner was found covered with it."

This and other legends I think point to the Crusades as the beginning of this emblem in French heraldry. And Professor Minasse Tchéraz has informed me that in Armenia they have a large number of ancient manuscripts, in which the "fleur-de-lys" frequently occurs as an illumination to the initial letters.

Then we see it as a finishing decoration to the helmets of the kings of Assyria, to their royal umbrellas, and other places. In my mind there is no doubt that the "fleur-de-lys" was not an invention of French monarchs or of their artists. Its ligatures—from one to three turns of a string—declare it distinctly to be made up of *two pairs of horns tied to a stick*,¹ like those on the Assyrian sacred trees. The "fleur-de-lys" occurred frequently, under various modifications, on Assyrian cylinders, as can be seen in the British Museum and Layard's *Culte de Mithra*.

This pseudo-origin of this symbol—viz., that from the iris—will probably stick to it for a long time to come, for it is a pretty notion, while its real origin (from luck-horns) is rather repulsive. No priest or habit-maker of the Roman Church is likely to own that this decoration, so common in the Church of Rome, and the coral horned-hand of the Naples shops have had a common ancestor.

We can obtain some notion of what the evil eye superstition must have been in Assyria from the account that Mr. Lane gives of it in "Manners and Customs of Modern Egyptians." They have a perfect horror of the evil eye; and if you admire anything, you have to add "Máshalláh," as a safeguard against your possible evil eye.

What is important that we should not forget are, *first*, that the "fleur-de-lys" inherited the *ligatures* by which the luck-horns were tied to trees or posts; and *second*, that the "fleur-de-lys" is found *tale quale* on a number of Assyrian cylinders, and other ancient relics.

It is therefore much more probable that the Crusaders, having come in contact in Syria with this talismanic symbol, brought it back to Europe, where it then became a prevalent heraldic emblem. Whatever may have been the channel of introduction into Europe of this emblem, we only require to put the Oriental charm side by side with that of French heraldry to be satisfied of their identity.

Connected with the sacred trees is that very prominent cone-shaped object held in the hand of winged genii, and pointed either

¹ Compare some forms of "fleur-de-lys" with horn groups on sacred tree of Rawlinson's "Monarchies," vol. ii. p. 7.

at a sacred tree or at the king's person, or at the entrance of a temple, palace, or town. This is the cone-fruit of the Assyrian monuments.

It should be noted that in the other hand the genius invariably holds a bucket of some sort. There is, however, strong evidence to show that the bucket was intended to mean a vessel of metal, which was sometimes embossed in the fashion of wicker-work. It should also be noted that in one case,¹ instead of a cone the genius holds a branch, consisting of two cones and three lotus-like flowers or buds, ornamented with a rosette.

The cone-fruit was considered to mean a fir-cone. At one time I thought it might be meant for a *citron*, as there is a good deal of evidence to show that the fingered form of the citron was known both to the Assyrians and Egyptians. Moreover, in the Jewish feast of the tabernacles citrons play a prominent part in the present day, and the ancient Jews used citrons in the same feast. Moreover, Theophrastus had seen the citron in *Medea* 300 years B.C.

So I thought some similar ceremony might have been meant by the cone-fruit of the monuments, the Jews having possibly become acquainted with the citron during their captivity. But further consideration induced me to reject this theory.

In *Nature* of 23rd June 1890, Dr. E. B. Tylor started another theory regarding the meaning of the "cone-fruit." He thought that the cone-like object held in the hand of the genius was meant to represent the *male* inflorescence of the date-palm, and that the bucket or basket held in the other hand was meant to indicate a further supply of male flowers. He, moreover, supposed that the conventional date-tree, to which the cone is pointed, was intended to indicate a palm-grove, and that the genii are in the act of fertilising the female flowers, which eventually grow into dates.

In the *Babylonian and Oriental Record* I think I have sufficiently shown that the vessel held in the hand is a *metal* bucket, and not a basket.

From the writings of Herodotus we learn that the Babylonians were acquainted with the sexes of the date-tree. Moreover, cuneiform inscriptions refer to the date-palm as male and female.²

Notwithstanding the Assyrian knowledge of what amounts to fertilisation of the date-tree, it does not follow that the genius with cone and bucket has anything to do with artificial fertilisation of date-palms.

¹ Layard's "Monuments," pl. 34, 1st series.

² *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, vol. iv. p. 93.

We have to consider (a.) that the figure is always winged, meaning thereby some *spiritual* act; (b.) the *metal* bucket is an important element in the performance, for we cannot take it to mean a basket; (c.) the encroachment of the cone on the tree, as in one of the sculptures of the British Museum, may be caused by the slab of stone being *too small* for the full display of the picture; (d.) while the fertilisation theory seems plausible when the cone is pointed to the tree, it becomes unsatisfactory when the cone is pointed to the king's back hair and at the entrance of Sargon's palace.

Thinking over the matter, it struck me that the metal bucket was intended to mean a vessel containing *holy water*, and the cone a fir or cedar cone used as an "aspergillum"; so that the sprinkling of holy water round their date-trees, round the person of their king, at the entrance of temples, palaces, &c., may have been meant as *protection* from the evil eye, evil spirits, and other demons of that sort; and as it was a spiritual protection, the figure was always shown *winged*.

The holy-water theory seems to fit all cases better than other theories. On cylinders there is sufficient evidence to show that holy water was a thing not unknown to the Assyrians.

Mr. St. Chad Boscawen¹ published the following notes from cuneiform inscriptions: "The white cedar with holy water (memulli) is part of the charm, 'May the cup of holy water of Merodach endow him with health.'" Mr. St. Chad Boscawen observes that some such ceremony as that referred to by Dr. Bonavia was known to the Babylonians.

Then we have the holy waters of the Christian Church, of Zemzem in Mecca, of the Ganges, and of the well of the Benares temple, all supporting the idea that holy water must have been a very ancient institution.

Finally, on the same page, Mr. Boscawen published an extract from a friend's letter received from Cairo, which seems to show that the very same custom, viz., of using a fir-cone as an "aspergillum," still exists in the East.

To conclude, then, this holy-water theory would seem the most rational way of interpreting the spiritual idea to which the Assyrian artist endeavoured to give form in the winged figure holding bucket and sprinkler. It is one which would appear to meet the needs of all cases in which this emblem is found, viz., a scaring away of evil spirits from the king's person, their date-trees, the gates of their cities, temples, palaces, &c.

¹ *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, vol. iv. p. 96, No. 4.

VIII.

THE NATURE OF THE HITTITE WRITING.

BY

THOMAS TYLER, M.A.

THAT writing owes its origin to pictorial representation is, if not universally admitted, at least allowed so generally as to render unnecessary any extended argument in support of this position. Moreover, the pictorial origin of the Hittite characters is scarcely to be doubted by any observer. Admitting that picture-writing and the use of syllabic and alphabetical signs are all to be traced to the same source, the chief question before us is concerned with the stage of development of the Hittite writing as it appears in the inscriptions which we possess.

I may say that I employ the term "Hittite" in accordance with



FIG. 1. The Seal of Indilimma (enlarged).

general usage. It is not necessary for me either to explain or to criticise this expression.

Some months ago the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford acquired a cylindrical seal bearing representations of two figures, and inscriptions in two different kinds of characters, the one ancient Babylonian

and the other Hittite. Mr. Pinches, who has given much attention to Babylonian seals, assigns to the newly-acquired seal the antiquity of about 2000 years before Christ. This evidence of antiquity is important, for though the character of the monuments previously known was not such as to suggest that the Hittite hieroglyphs were a comparatively recent invention, yet advocates of this comparative modernity have not been entirely wanting.

The two figures on the seal are the one a Hittite man and the other a deity. The Hittite man has at his back the Hittite inscription, consisting of four characters. The dress of the Hittite resembles to some extent that of Tarkutimme on the well-known seal. At the back of the deity—though the expression “back” is scarcely suitable with regard to a cylindrical seal—are the three perpendicular columns of Babylonian cuneiform characters. The Babylonian inscription has been rendered by Mr. Pinches, “Indilimma, son of Sin-irdamu, servant (or worshipper) of the goddess Ishchara.” Possible variations in the representation of the names given by Mr. Pinches as “Indilimma” and “Sin-irdamu” need not detain us. That all the characters of the three Babylonian columns are not expressed by the four Hittite characters is sufficiently clear; but, having regard to the fact that the seal was in all probability intended for the authentication of legal documents, we may be reasonably sure that the name of the possessor of the seal, given as it is in Babylonian, would be denoted by the two characters at the top, which are joined together. This, no doubt, was done for the sake of clearness and to prevent mistake. On the Tarkutimme seal it was probably considered sufficient that the characters denoting the king’s name are marked off by his left arm and spear.¹ (See Fig. 15.) And it may be mentioned here as not unworthy of note that on the new seal a special connection between the Hittite characters and the figure of the Hittite man is probably intended by the omission of a dividing line between the characters and the figure. The two characters joined together on the new seal may be reasonably explained as denoting “Indilimma.”² But of still greater interest for us are

¹ Or possibly, wand of office.

² With reference to this matter I may make the following extract from a communication of mine to the *Academy*, January 23, 1892:—“*Indi* would probably be denoted by the head of the goat, and *limma* by the two parallel lines. In the first case the probability is strengthened by the analogy with the Assyrian *enzu* and the Arabic *anzun*, both words denoting ‘goat.’ The change of *z* into *d* is very familiar to the Semitic student as a characteristic of Aramaic, and to the seeming tendency of Hittite towards Aramaic I directed attention in *Nature*, April 5, 1888, with reference to the Tarkutimme inscription. *Limma* easily connects itself with the Assyrian

the two lower characters, especially the triangle at the bottom, in its relation to the goddess Ishchara of the Babylonian inscription. Babylonian deities are occasionally, like others in classical mythology, of a somewhat Protean character. It is, however, considered certain that Ishchara is to be identified with the great goddess Ishtar, and so we should pass also to Ashtoreth of the Phœnicians. That Ashtoreth was a Hittite goddess had been inferred previously from the treaty between Rameses and the Khita;¹ but on the longest of the



FIG. 2. Symbolical Figure of Ashtoreth on Hamath Inscription.

Hamath inscriptions we have what may, with some confidence, be spoken of as a symbol of Ashtoreth as a moon-goddess. Here there is a crescent-moon with the head of a cow above and within it. In relation to the new seal especial interest attaches to the triangle beneath the crescent-moon. If this is an equilateral triangle, it would furnish important evidence in favour of the deity represented by the triangle on the new seal being really the goddess Ashtoreth, whatever may have been the name by which the Hittites called her, whether Ishtar, Ishchara, or some

other designation. Mr. Rylands, when drawing the Hamath inscriptions, regarded the triangle as an equilateral triangle; and probably he was right, though on the cast at the British Museum the triangle

limnu, 'bad.' . . . It is not quite unlikely, however, that the subordinate sense 'hostile' should be adopted." The name, with this explanation, is not perhaps any more strange and surprising than some proper names in the Old Testament. The points of the horns directed forward should be noticed, as agreeing with the idea of hostility. It is worthy of notice that *lim-nu*, "evil," "hostile," and *si-nu-u*, "two," may (if, as is legitimate, we disregard the final *u* in the latter word) be represented in Assyrian by precisely the same two characters. Mr. Pinches suggests that the Accadian *limma* means "four," and that the figure may be quadrilateral. My own conviction is that the intention is to represent only two parallel lines, though there is a joining together for the reason mentioned above; and, besides, it may be observed there is a finger or point of direction jutting out towards the Hittite figure. As to the idea of hostility being implied in the two parallel lines, the reader should compare the two parallel rods held by the pig-tailed figure on the Tarsus seal. (See Fig. 3, *e*.) It is not very difficult to assign a reason why the number "two," in contrast to "one," should become associated with the idea of evil or hostility, as it was with the Pythagoreans. As for the pig-tailed people, they were probably conquerors and despoilers from the north-east. I wish here to express my thanks to Mr. Pinches, not merely for his valuable aid in relation to the seal of Indilimma, but also with respect to other questions on which his well-known very eminent attainments in Assyriology have been of great service.

¹ "Astartha, of the land of Khita." See Brugsch, "Egypt under the Pharaohs," vol. ii. p. 75.

is not exactly equilateral. But two things should be borne in mind. First, at the apex of the triangle there was very likely a quantity of hardened dirt which could not be easily removed when the cast was made; and secondly, there are indications on the cast pointing to the conclusion that the triangle had an equilateral space within it, with which the outer form would doubtless accord. The original stones are unfortunately at Constantinople, and therefore not easy of access for the minute investigation which a question of this kind renders desirable.¹

But as to the equilateral triangle being a sacred symbol, evidence of a most conclusive character is furnished by a cubical seal obtained from Tarsus by the late Rev. Greville Chester, now also in the Ashmolean. On the five faces of this seal very curious and almost incomprehensible scenes are depicted. Two of these faces may be pointed out as especially remarkable (faces *b*, *c*). On one, above a kind of altar, there is an object resembling a trident. This object is between two very curious symbols capped with equilateral triangles. An eagle-headed figure, probably a deity, is pouring out a libation at the foot of the altar, and thus, as seems likely, is confessing the superiority of the sacred objects above. On the other side of the altar is a seated figure, making in some way a triangle with his right hand, and with his left holding a double three-forked thunderbolt, introduced apparently as being, like the trident, an emblem of triunity. Above the seated figure is the winged solar disk. It would be hazardous to attempt to determine more minutely the precise meaning of this scene, though probably enough it commemorated some great theological revolution. Next to this we have another scene scarcely less curious. Here again we have two figures, one seated and the other standing. Here again, too, the seated figure is making a triangle with the right hand, and the goat standing on the left hand of the seated figure is evidently represented as making a triangle with its legs and body; and the standing figure has two parallel rods in one hand and one in the other, clearly referring to the sides of the triangle. But in relation to the personage standing, something still more curious and remark-



FIG. 3. The Tarsus Seal.

¹ It is not, however, at all necessary to maintain that the Hittite sculptors would be always careful about strict geometrical accuracy.

able presents itself. He is holding by a cord or wire a figure which, notwithstanding some subordinate differences, we at once identify with one of the symbols on the new seal (Fig. 1). On the previous face (*b*) the figure was capped with the triangle. Here the triangle is to be seen above. The figure itself is pretty evidently derived from the triangle, the base probably being mounted higher to form the body. The legs are clearly the divergent sides of the triangle. In accordance with the remark of a learned acquaintance of mine, this small figure is an *homunculus*; or rather perhaps we should regard it as a sort of abstract ideal of human nature conceived as based on the triangle. What difference may be implied in the capping with the triangle it is impossible definitely to say. And now, with the Babylonian inscription on the new seal (Fig. 1) in view, it can scarcely be regarded as unwarrantable to explain the third Hittite character as meaning "man," which would easily acquire the subordinate signification of "servant" or "worshipper." We shall thus have, "Indilimma, servant of the goddess represented by the triangle;" and the triangle we may take as denoting Ishchara, Ishtar, or Ashtoreth.

I now pass to what in my view is a very curious and interesting variation of the triangle on a seal impression obtained from Aidin by M. Sorlin-Dorigny. The seal itself could not be obtained. M. Dorigny, however, managed to procure an impression, which is in the Louvre, and through the kindness of M. Heuzey a facsimile cast in plaster of this impression has been sent. In the central portion of the seal is what might at first be taken for some marine animal. But having already recognised the equilateral triangle as a sacred or



FIG. 4. Seal from Aidin.

divine symbol, it is only a step in advance to take the triangle for a veritable deity. Hence the eyes. But why is it curved at the base? and what is the meaning of the prolongation from its right side? On some Babylonian¹ seals a prolongation, which is probably to be understood as a stream of divine influence, connects the deity delineated with the worshipper, who thus, no doubt, is receiving an answer to his prayers. The discovery of this curious fact was made by Dr. Hayes Ward of New York. On the seal impression in the Louvre we have the symbol of the hand held up in prayer (*cf.* Figs. 5, 6); and it is no overstrained hypothesis that

¹ Or Assyrian seals.

a stream of divine influence is represented as proceeding from the deity in answer to such supplication. The curvature of the triangle was probably intended to denote the fulness of divine influence



FIG. 5. From Assyrian Seal (B. Mus.).



FIG. 6. (At Persepolis).

ready to be bestowed. At any rate, near the expanded end of the stream we have an accurately formed triangle, also with eyes. And we have, besides, the curious symbol of the new seal (Fig. 1), which, as I have said, we may regard as a sort of abstract or generalised symbol of human nature. The meaning of the whole group would appear to be the granting of wisdom or life in answer to prayer.¹

We now come to the headed triangle of the Carthaginian monuments, normally, as would appear, an equilateral triangle, but varying considerably in some instances from a true equal-sided figure. A very good example of the headed triangle is given in the *Corpus* from a stele of Lilybæum.² The triangle here occurs together with other symbolical figures. Opposite to it there is a figure praying, and above there is a very remarkable triple object. This triple object corresponds essentially with the trident and other forms shown on the Tarsus seal and elsewhere. The essential idea is that of three-in-oneness, as in the triangle.³ The fact that the central pillar is higher than the others is probably unimportant.



FIG. 7. Upper Part of Stele at Lilybæum.

¹ Not improbably additional life in the shape of offspring.

² See *Corpus Inscr. Sem.*, vol. i. p. 281.

³ Lenz in his monograph *Die Göttin von Paphos* (Gotha, 1808) observes, "Um aber wieder zu den drey Paphischen Kegeln einzulenken, behält wol diejenige Ansicht das meiste für sich, nach welcher eine und dieselbe Gottheit unter verschiedenen Gesichtspunkten gemeint ist, Eins in Drey" (p. 8.)

Looked at in connection with the triangle of the Hittite seals, the triangular and triple figures of the Carthaginian monuments are seen to have a new significance, and the perplexity which they have occasioned to scholars and archæologists is in considerable measure removed. We gain here, too, an important glimpse of a connection between the Hittite and Carthaginian monuments.¹

In relation to the Hittite triangle there is another probable link of connection which must not be passed over without notice. I allude to the archaic triangular cuneiform character with the sound *din* and the meaning "life."

There is reason for thinking that the sign corresponds to a triangle found on the tablet of hieroglyphic or hieratic characters in the British Museum.



FIG. 10.

The tablet, however, is unfortunately broken away on the cuneiform

¹ In view of this connection mention may be made of the interesting fact, that while on the obverse of coins from Mallus in Cilicia there is a winged female figure, which can be no other than that of Astarte, the Asiatic Venus, on the reverse is the equilateral triangle; and there are to be seen also other symbols which appear on Hittite monuments. Thus there are both the straight stroke and the right angle which combined seem in some inscriptions to take the place of the straight stroke



FIG. 8. Reverse of Coins from Mallus (B. Mus.).

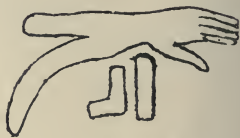


FIG. 9. Symbols from Jerablûs Monument (B. Mus.).

and crescent (cf. Figs. 9, 11). Having regard to the cones on the Mallus coins (symbols which naturally connect themselves with Astarte or Venus), the figures as here given (Fig. 8) may be inverted; but on the Hittite monuments the apex of the triangle points upward, and the horizontal line of the right angle is at bottom, and the figures of the Mallus coins have been placed as in Fig. 8 for convenient comparison. Quite probably when the coins were struck, though the connection of the symbols with Astarte was remembered, their use on inscriptions may have ceased, and the inversion, if such there be, may have been regarded as unimportant.

side, so as to leave only a part of a wedge from the cuneiform character which answers to the triangle; but the triangular form of the cuneiform character is by itself important and interesting.

I have formerly raised the question as to whether the Egyptian *ankh* or symbol of life is not to be connected with the headed triangle, which would thus require us to claim for it an exceedingly remote antiquity. I still regard this view as probable; but the matter need not now detain us.

Plato's *Timæus*, that most remarkable, in some respects, of all the great philosopher's works, shows, as is generally allowed, much evidence of Pythagorean influence. For our present purpose it is scarcely necessary to go beyond its assigning a triangular form to ultimate elements, as, for example, those of the earth (53-56). This by itself might be looked on as somewhat remote; but the headed triangle of the Carthaginian monuments is easily suggested when Plutarch tells us that the Pythagoreans were accustomed to personify the equilateral triangle by the name of 'Αθήνη κορυφαγενής (that is "Athene" or "Minerva sprung from the vertex") and also as Τριτογένεια ("born of three"). It is even not impossible that the well-known myth of Athene springing from the head of Zeus may owe its origin to the headed triangle (Plut. *Moralia*, p. 381, E, F).

At present, however, our main concern in this connection is with the fact, attested by the newly-acquired seal and otherwise, that the equilateral triangle was with the Hittites a divine symbol, and that it was related especially to the goddess Ishchara, Ishtar, Ashtoreth.

With this fact, or rather these facts, in view, we may proceed to consider the usual sign of deity or divinity on the Hittite inscriptions in the British Museum from Jerablûs, and also on other inscriptions which may be regarded as of the same class; for example, that on the Merash lion. The sign of deity referred to is the straight stroke and crescent. The conclusion that this is a sign of deity is drawn in part from its being found invariably, or very nearly so, at the top of the line. Then it is associated with other symbols which point to this being the true signification. Thus it is associated with the hand held up in prayer (c). It is found above the sacred

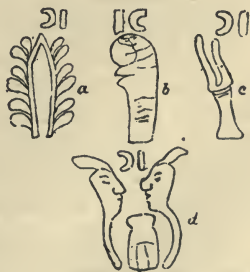


FIG. 11. Figures, with Divine Symbol, from Jerablûs Monuments (B. Mus.).

tree (*a*) and other objects evidently sacred.¹ Its occurrence under these circumstances is sufficiently frequent to justify the conclusion, even if we are not able in every case to explain why the objects with which it is found should be accounted sacred. As to the origin of this combination, it was probably chosen to represent Asherah and Ashtoreth, which, as we learn from the Old Testament, were very closely associated. Asherah was probably a phallic symbol, and its association with Ashtoreth accords with what is said in the treatise on the Syrian goddess ascribed to Lucian, of certain objects outside her temple at Hierapolis.² It has been considered that the Asherah, associated as it is with graven images in the Old Testament, must have had some figure sculptured upon it, and could not have been a mere straight pillar. Pretty certainly this was the case with the *miphletseth la-Asherah* (1 Kings xv. 13), the "horrible image for an Asherah," which Queen Maachah worshipped. Such an image is with probability to be found on a fragment in the British Museum (Fig. 11, *b*). It was very likely sculptured with a twofold intention, and only in part to give a distant representation of the human face.³ On another fragment in the British Museum what we may regard as two Asherahs are depicted face to face.

I now come to a very important fact. On one of the monuments from Jerablûs in the British Museum, the two symbols which we have been considering—the triangle and the combined straight stroke and crescent—are to be seen together, and in such a relation to each other as to afford something like a demonstration that both



FIG. 12. Divine Symbols, &c., from Jerablûs Monuments (B. Mus.).

were symbols of divinity. Moreover, there is at the same time evidence that the equilateral triangle was regarded as sacred with reference to its geometrical form. It is supported by three pillars of equal height. From the rarity of the occurrence of the triangle on the Jerablûs monuments, the inference may be drawn that the triangle was not the customary symbol of deity or sacredness with the branch of the Hittites established at Carchemish.⁴ The hand

¹ The horned heads or masks with curved prolongations I have conjectured may mean spirits, on account of the absence of bodies. Homer's *νεκῶν ἀμενηνὰ κάρηνα* (Od. x. 521) is perhaps to be compared.

² *Ἐν τοῦτοις τοῖσι πυρκαλίοις καὶ οἱ φαλλοὶ ἐστᾶσι* (28).

³ But Asherahs seem to occur pretty widely in the inscriptions though differing in form from this. The frequency is in no way surprising.

⁴ At least at the time when the monuments from Jerablûs in the Museum had their origin.

represented as seizing the triangle may indicate that these objects of reverence or worship were carried off during warfare with a neighbouring Hittite tribe or people. The doubled straight stroke and crescent above may be taken to mean that the triangle was very sacred, while the three pillars by which it is supported (in accordance with the view I have suggested) are in perfect accord with the geometrical and arithmetical indications on the Tarsus seal and elsewhere. These symbols of deity may thus be regarded as furnishing a fixed point in Hittite research not at all likely to be disturbed.

There is on the seal from Yuzgât in the British Museum a group of symbols which admit of tolerably easy explanation as an example of picture-writing. The objects on the circumference of the seal are clearly, to a great extent, of a religious character; and it is not unlikely that a similar character attaches to that part of these objects of which I am about to speak, and which apparently represent a stag-hunt, though it may not be possible for us to determine exactly how this was religious. As to a stag-hunt being intended, there is a tree, indicating, we may take it, the forest¹ where the hunt occurred. Then come two spears or javelins, indicating, no doubt, the weapons used in the chase. After these there is what is probably a club ending in a kind of trident, used, it may be, in giving the unfortunate animal the final blow.² Next we find what looks like a bundle or basket, furnished with a handle.³ This would appropriately suggest the idea of carrying. Then there is the head of a stag with fine large antlers, and beneath it two arms and hands directed towards a seated figure beyond. This figure we may regard as that of a god or king, possibly indeed of both in the same person.

FIG. 13.¹

¹ In this connection the thickness of trunk should be observed.

² For the Yuzgât seal in the British Museum see the figure in *Nature*, April 12, 1888, p. 560. The seal of Fig. 13, said to be also from Yuzgât, has not been, so far as I know, previously engraved. Though differing in various other particulars, it agrees in the main with the British Museum seal with respect to the series of symbols described in the paper. There is, however, some imperfection either in the original seal, or possibly only in my impression; but the symbols in question are sufficiently distinct. The reader should notice the middle circle with what appear to be solar emblems, symbols of life (Figs. 4, 11), and triangles, and the hand held up in prayer, in the centre, should be compared with those of Figs. 4, 11.

³ In the seal of Fig. 13 the order of these two symbols is reversed, from which it may be inferred, as on other grounds, that the seal in the British Museum is the more ancient and original. The latter shows apparently a much better style of art.

As the seated figure has his face directed towards other figures in front, and his back towards the group I have been describing, to express his acceptance of the stag's head (which, indeed, may mean the whole stag), it was necessary to repeat the head over his outstretched arm. Here the stag's head is smaller, and it is portrayed with less of artistic skill. The sacred triangle is used here, as elsewhere, on the circumference of the seal, not merely to fill up vacant spaces, but also to denote the sacred character of what is portrayed. Of the other objects delineated it is generally pretty clear that the representation is pictorial or ideographic; and this gives additional ground of credibility to the explanation I have given of the stag's head and contiguous symbols.

With regard to a seal in the Louvre having five faces, it is worth noting that, on three of them, a man is standing on the back of an animal, demonstrating apparently his skill and mastery, while beside him is essentially the symbol of human nature, with the triangle suspended above it, probably, as on the Tarsus seal, to indicate the source of man's wonderful power. This is clearly ideographic. In each case, it should also be said, a sun or star is represented. Of the objects round the circular seal impression in the Louvre (Fig. 4), the centre of which I



FIG. 14. Face of Seal in Louvre (enlarged).¹

have previously discussed, some would seem intended to convey the idea of fertility; but it would take too long to discuss these objects in detail.²



FIG. 15. The Seal of Tarkutimme.

It was in connection with the important Tarkutimme inscription that I arrived at the conclusion I have expressed with regard to the ideographic character of the Hittite writing. Here we have King Tarkutimme himself pictorially represented. Above his arm are the two characters expressing his name; beneath it is the cone denoting "king," and then, outside, the spear,³ and proceeding back-

¹ This figure is derived from a facsimile of the seal, not a seal-impression.

² The bird behind the seated figure with an object (imperfect) on its back or tail would perhaps give the name of a king or dynasty, if the kind of bird could be certainly made out. The character before it would mean "king," and begin the inscription. The pillar preceding marks the end and commencement.

³ Or wand of office.

wards and upwards we have the double cone, which, in my view, denotes "people," and above it what I have always regarded as a twofold indication of the country over which Tarkutimme ruled—the first ideographic, and the second phonetic.¹ This twofold indication of proper names is in accordance with various facts of both Egyptian and Assyrian writing.

On the Hittite inscriptions a proper name may be suspected when we find incongruous characters closely combined. On this matter we may err through very imperfect knowledge; but there are some pretty manifest examples of incongruity. Thus on an inscription from Jerablûs in the British Museum we find the head apparently of a young animal resting on two cones (Fig. 16). The want of harmony in this case is scarcely to be mistaken. In the next line there are to be seen two curves or segments of circles close above what is pretty evidently intended for a tree. Before this combination is the character for "city"² above the



FIG. 16.

¹ Cf. what I wrote in *Nature*, April 5, 1888, pp. 538, 539, where a fuller explanation is given than it is, perhaps, necessary to insert here. But I may take this opportunity of alluding to the large extent to which, since 1880, Hittite research has been influenced by the important and fruitful discovery of Professor Sayce that the Hittite characters on this seal form an inscription agreeing essentially with the Assyrian. This may be said even if some of the views of this eminent scholar are not accepted.

² The true significance of this oval symbol, somewhat broken on the monument in this place, is a matter of no small importance. Professor Sayce, in *Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, vol. vii. part 2, 1881, observes, "I had fancied it might denote a city." But having regard to its occurrence on the great sculpture at Boghaz Keui, he came to the conclusion that it is "the determinative prefix of divinity." It seems, however, doubtful or improbable that the names of deities would be expressed in the sculpture at all. Most likely, with regard to a god or goddess, it would be considered that the figure itself would afford sufficient indication. Moreover, as in Fig. 18, so in the Boghaz Keui sculpture, what is delineated beneath the oval symbol is such as to make it very difficult to believe that, in most cases, it can possibly be the name of a deity. It is a much less objectionable view to regard the Boghaz Keui emblems as portraying a meeting of persons of kingly and queenly rank, who hold in their hands the standards of their respective cities. If, however, these personages are regarded as deities, it must still be maintained that they are portrayed as deities of cities. And I fail to see any valid corroboration of Professor Sayce's opinion in the sculpture at Fraktin, notwithstanding what is said by Messrs. Ramsay and Hogarth (*Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xiv., liv. 1, 2).

A very interesting example of the occurrence of this oval symbol is found in what is pretty certainly the name of Carchemish, the city whose site is now occupied by Jerablûs. This might be inferred, not only from the comparative frequency of this combined symbol on the Jerablûs monuments; a similar inference may be drawn from symbols with which it is associated, especially the hand pointing towards



FIG. 17. Name of Carchemish.

delineation of a valley with mountains on both sides. The name of the city thus indicated I have given conjecturally as *Bamoth-elah*.



FIG. 18.

It may be, not impossibly, the same as the "Bamoth" or "Bamoth-in-the-valley," mentioned in the Pentateuch (Num. xxi. 19, 20). One reason for giving these curves the value "Bamoth" is to be found in the same inscription, where, on a line below, we have the head of a ram on such a curve, preceded by a hand with a dagger, indicating probably the sacrificing priest.¹ But this, of course, is far too conjectural to be strongly insisted on.

The indication of proper names of persons by a portrait accompanied by the characters giving the name, as on the new seal and on that of Tarkutimme, resembles what is to be seen in American picture-writing, in cases where the figure representing the person is joined to a representation of his name, as when the name was compounded of an ant and a flower, that insect and the symbol of a flower are connected graphically with the profiles.² The question may be asked, whether in the Hittite inscriptions the phonetic representation of words may not pass beyond proper names, so as to give the inscriptions a generally mixed character, rendering them partly ideographic and partly phonetic? So far as I am aware, there is no positive evidence of this mixed character, though dogmatic assertion would be altogether unsuitable where so very much remains undiscovered, and when some at least of the inscriptions which we possess are removed apparently from others by a very wide interval of time.

An allusion is perhaps required to the language spoken by those who engraved these inscriptions, though the subject does not come

it, as though it were a goal or terminus. The explanation of this symbol is certainly not of insuperable difficulty. Car-Chemish is "the fortress of Chemish," or Chemosh. *Caru* is the Assyrian for "fortress," which would be suitably denoted by the quadrilateral lozenge-shaped figure. The god Chemosh would then be represented by the eagle; just as, in ancient Egypt, Horus, the god of the rising sun, was represented by the hawk. That Chemosh was a solar deity is in itself probable, and this has been maintained independently, as also that his name denotes "the burner." It is noticeable, also, that it would seem, from the coinage of the not very distant city Resæna, that the eagle was worshipped there. The figures from sculptures at Merash given by Humann and Puchstein (*Reisen in Kleinasien und Nordsyrien*, Tafel xlvii. 2, 4) point to the sacredness of some bird, probably also the hawk or eagle, though it is scarcely possible to make the identification with certainty.

¹ The *bamoth* were the "high places" of Hebrew idolatry. In the Hebrew Bible the word *bamah* is used of elevations varying from a tumulus to a swelling mountain.

² See De Rosny, *Écritures Figuratives*, p. 18.

altogether within the scope of a paper concerned with the Hittite writing. There are various particulars, including the worship of Istar or Ashtoreth, which suggest a Semitism either pure or impure; and it is clear that, with the Carthaginian monuments in view, no evidence to the contrary is to be drawn from the sacred triangle. But it is by no means impossible—perhaps, indeed, it may be said to be probable, that the Hittite hieroglyphs were used also to express the ideas of people who were not Semitic.¹

If the views which I have set forth as to the nature of the Hittite writing are just, it becomes pretty clear that the full decipherment of the inscriptions is not likely to be attained by any sudden revelation. The discovery of additional bilinguals, however desirable it may be, could scarcely have the effect which might be expected in the case of phonetic writing. Even if we had more bilinguals, and also more very ancient inscriptions like those from Jerablûs in the British Museum, the progress of decipherment is likely to be but gradual and slow, and full success is improbable unless as the result of the combined efforts, during an extended period, of many investigators.

APPENDIX.



FIG. 19. The Hittite Seal from Bor (enlarged).

AFTER the meeting of the Congress in 1892, I received an impression of the important silver seal purchased at Bor by Mr. D. G. Hogarth, of Magdalen College, Oxford, and subsequently added to the collection in the Ashmolean

¹ In addition to the evidence suggesting Hittite Semitism which had previously presented itself, including the physiognomy of the figures on the Ibreez monument, Messrs. Ramsay and Hogarth have given additional evidence of great importance in the profile of a priest or king (possibly indeed both in one person, in accordance with a suggestion of these writers) who is depicted on the upper part of a Hittite stele at Bor, of which photographs were taken (*Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xiv. pts. 1, 2, 1892). Here there is no possibility of mistake about the characteristic Semitic face. The face, indeed, might very well be taken for that of a Jew.

Museum. This seal gave a welcome opportunity for testing some of the conclusions set forth in my paper, and in more than one respect it yielded important confirmation. The central figure, when compared with those on the Tarkutimme and Indilimma seals, is found to differ in certain important particulars. The prominent nose may be regarded as quasi-Jewish, and the expression and attitude would agree with the inference that the person delineated is engaged in pronouncing a judicial decision. In attempting to decipher the inscription, we may reasonably direct our attention first to the four characters in front of the figure. The one found at the top, over the left hand, occupies the place where the official or other name of the person delineated might be looked for. This character represents pretty evidently a piece of rope or a strip of some fabric coiled or rolled up. We may regard it as a bandage, that which binds. Any difficulty which may be felt as to the person portrayed "binding" is lessened or disappears if we recollect that there are at least two passages in the Old Testament (Isa. iii. 7; Job xxxiv. 17) in which a ruler is spoken of as "binding." Moreover, to speak of laws and edicts which "bind" is a matter of common usage. We should notice, too, the position of the character in relation to the hands engaged in "laying down the law." Beneath is a symbol of oval form, which, as in Figs. 17, 18, denotes "city." It is doubled, to express the plural, a usage which may be found also elsewhere. Then we come to a curious, irregular, angular figure, which occurs again, of somewhat larger size and fuller development in the series of characters behind the figure. It becomes intelligible when regarded as a kind of map or plan. In fact, it is difficult or impossible to assign to it any other meaning. In principle it agrees with the city in the valley of Fig. 18, though, no doubt, there is great difference of detail. The character would thus denote the district or country in which were to be found the cities referred to. Fortunately we are not obliged to leave the country nameless. The figure agrees to a remarkable extent with the heights surrounding the country east of Tyana (or Bor, where the seal was purchased), as delineated in the map opposite page 330 of Professor Ramsay's "Historical Geography of Asia Minor," though the mountains to the south are in great measure absent, probably because these mountains and their silver mines were under other authority. Even if, possibly, the district intended did not entirely correspond with that afterwards known as Tyanitis, we may designate it, provisionally, by that name, and so we shall have "Binder," *i.e.*, "Ruler of the cities of Tyanitis." Turning to the five characters behind the figure, we have at the top the oval character "city" again doubled, then the angular symbol of the country, then "binder" or "ruler," though, it would seem, less carefully executed, and beneath this is a numeral to be read backwards, like the characters behind Tarkutimme (Fig. 15). The numeral is essentially Babylonian, and would mean 100, though in the Babylonian numeration the central vertical line would be superfluous. The meaning will be thus: "Of the cities of Tyanitis, ruler of a hundred." A hundred is to be understood probably as a round number.

IX.

THE ORIGIN OF THE PRIMARY CIVILISATIONS.

BY

J. S. STUART-GLENNIE, M.A.

(Abstract of Paper read in the Semitic Section of the International Congress of Orientalists
September 1892.)

THE author began by defining Civilisation as *Enforced Social Organisation with Written Records, and hence development of Thought and Social Progress*; and by the Primary Civilisations he meant those civilisations of Egypt and Chaldea, anterior to which we know of none. Hitherto the problem of the origin of Civilisation, which is, in other words, the problem of the origin of States, has been both proposed and treated with an indefiniteness which could not possibly lead to verifiable, and hence satisfactory, results. Thus it was treated by Plato and Aristotle; thus again still when, after the lapse of nearly two thousand years, the problem was again taken up by Bodin and by Hobbes; and thus it is even still treated by such contemporary writers as Mr. Herbert Spencer, Sir John Lubbock, Dr. Tylor, and others. Had an Aristotle, however, been still living when Berossos, the great author of the *Χαλδαϊκὰ*, visited Athens, he would almost certainly have treated the problem of the origin of States as one far more definite and verifiable than that which he believed he had solved by his Patriarchal Theory. But though we now, unfortunately, possess only fragments borrowed from abridgments of the great work of Berossos, the decipherment of the cuneiform texts has not only demonstrated, as Lenormant says, "la parfaite exactitude et l'importance incomparable" of these fragments, but has supplemented them with an immense number of new facts as to the origin of Chaldean Civilisation; while Egyptological research has further added immensely to our knowledge of the origin of Egyptian Civilisation. And the author therefore ventured to submit that the problem of the

origin of Civilisation can be no more now either satisfactorily treated as a problem of the origin of Civilisation at some quite indefinite time and place; or satisfactorily solved by a wholly unverified theory of spontaneous development from savagery; but must be treated as the definite problem of the origin of the Primary Civilisations of Egypt and Chaldea, and solved by a theory in accordance with what may appear to have been the main determining condition of the origin of these Primary Civilisations.

I.

Dividing his argument into three parts, the author showed that a Conflict of Higher and Lower Races was certainly one condition, if not the main determining condition of the only certainly Primary Civilisations of which we know anything. Alluding first of all to the extraordinary variety which he had himself observed in the skulls he had collected nearly thirty years ago in excavations made on the Plain of the Pyramids, he referred at greater length to the craniological and other anatomical conclusions of Virchow and others; to the portraits in statues and statuettes, wall-frescoes and -sculptures, engraved seals and gems, including among the last the portrait of Gilgames on a seal dating back to 3800 B.C.; the evidence afforded by such different modes of early sepulture as had been observed by Mr. Flinders Petrie; and the corroboration afforded of all such facts by those oldest Kinship Traditions of which *Genesis* presents us with Semitic variants. But he admitted that such a summary of facts could only show that a Difference of Race and Conflict of Races was one condition, not that it was the main determining condition of the origin of the Primary Civilisations.

II.

In order to show, therefore, that such a Racial Conflict was really the main determining condition of the Origin of Civilisation, the author proceeded next to point out (1) that racial—though, in Derivative Civilisations, it may be only cultural—difference and conflict distinguishes all progressive and civilised from unprogressive and savage societies, whether human or animal—racial differences, analagous to those of the primary civilisations, being found only among certain insects. He then urged (2) that the critical importance of this condition of difference and conflict would be seen if we reflected on its natural result, namely, the exploitation of the lower by the higher race; hence the wealth and leisure acquired by the higher race; and hence the economic condition of the development of the intellectual

capacities of the higher race. And as the conditions of Social Evolution must certainly correspond with, and be correlates of those of Organic Evolution generally, the author attempted (3) to connect the theory of the conflict of races, as the main determining condition of Social Evolution, with the fundamental condition of Organic Evolution.

III.

But granting the probability given to the hypothesis by the facts showing (1) a conflict of higher and lower races, as a condition of the origin of Civilisation, and by the facts showing (2) the unsurpassed importance of such a conflict as a determining condition of Civilisation, the author pointed out (3) that a further and deductive verification of the hypothesis must be attempted in applying it to the solution of some of the greater historical problems. Among such greater problems, of which no satisfactory solution has yet been given, the author instanced more particularly those of the origin of Matriarchy, of the origin of Folk-tales, and of the origin of Mythology. And he showed that the recognition of such a fact as a conflict of higher white with lower coloured and black races could not but have the most important bearing on, if it did not, indeed, lead to complete solutions of these problems.

In conclusion, the author remarked that it did not follow from his theory that there were no other Primary Civilisations than those of Egypt and Chaldea. It followed only that, if there were other Primary Civilisations, the main determining condition of such other Primary Civilisations also was a Conflict of Higher and Lower Races. It must be noted, however, that Professor Sayce and others had proved that the Semitic was derived from the Chaldean civilisation; and that Professor De Lacouperie appears, if not to have proved, at least to have shown it to be highly probable, that the Chinese was derived from the Chaldean Civilisation. Something the author hoped to do towards proving that the Aryan Civilisations both of Persia and India in the East, and of Greece and Italy in the West, were derived from pre-existing Civilisations directly or indirectly connected with that of Chaldea. And though by no means affirming that the Civilisations of Egypt and Chaldea were the only Primary Civilisations, he thought that consideration of the very remote date to which the origin of these Civilisations must now be put back; and consideration further of the extraordinary, yet clearly-evidenced range of the migrations of that Archaian (non-Semitic and non-Aryan) White Race to

which the founders of the Egyptian and Chaldean Civilisations belonged—consideration of these two sets of facts seemed to make it not improbable that all Civilisations, nay, even possibly the Peruvian and Mexican, might be directly or indirectly derived from races owing their cultural superiority to the possession of more or less complete treasures of the traditions and arts of the Egyptian and Chaldean Civilisations.

SECTION IV.

EGYPT AND AFRICA.

I.

ARE THERE REALLY NO VOWELS IN THE EGYPTIAN ALPHABET?

BY

P. LE PAGE RENOUF.


THIS is a question which has often been put to me, and my usual answer has been that the Egyptians most certainly had signs expressive of vowels in their writing, but that they had no alphabet.

This may, perhaps, appear a very pert way of dealing with a grave question, but it really goes to the root of the matter. For the erroneous views which were dying out, but have unhappily been revived since the death of Lepsius, were originally suggested by the peculiarities of the Semitic alphabet. They are survivals of a period when Hebrew antiquity, as we know it, was supposed to represent the earliest civilisation, when all phonetic signs were considered alphabetic, and when the science of phonetics was utterly unknown.

Inferences drawn from comparisons between the Egyptian and the Semitic modes of writing, as if they had in common one and the same principle, must be in the highest degree fallacious.

THE EGYPTIANS NEVER HAD AN ALPHABET.

We have, for our convenience, drawn up a list of those hieroglyphic signs which appear to us expressive of but one simple sound. But this list forms but a very small percentage out of the long list of phonetic signs. It is the creation of modern scholars (of Lepsius chiefly), and the conception of it is entirely foreign to the Egyptian mind. The Egyptians knew of neither vowels nor consonants in their representation of sounds.

The phonetic signs of the Egyptians constitute, not an alphabet, but a *syllabary*. They represent, not vowels or consonants as such, but *all sounds* necessary or convenient for the purposes of the writers. A single sign () is sufficient for expressing the syllable *men*.

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There can be no question here, any more than in Chinese, about vowel or consonant. It is the sound alone of the syllable (composed of three elements, according to our notions), which is written with a single character. But, as in Chinese, if the sound to be represented be a syllable as simple as *a*, *i*, or *u*, a sign representing that syllable is sure to be forthcoming. No syllabary that ever was known has been found deficient in this respect, and no reason for such a deficiency could possibly be given.

The first real alphabet that ever existed was the early Semitic, and from this all the other alphabets of the world have been derived, directly or indirectly. It may be perfectly true that the inventors of the Semitic alphabet adopted forms suggested by the hieratic writing of the Egyptians; but the credit of the invention is entirely due to them, and not to the Egyptians. The principle of an alphabet, even when syllabic (like the Sanskrit or the Japanese), is quite different from that of the old syllabaries.

Was the first Semitic alphabet limited to consonants? There is really no evidence on the subject, for a gap of perhaps a thousand years lies between the date of its invention and the date of the Moabite stone; and during this long period the sounds of the Canaanitish language had certainly undergone very considerable changes.

"The ancients, it is supposed," says Lepsius,¹ writing about Hebrew, "wrote only the consonants and left all the vowels to be supplied by the reader. *Our* opinion is that a mere consonantal alphabet would presuppose by far too abstract a phonic doctrine on the part of the inventors, and even if such a systematic separation of the consonants had been possible, there would have been no reason for not inventing corresponding signs for the other separated elements, viz., the vowels. . . . We therefore consider the Hebrew alphabet to have been, like all the other old Asiatic alphabets, essentially syllabic, *i.e.*, representing by each character a full syllable. With this syllabic character of the Hebrew letters it is not impossible that the inherent vowel is occasionally replaced by another pure vowel, following or eclipsed by the influence of the accent of another vowel in the same word."






Nothing that has been discovered since Lepsius wrote these words tends to weaken their force. The advance made in the science of phonetics adds, I feel certain, fresh arguments in their support. But it is quite unnecessary to prosecute this inquiry, for even on accepting the opposite view we should be forced to acknowledge that in confining itself to the record of consonants the Semitic alphabet









¹ Standard Alphabet, 2nd edit., p. 175.

differed from every other ancient mode of writing known to us. Unless, therefore, special reasons can be shown, it is not by comparison with Hebrew or Phœnician writing that Egyptian has to be judged, but by that with Chinese, Accadian or Sumerian, Babylonian or Assyrian, Elamite, Vannic, Cappadocian, Old Persian or Cypriote.




Is it not, however, a fact that the old Semitic alphabet was constructed by selecting from the phonetic Egyptian signs those only which our own modern scholars have recognised as purely alphabetic? Are we not, therefore, some scholars may urge, justified in interpreting the Egyptian signs by the Semitic?

It is most certainly not the fact that the Semitic alphabet was constructed in the way just mentioned. The old Semitic alphabet and our modern Egyptian "alphabet" differ in very essential points. M. de Rougé does not attempt to identify any Semitic letter with

 *ā*,  *ā*,  *i* or  *u*.  *a*, is the only Egyptian vowel which he can identify, and I believe he is mistaken in identifying it with the ancient Aleph. He knows no Semitic letters corresponding to

 *b*,  *k*,  *h*,  *w* or *t*. On the other hand, M. de Rougé identifies  *g*,  *i*,  *w*,  *t*, and other Semitic letters with Egyptian signs which are unquestionably not alphabetic, but syllabic; and no one could be more convinced of the folly of identifying any Egyptian sign with so purely a Semitic sound as that of *y*.

The data of the argument to which I am replying are unsound, but even if the data were sound the argument would be bad. We might as safely argue that because the Greek alphabet is taken from the Phœnician we may safely interpret the nature of certain Phœnician letters by the corresponding *a, e, η, ι, o, υ, ω*.

It stands to reason that vowels are not written when their sound is included in a syllabic sign, but what proof has ever been given, or can be given, that   or , when actually written, are consonants like the weak letters of the Hebrew alphabet?

These and some other signs in the transcription of foreign proper names invariably correspond to vowels, and no one who has any experience of such transcriptions, it matters not what languages are concerned, will expect perfect accuracy in the reproduction of sound, or consistency in transcriptions of the same word. Many of the Egyptian transcriptions in question belong, moreover, to a period when the language was dying out and its orthography was most corrupt.

In the days when Egyptian and Coptic were supposed to be iden-

tical, or nearly identical, the difference of vocalisation was explained by the theory of "voyelles vagues," or, when an Egyptian sign corresponded to a combination of two Coptic vowels, by that of "semi-vowels." It never occurred to Egyptologists that precisely the same kind of phenomena might be observed in the comparison between Latin and the languages derived from it. They might profitably have reflected upon such words as *avoine*, *trois*, *pied*, *lièvre*, *vietare*, *niebla*, *vienta*, *fiesta*, *fuelle*, *muerte*, *bueno*, *buono*, *fuego*, *fuoco*, *feu*, *lieu*, *gueule*, *poing*, *eau*, *beau*, *veau*, *voir*, *boire*.

If a theory has to be discovered as to the relation between the vocalisation of ancient Egyptian and that of the dialects which have sprung from it, it is vain to hope for success in such an enterprise without a thorough knowledge of phonetic science, and an intelligent study of works like those of J. Schmidt and of M. de Saussure¹ on the vowels of the Indo-European languages. Such a discipline would at least deter Egyptologists from using arguments as peremptory which, when applied to Indo-European or Semitic, or indeed to any other language, are proved to be utterly unsound. Egyptian is as subject as every other form of speech to the general laws of language.

Its place is that of one of the simplest and most elementary stages of language. In higher stages, such as the Ugro-Finnish, and still more in the Semitic and the Indo-European, words are subject to external and internal changes to such an extent that the original form can no longer be distinguished. Important radical letters disappear under the stress of phonetic laws. The Finnish *mäki*, a hill, has for genitive singular *mäen*, and for nominative plural *mäel*. In obedience to the same law, the radical *k* disappears in *naen*, I see; *luet*, thou readest, &c., and the other principal consonants when radical are suppressed in their turn when they come within the scope of the laws which affect them. Who from the mere sight of the Hebrew word could guess that *יָה* comes from *נָחַן*, that *יָם* comes from *נָמָה*, or that in *אֲדִירָה* (I will praise thee) *ד* is the only letter left of the verbal root? Now in the Egyptian there is nothing of the kind. There is adhesion, but no cohesion, between root and suffix. The one does not modify the other. They are so loosely connected that an entire word is sometimes interpolated between them. The Egyptian word is invariable. It suffers neither external nor internal change. The

¹ J. Schmidt, *Zur Geschichte des indogermanischen Vokalismus*. F. de Saussure, *Mémoire sur le Système primitif des Voyelles dans les Langues Indo-Européennes*. I mention these two works because in each of them a host of examples may be seen of a method of scientific inquiry quite unknown to most Egyptologists, and yet most indispensable to them if they cannot abstain from speculation.

variants of a word are only graphical. The word itself can never be mistaken. There are no such things as conjugations or declensions. You may translate into Egyptian all the different parts of a Latin verb, but it is folly to imagine that the result of such an operation is an Egyptian paradigm. A Finn might as rationally publish grammars ascribing the fifteen cases of his native tongue to the English, French, German, Greek, or Hebrew.

I am here, I repeat, simply defending the existence of the *written* vowels, against those who wish to assimilate the signs by which they are expressed with certain Semitic letters. But as I wish particularly to lay stress on the point that the phonetic system of the Egyptians was essentially syllabic and not purely alphabetic, it is right to recall the fact observed by our most eminent scholars, that even those signs which have the best apparent claim to be considered simple consonants seem, in the words of Lepsius,¹ "to contain a certain implied vowel, or at least to unite more easily with certain vowels than with others. We observe principally two classes of consonants in this respect, the one of which prefers to be followed by the vowels *a*, the other by *u* or *i*."

It may be objected that certain signs are demonstrably consonantal only, such as the final *s* (∩ or —) at the end of Greek or Roman names. How, then, can we imagine them to imply an inherent vowel?

The objection may be a difficulty for those who are not familiar with the systems of writing which have been actually in use, but it has no existence for others. The Sanskrit letters are decidedly syllabic, but the *virāma* indicates the absence of the inherent vowel when another does not take its place. Is the *virāma* coeval with the alphabet? In Japanese the sounds of *i* and *u* inherent in many signs very often practically disappear without the intervention of anything corresponding to the *virāma*; and the Cypriote inscriptions, the language of which is Greek, are full of instructive instances. The proper name *Menokretes* is written (in syllabic characters) *Me-no-ke-re-te-se*; *Moxanis* is written *Mo-ko-sa-ni-se*; *Themistagoras*, in the genitive, is written *Te-mi-si-ta-go-ro*; *Krataios* is *Ka-ra-ta-i-o-se*.

The scribes of Cyprus were unacquainted with the use of the *virāma*; and so were those of Egypt.²

¹ Standard Alphabet, p. 196.








² For illustrations from cuneiform writing see *Proceedings of Soc. of Bibl. Archaeology*, vol. xv. p. 22.










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









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

























PAR

KARL PIEHL.

LE dictionnaire hiéroglyphique contient un vocable  que chaque égyptologue a dû rencontrer mainte fois au cours de ses études. C'est l'équivalent du copte *memphitique* , et du copte thébaïque  (*status pronominalis*) qui tous les deux comme le groupe en question, signifient *congregare, colligere, convenire*, "rassembler," "recueillir." L'ancienne langue a gardé en outre la signification "ressembler, *similis esse*, que la langue fille paraît avoir abandonné pour le dit radical. Ce dernier sens fournit un développement, pour ainsi dire logique, par rapport aux sens antérieurs. A ce sujet, on peut comparer d'un côté *skr. SAMA*, *grec* *όμοῦ* "ensemble," de l'autre côté *lat. SIMILIS*, *gr. όμοιος* "semblable," ces deux derniers dérivant du même radical que *SAMA* et *όμοῦ*. Le rapprochement *local* qui est indiqué par les sens "recueillir, rassembler," s'est transformé pour ainsi dire dans un rapprochement *modal*, suivant des procédés fort usités sur le terrain du langage et dont je n'ai pas ici à vous entretenir. Pour séparer les deux significations distinctes du mot , l'égyptien a recouru à de différentes expressions syntactiques.  "recueillir" s'adjoint directement à son régime,  "ressembler" se sert de la préposition , pour le même but.

Nous trouvons de bonne heure, dans les textes égyptiens, un autre groupe , ayant une signification bien différente de celle que nous venons d'examiner. J'entends dire "toi, toi-même," en d'autres termes, employé dans le rôle de la seconde personne du singulier du pronom personnel absolu. Ce sont les textes de basses époques qui nous ont fourni le plus grand nombre de nos exemples de cette forme pronominale. Ainsi, à Dendérah, nous rencontrons force passages où la forme ordinaire  de la seconde personne du pronom personnel absolu du féminin est remplacée par celle-ci ; parallèlement à   , "tu es l'œil du Soleil," qualification fort fréquente pour la déesse Hathor, nous voyons l'expression   , dans le même sens,¹ &c., &c.

























De même à Edfou, il y a de très nombreux cas où, au lieu de se servir de la forme habituelle  de la seconde personne du pronom personnel absolu du masculin, on introduit la sus-dite . Voici un exemple, emprunté à Dendérah,² où  représente la seconde personne du masculin : "Je viens vers toi, petit garçon de l'Égypte, je t'apporte les deux couronnes réunies ensemble,        , toi étant un adolescent, parmi les dieux, brillant de lever, ayant des couronnes magnifiques."³




Ce ne sont d'ailleurs pas seulement les inscriptions de basses époques qui nous ont conservé cette forme pronominale, mais nous la rencontrons au *Todtenbuch*, où, au chapitre 133, se lit suivant l'exemplaire de Turin :                           du Papyrus de *Nebseni*, qui forme la base de l'édition NAVILLE. Ici je crois pouvoir citer comme parallèle instructif l'expression si fréquente    au sujet de laquelle nous connaissons, tous, un mémoire, plein sagacité, dû à la plume de notre éminent président.


¹ BRUGSCH et DÜMICHEN, *Recueil*, v., lix.
















² MARIETTE, *Dendérah*, ii., 68.




³ Pour d'autres preuves, voir BRUGSCH et DÜMICHEN, *Recueil*, v., vi., passim, et MARIETTE, *Dendérah*, passim.

Les litanies du soleil, publiées par M. NAVILLE et datant au moins du commencement du Nouvel Empire, renferment également le pronom ¹ qui dans les plus anciennes redactions a la forme que voici  laquelle plus tard a été remplacée par celle de  qui comme nous le savons est la plus usitée aux temps des dernières dynasties manéthoniennes. Cette forme  nous renvoie à une période de beaucoup antérieure au Nouvel Empire, car nous la rencontrons constamment dans les textes de l'Ancien Empire. Après l'expiration de l'Ancien Empire, la dite forme cesse d'être employée dans la langue courante, pour se voir bornée, exclusivement, à la langue littéraire. A ce sujet, il faut faire observer que les lettres  et  sont strictement séparées dans les inscriptions de l'Ancien Empire. Ce n'est que vers le Moyen Empire qu'une confusion entre les deux commence à se manifester, ce qui a eu pour résultat qu'au Nouvel Empire nous rencontrons  et  indistinctement, dans un nombre de mots,  ou ,  ou ,    et , et    ,   et , &c. Toutefois, il faut décider, si nous avons ici des traces de dialectes ou non. De l'autre côté, on doit se souvenir qu'il y a un nombre de mots, où  se conserve constamment jusqu'au début des basses époques.

Jusqu'ici, je me suis mû sur un terrain connu ou, au moins, abordable à chaque égyptologue. Maintenant, je crois devoir quitter les lieux communs pour arriver au vrai sujet de cette communication, dont le but est de vous faire connaître une série de pronoms personnels absolus, jusqu'ici inconnus, de l'égyptien. C'est toujours la combinaison de lettres  qui me fournit l'occasion de ces observations, et à ce propos je vous prie de vous rappeler ce que j'ai dit au début concernant le verbe . Entre autres, ce verbe se construit avec la préposition , et alors comme nous disions d'accord avec le

¹ DARESSY, *Recueil*, ix., page 94. M. ERMAN (*Zeitschrift*, 1891, page 41) a reconnu fort exactement que  des *Litanies du soleil* est pronom personnel absolu de la seconde personne du singulier. J'étais en train de préparer pour la *Zeitschrift* un mémoire sur le même sujet, quand son article m'est parvenu.

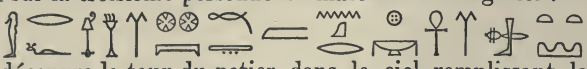
Dictionnaire, il devait avoir le sens de “ ressembler, être semblable à.” Est-ce bien ce sens qu’il faut attribuer à la locution  de l’expression que voici :¹     employée à l’adresse de la déesse Hathor? Je ne le pense pas. Et puisque une expression parallèle qui provient du même texte, offre ceci :    “Tu es la mère de dieu,” je n’hésite pas à rendre l’autre par : “Tu es la puissante.” A Dendérah, nous trouvons des exemples innombrables,² où la locution   +  s’emploie exactement comme  simple “toi” et dans le rôle habituel de , , .

Mais nous n’avons pas uniquement recueilli des preuves, où la locution   se construit avec le suffixe  pour former un pronom absolu de la seconde personne du féminin du singulier, nous en avons également ramassé pour la plupart des autres personnes. Je tiens à les donner ici

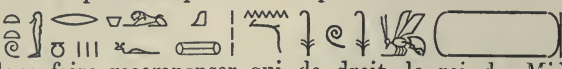
(a) Pour la première personne du singulier :—



            

(c) Pour la troisième personne du masculin du singulier :—



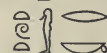
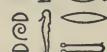


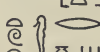
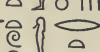
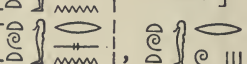
 "Lui, il découvre le tour du potier dans le ciel, remplissant la terre de poudre d'or, se manifestant à l'Orient."¹



(d) Pour la première personne du pluriel :—

 "Nous allons faire recompenser qui de droit, le roi du Midi et du Nord."²

Jusqu'ici, je n'ai point noté des exemples pour la seconde et la troisième personnes du pluriel, mais l'analogie me semble parler en faveur de deux formes  ou , quant à elles.











Je ne crois donc pas être trop hardi, en demandant de la place à la grammaire égyptienne pour une nouvelle série de pronoms absolus que je voudrais arranger de la sorte :—

1 ^{re}	pers. sing. masc.		"je, moi."
"	"	fém.	 tut-er-et, "je, moi" ?
2 ^e	"	masc.	 "tu, toi."
"	"	fém.	 "tu, toi."
3 ^e	"	masc.	 "il, lui."
"	"	fém.	 "elle, lui."]
1 ^{re}	"	plur.	 "nous."
2 ^e	"	"	 "vous."]
3 ^e	"	"	 "ils, eux."]

Il faut ajouter que ce paradigme ne se voit que dans des textes de basses époques. Le  qui, sur les monuments de cette espèce, s'échange souvent contre , n'est jamais modifié de la sorte, quant au pronom nouveau.

¹ DÜMICHEN, *Tempel-Inschriften*, i., xxxviii.-xlii., 6 fois.

² PIEHL, *Nouvelle Série*, Pl. cxxv., 4.

Pour expliquer l'origine du pronom nouveau, je dois recourir à une hypothèse. Il est connu d'un côté que le verbe ancien  quelquefois revêt la forme  sans *t* final. De l'autre côté, l'égyptien possède un paradigme pronominal , , &c., &c. Il me semble que la nouvelle forme pronominale est un *compromis* ("Compromiss-form") entre les deux. Je ne nie d'ailleurs pas que le  de  , &c., ne puisse résulter du sens "ressembler, rapprocher," que nous connaissons pour le groupe . On pourrait en parlant philosophiquement à la rigueur désigner la combinaison de signes   comme une *marque de ressemblance*, ou disons une *marque d'identité*, entre le pronom suffixe et l'expression qui le suit.

III.

UN ROI DE LA XIV^E DYNASTIE.

PAR

EDOUARD NAVILLE,

Professeur à l'Université de Genève.





SUR la rive droite de la branche du Nil qui se jette dans la mer à Damiette, non loin de la ville de Mit Ghamr, au centre d'une région d'une admirable fertilité, s'élèvent les buttes immenses que les Égyptiens nomment Tell Mokdam. Quoique, de même que dans tout le reste de l'Égypte, ces buttes aillent chaque jour en diminuant parce que les Fellahs viennent y chercher du *sebakh* pour fumer leurs terres, elles atteignent encore une grande hauteur, et recouvrent une surface de plusieurs centaines de feddans, ce qui montre que la ville dont elles sont les restes devait avoir une population considérable. Le temple dont l'emplacement est encore visible a été entièrement détruit. Il n'en reste rien ; il avait été construit en pierre calcaire et les fouilles que j'y ai tentées n'ont donné aucun résultat. En revanche j'ai trouvé les traces d'un petit sanctuaire dans la partie Nord de la ville. Ce petit sanctuaire, qui remontait peut-être à la xii^e dynastie, fut appelé par Osorkon II. "la maison de Karoama," sa femme. J'y ai trouvé les bases de deux statues d'Ousertesen III. en calcaire rouge et des fragments de statues de Ramsès II. en granit rose.

M. Jacques de Rougé a déterminé récemment le nom grec de Tell Mokdam ;¹ c'est *Leontopolis*, qui sous les Ptolémées devait faire partie du nome d'Athribis, et qui probablement supplanta la capitale ; car Athribis n'est pas nommé dans la liste bilingue des évêchés, elle ne se trouve ni dans le copte, ni dans l'arabe tandis que dans cette dernière liste est mentionné le grand village de Saharagt el Koubra, tout près de Tell Mokdam.

Dans ces monticules de terre qui furent autrefois les grandes villes de l'Égypte les trouvailles les plus intéressantes sont souvent faites d'une manière toute fortuite. Des Fellahs creusant pour le *sebakh* découvrent une statue ou une stèle que dans l'antiquité on avait déjà

¹ Géog. de la Basse Égypte, p. 62.

enlevée au temple, et peut-être brisée pour en faire un angle de mur, une seuil de porte, ou une marche d'escalier ; c'est ce qui arriva en 1860 à Tell Mokdam. Les Fellahs trouvèrent dans une maison la base d'un colosse assis en granit noir. Mariette le signala à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres dans une lettre adressée à M. Alfred Maury en date de 26 février 1861.¹ "Au premier abord," dit il, "rien ne recommande ce fragment à l'étude de l'archéologue, et en effet il est difficile, quand on ne l'a pas étudié à fond, d'y voir autre chose qu'une statue royale ornée sur toutes les faces de son siège d'hieroglyphes profonds qui révèlent le nom de Ménéphthah. Mais lorsqu'on l'étudie de près, on ne tarde pas à reconnaître que Ménéphthah n'a été que le second usurpateur." Le roi pour lequel cette statue a été élevée appartenait sans doute à la xii^e ou la xiii^e dynastie. Son nom était sur le côté du trône, le long des jambes et des pieds. Le premier nom a été gratté et a été remplacé par un autre que depuis Mariette on a toujours considéré comme étant celui d'un roi Hyksos, parce qu'on croyait y reconnaître le nom de Set ou Sutekh, le dieu des Pasteurs.

Mariette envoya des estampages de ces cartouches à Déveria, qui en publia le facsimile dans sa "Lettre à M. Aug. Mariette sur quelques monuments relatifs aux Hyksos."² Déveria aussi croyait reconnaître dans le premier signe du cartouche l'animal typhonien assis, qui est l'emblème de Set ou Sutekh. Ebers a rétabli par conjecture un nom complet  qu'il croit être celui de Salatis connu par les auteurs grecs.³ Le facsimile a été publié une seconde fois dans la collection des monuments divers recueillis en Égypte et en Nubie,⁴ commencée par Mariette et achevée par M. Maspero. L'examen de ces deux publications montre qu'il y a trente ans la statue était en meilleur état qu'aujourd'hui. Elle s'est mal trouvée d'avoir été abandonnée aux Fellahs pendant si longtemps. Presque toute l'inscription qui était le long du pied gauche a été brisée ; tout ce qui était au dessous du disque  appartenant à l'expression   qui précède le cartouche a disparu. Le cartouche lui-même n'existe plus de ce côté-là ; il est vrai que d'après le facsimile il était presque illi-

¹ Rev. Arch., nouv. série, iii. p. 338.

² Rev. Arch., iv. p. 259.

³ Ebers, Aegypten und die Bücher Moses, p. 202. Meyer, Set Typhon, p. 56. Lauth, Aeg. Vorzeit., p. 229.

⁴ Pl. 63. Dans les deux publications, celle de Déveria et celle de Mariette, la place des inscriptions est indiquée à faux ; on s'est trompé de côté, ce qui est à droite devait être à gauche et l'inverse. Il est vrai que, contrairement à l'habitude, les hieroglyphes ne regardent pas la statue, mais lui tournent le dos.

Nehasi qui est mentionné en tête du 97^e fragment du papyrus de Turin. Chose curieuse, dans ces trois cas le nom de *Nehasi* est écrit avec une particularité graphique dont je ne connais pas d'autre exemple, et qui n'est pas conforme à l'orthographe habituelle. L'oiseau



dont la valeur phonétique est *neh*, est suivi du point ¹, quoiqu'en même temps il soit accompagné de son complément ². C'est ce point ¹ qui avait induit en erreur Mariette et Dévéria; ils le prenaient pour une partie de la queue de l'animal typhonien. Il y a eu donc un roi d'Égypte qui portait le nom de *Nehasi le Nègre*, et un roi n'est pas arrivé au trône par droit de conquête, puisque à Sâh nous le trouvons n'étant encore que l'aîné des princes royaux, c'est-à-dire l'héritier légitime de la couronne. Ce qui montre aussi que ses droits au souverain pouvoir étaient bien fondés, c'est que nous trouvons son cartouche dans le papyrus de Turin. Dans ce dernier document le commencement du cartouche est déchiré; ce qui manque c'est sans doute le disque ☉ par lequel débutent tous ceux de cette série. *Ra Nehasi* c'est-là une sorte d'abréviation très en usage dans le papyrus de Turin. Au lieu de citer deux cartouches, on a fait un seul dans lequel le nom propre est précédé de *Ra*; nous avons ainsi *Ra Apepi*, *Ra Ousertesen*.

Nehasi a été rangé par Lepsius dans la xiv^e dynastie, par Lauth et Lieblein² dans la xiii^e. Tous deux supposent qu'il a dû régner en Haute Égypte. Lieblein le classe dans la série des princes de la xiii^e dynastie, qui occupaient encore Thèbes et les environs quand les Hyksos avaient déjà conquis la Basse Égypte. Le papyrus de Turin est en si mauvais état qu'il est impossible de tracer la limite entre les dynasties xiii et xiv, à supposer qu'elle y fût indiquée. Cependant l'arrangement des fragments de ce document est assez certain pour qu'on puisse affirmer que *Nehasi* était un des nombreux princes qui se placent entre la xii^e dynastie et les Hyksos, et qui formaient la xiii^e et la xiv^e dynastie de Manéthon. L'historien de Sebennyte donne à la xiii^e dynastie 60 rois, et à la xiv^e 76, ce qui indique une époque troublée et où les règnes furent courts. Cependant celui de *Nehasi* doit avoir duré plus d'un an, puisque dans le papyrus de Turin le signe d'année se voit encore à la suite de son nom.

Quant à la race à laquelle appartenait le roi *Nehasi*, je ne vois pas de raison de douter que ce fût un véritable nègre. Le signe } qui fait partie de son nom et qui est la marque de l'étranger, me paraît indiquer que c'était bien un noir venu du Haut Nil, un habitant du


¹ Aeg. Vorzeit, p. 218.



² Chron., p. 120.

“vil Kousch.” L’inscription de Tanis le mentionne déjà comme fils royal, premier né. Il est donc probable que son père et sa mère, ou tout au moins l’un de ses parents était de race nègre. Devons-nous donc supposer que pendant cette période si peu connue qui précéda l’invasion des Hyksos, une des causes de trouble et d’anarchie ce furent des invasions nègres? Les noirs de l’Éthiopie réussirent ils avant les envahisseurs de l’Orient à s’emparer du trône de l’Égypte? Ce qui viendrait à l’appui de cette supposition c’est le fait que pendant la xii^e et la xiii^e dynasties presque toutes les campagnes des Pharaons furent dirigées contre la Nubie et les nègres qui devaient donc être plus ou moins menaçants; et l’on pourrait croire que par l’un de ces retours de la fortune si fréquents dans l’histoire des empires, les nègres, après avoir été longtemps battus et opprimés, auraient eu leur tour et seraient arrivés à faire la conquête de l’Égypte, et non-seulement de la partie supérieure de la vallée, mais aussi du Delta. Il est bien possible que le rôle que les Éthiopiens ont joué dans l’histoire d’Égypte soit plus considérable que nous ne le supposons. Hérodote nous raconte que les prêtres lui avaient énuméré d’après un livre, trois cent trente noms de rois successeurs de Ménès. Dans cette longue suite de générations, nous dit-il, il y eut dix-huit rois éthiopiens, et une reine. Ces rois avaient tous précédé Moeris, le dernier et le plus illustre, qui fit creuser le lac qui porta son nom. Malgré le peu de confiance que mérite la chronologie d’Hérodote, le nombre de rois éthiopiens qu’il mentionne est peut-être une preuve que les invasions éthiopiennes ont été plus fréquentes que nous ne le pensions, et que ce n’est pas seulement à partir de la xxiv^e dynastie que ces étrangers ont été puissants dans le royaume des Pharaons.

Ce qui peut nous avoir induits en erreur à cet égard en nous empêchant d’assigner à plusieurs des rois, dont nous avons des monuments, leur origine véritable, c’est le fait que j’ai signalé ailleurs,¹ la répugnance qu’éprouvaient les Égyptiens à représenter le type nègre, lorsqu’il s’agissait d’autres personnes que de prisonniers, de vassaux ou d’esclaves. En dépit du rang qu’il occupait, qu’il eût conquis le trône ou qu’il fût prêtre attaché à l’une des divinités d’Égypte, le vil Kousch ne devait pas dans les sculptures se montrer sous ses traits véritables. La preuve la plus frappante de cette antipathie ce sont les représentations d’un des rois éthiopiens les plus puissants, Tahraka, l’adversaire persévérant des conquérants Assyriens. Dans les nombreuses sculptures qu’il nous a laissées, au Gebel Barkal et ailleurs, il a l’air d’être un égyptien pur sang. La type de sa figure ne diffère en rien


¹ The Festival-hall of Bubastis, p. 24.

de celui des Pharaons indigènes, et même dans ses bas-reliefs on voit qu'il a pris pour modèles les monuments de la xii^e dynastie, qui étaient sans doute les plus nombreux dans cette région du Haut Nil. Si de là nous passons aux monuments assyriens, et en particulier à la belle stèle trouvée à Sendjerli, maintenant au Musée de Berlin, nous y voyons le roi Tahraka parmi les vaincus du roi d'Assyrie avec le type nègre le mieux caractérisé. Il n'y a pas à s'y tromper ; d'après Essarhaddon Tahraka est un nègre. Or nous ne voyons guère ce qui aurait engagé le roi d'Assyrie à faire de Tahraka un nègre s'il ne l'était pas en réalité ; et entre les deux témoignages il me semble que c'est celui de l'ennemi qui est le plus digne de foi. Autre exemple : dans les sculptures de la grande fête de Bubastis nous voyons à plusieurs reprises intervenir les  Anu de Nubie, qui paraissent avoir eu un emploi dans le temple. Quoique nous ne puissions pas affirmer que les Anu fussent tous des nègres, cependant nous les voyons représentés comme tels dans plusieurs listes de prisonniers dont la plus frappante date d'Aménophis II.¹ Cependant à Bubastis les Anu ne diffèrent en rien des Égyptiens indigènes. Il est donc vraisemblable que si nous avions encore l'une des statues que Nehasi érigea à l'honneur du dieu Set, nous n'y verrions pas le type nègre. En tous cas la statue qui nous a conservé son cartouche ne l'avait pas, car ainsi que Mariette l'avait déjà reconnu le nom de Nehasi ne s'y trouve que par usurpation.

Dans les deux cas où nous rencontrons le nom de Nehasi, sur la pierre de Sâh et sur la statue de Tell Mokdam, à en croire la publication de Mariette, car, ainsi que nous l'avons dit plus haut, cette partie de l'inscription n'existe plus, nous voyons que ce roi était un adorateur de Set, la divinité du Delta. Il semblerait donc qu'il avait adopté le culte local. C'est du reste ce que firent volontiers les conquérants éthiopiens. Ils se plièrent promptement au culte égyptien, ils paraissent n'en avoir pas eu d'autre, car dans les inscriptions de Piankhi ou de Tahraka nous ne voyons mentionner aucune divinité qui fût propre à ces souverains étrangers, et qui n'appartînt pas au panthéon égyptien. Sur la pierre de Sâh, Set est appelé  litt. *le maître de l'entrée des champs*. Ce nom  indique certainement une région qui était à l'extrême limite des terrains cultivés et habités par une population sédentaire et non par des nomades. C'est peut-être la région de Sâh ou les environs de cette ville. Il est possible qu'il

¹ Leps., Denkm., iii. 63.

faut voir dans ce nom de *Set roahtu* l'origine du nom de *Séthroïte* sur lequel on discute encore aujourd'hui. Ce nom viendrait donc non d'une localité mais d'un dieu, comme cela se voit dans d'autres cas.

Quant au nom  Avaris qui se trouve dans la publication de Mariette, ce serait à ma connaissance la plus ancienne mention de ce nom, s'il remontait vraiment à Nehasi ; car il est bien possible que ce soit une restitution faite par Ménéphthah, qui a usurpé la statue, et qui l'a dédiée lui-même à Set d'Avaris,¹ comme on le voit par l'inscription gravée sur le dos. Ménéphthah donnait volontiers au dieu cette qualification, lorsqu'il lui élevait un monument, ou surtout lorsqu'il s'attribuait l'œuvre de l'un de ses prédécesseurs.² Je ne crois pas que ce nom date de Nehasi, car si Avaris a été la ville des Hyksos, on ne comprend guère comment elle apparaîtrait déjà à la xiv^e dynastie.

Ainsi l'étude du monument de Tell Mokdam nous a conduit à y retrouver non un roi Hyksos, mais un Pharaon d'une époque antérieure aux conquérants Asiatiques. En outre, le fait que ce roi se nomme "le Nègre," et qu'il est indiqué comme étant un étranger, nous porterait à croire que les troubles qui signalèrent l'époque peu connue s'étendant de la xiii^e dynastie aux Hyksos n'étaient pas dus uniquement aux invasions d'Asiatiques venus de l'orient. Il faut peut-être placer à cette époque des invasions éthiopiennes et une domination plus ou moins prolongée de la race nègre.

¹ Mar., Mon., Pl. 63 a.

² Petrie, Tanis, Pl. ii. 5 a.

IV.

DIE ETRUSKISCHEN MUMIENBINDEN

DES

AGRAMER NATIONAL-MUSEUMS.

VON

PROF. DR. J. KRALL.

IN der ältesten Geschichte Italiens haben die Etrusker oder Tyrsener, wie sie die Griechen nannten, eine ausschlaggebende Rolle gespielt. Weit über die Grenzen ihrer engeren Heimat, welche noch heute ihren Namen führt, sind sie erobernd vorgedrungen. Als Rom die Könige vertrieb, stand Etrurien auf der Höhe der Macht. Wir wissen, dass König Porsena Rom bezwang, dass die mit den Karthagern verbündete tyrsenische Flotte ein Schrecken des westlichen Mittelmeeres war. Es gibt hieroglyphische Inschriften aus der Zeit Ramses III., aus dem Anfange des zwölften vorchristlichen Jahrhunderts, welche von kühnen Plünderungszügen von "Völkern des Meeres"¹ und unter diesen an hervorragender Stelle der Turscha's nach Syrien und Aegypten zu erzählen wissen. Wenn es gestattet wäre, wie dies von hervorragenden Forschern geschieht, diese Turscha's mit den Tyrsenern zusammenzustellen, so läge hier ein für die älteste griechisch-römische Geschichte höchwichtiges Datum vor.

Aber nicht in der politischen Geschichte liegt das Hauptinteresse, welches uns an das etruskische Volk fesselt. Es liegt vielmehr darin, dass uns trotz zahlreicher, seit dem Ende des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts fortgesetzter scharfsinniger Untersuchungen die Sprache und die ethnographische Zugehörigkeit der Etrusker ein völliges Räthsel ist. Die etruskische Sprache ist schon im Alterthume ausgestorben. Seit den punischen Kriegen gewann das Lateinische in Etrurien immer mehr an Ausbreitung und verdrängte in der Kaiserzeit das Etruskische gänzlich. Wir wissen, dass in der Zeit

¹ Zu der Namensform der in diesem Völkerkreise so oft genannten Schakalscha vgl. den kleinasiatischen Stadtnamen Sagalassos.

Cicero's und August's das Etruskische noch in Uebung war, aus späterer Zeit ist keine etruskische Inschrift mehr nachweisbar. Die Ansicht der alten Schriftsteller ging dahin, "dass die Etrusker keinem Volk an Sprache und Sitte gleich seien."

Die reiche Literatur der Etrusker ist spurlos untergegangen. Was uns bisher an etruskischen Texten vorlag, waren im Wesentlichen kurze Grabschriften, welche nur Namen, Titel und Altersangaben der Verstorbenen enthalten. So ist es begreiflich, dass die Forschung ganz im Dunkeln tappte und die widersprechendsten Ansichten über die "etruskische Frage" sich geltend machen konnten. "Auf die Stammesverwandtschaft mit dem Etruskischen," sagt Mommsen in seiner römischen Geschichte, "sind die verschiedensten Idiome bald mit der einfachen bald mit der peinlichen Frage, aber alle ohne Ausnahme vergeblich befragt worden, selbst mit dem Baskischen, an das den geographischen Verhältnissen nach, noch am ersten gedacht werden könnte, haben entscheidende Analogien sich nicht heraus gestellt." Man hat das Etruskische für Keltisch, Irisch, Skandinavisch, Alt-deutsch, Slavisch, Sanskrit, Armenisch, Baskisch, Semitisch speciell Hebräisch, Turanisch erklärt.

Die Irrwege, denen die Forschung auf diesen Gebieten ausgesetzt ist, zeigten die Arbeiten der letzten Jahrzehnte. In einem zwei starke Bände füllenden Werke "Die Sprache der Etrusker" hat der ausgezeichnete Sprachforscher W. Corssen den Versuch gemacht, die Verwandtschaft des Etruskischen mit den italischen Sprachen nachzuweisen. Dieser Versuch muss als gescheitert angesehen werden. "Noch vor wenigen Jahren," sagt Gardthausen, "hat die Sphinx ein neues Opfer gefordert, als einer unserer ersten Sprachforscher sich daran wagte, das Räthsel der etruskischen Sprache zu lösen und mit seinem Leben dafür büssen musste, dass er das lösende Wort nicht gefunden." Von den beiden Forschern, welche am schärfsten die Ergebnisse von Corssen bekämpft haben, beharrt der eine, K. Pauli, noch immer auf seinem negativen Standpunkte, während der andere, W. Deecke, dem Corssen'schen Standpunkte sich genähert hat.

Wenn sich nun die gegründete Aussicht eröffnet, in dieser schwierigen Frage vorwärts zu kommen, und die Hoffnung sich regt, dass es gelingen dürfte, den Schleier, welcher das Etruskische bedeckt, zu lüften, so verdanken wir dies dem glücklichen Umstande, dass uns von ganz unerwarteter Seite Beistand erwächst.

Eine Mumie ist dem geweihten Boden Aegyptens, dem wir in den letzten Jahrzehnten schon so viele Ueberraschungen verdanken, entstiegen, um Licht in das Dunkel zu bringen. "Ein Paar Seiten

eines etruskischen Buches würden bessere Dienste für die Entzifferung leisten, als die Namensregister, die wir den Nekropolen entnehmen." Rascher, als man erwarten konnte, ist dieser Wunsch H. Nissen's in Erfüllung gegangen.

Die Mumie wurde etwa 1849 von dem aus Slavonien gebürtigen königl. ungarischen Hofconcipisten Michael v. Barich (Barić) von Aegypten nach Wien gebracht, und kam nach dessen 1859 erfolgten Tode als Geschenk ins Agramer Nationalmuseum. Bei der Abwicklung der Mumie, welche wahrscheinlich M. v. Barich selbst vorgenommen hat, und die sicherlich 1865 schon vollzogen war, kamen neben einer Menge unbeschriebener auch beschriebene Binden von über 13 Meter Länge zum Vorschein. Die ersten Beobachter hielten die arg verwischte Schrift dieser Binden für Hieroglyphenschrift. Im Winter 1868/69 wurde Heinrich Brugsch, der eben mit der Beschreibung der interessanten ägyptischen Sammlung des Agramer Museums beschäftigt war, auf diese Binden aufmerksam. Er erkannte sofort, dass hier keine ägyptische Schrift vorlag, konnte aber wegen des Mangels an Hilfsmitteln nichts näheres über die Schrift selbst aussagen. Arbeiten auf anderen Gebieten hinderten Brugsch diesen merkwürdigen Fund weiter zu verfolgen, er musste sich begnügen, befreundete Gelehrte, unter diesen den bekannten Reisenden R. F. Burton, auf denselben aufmerksam zu machen. Dieser meinte in dem rätselhaften Texte eine Uebersetzung des Tottenbuches in einen arabischen Dialekt vor sich zu haben.

In dem Kataloge der Agramer ägyptischen Sammlung, welcher auf Grund der Angaben von Brugsch in dem ersten Hefte der "Kroatischen Revue" von Herrn Dr. J. v. Bojničić veröffentlicht ist, wird dieses Denkmal folgendermassen beschrieben: "In einem Glaskasten stehend die ihrer Bandagen entkleidete Mumie einer jungen Frau. Sie wurde durch Michael Barić aus Aegypten gebracht. In einem anderen Glaskasten werden die zu ihr gehörigen Mumienbinden bewahrt, welche vollkommen mit bisher unbekannten und unentzifferten Schriftzeichen bedeckt sind. Als einziges Zeugniß einer bisher unbekannten ägyptischen (?) Schriftart gehören diese Binden unter die hervorragendsten Schätze unseres Nationalmuseums."

Durch diese Stelle auf den Fund aufmerksam gemacht, verdanke ich es der erleuchteten Liberalität der hohen k. kroatischen Landesregierung, dass ich die Binden durch über ein Jahr in Wien in den Räumen der k. k. Universitätsbibliothek einer genauern Prüfung unterziehen konnte.

¹ Vgl. the Ogham-Runes and el-Mushajjar in dem XII. Bande der "Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature."

Die Untersuchung der Binden ergab, dass dieselben ursprünglich ein Ganzes bildeten, welches wir geradezu als eine Leinwandrolle (*liber linteus*) bezeichnen können. In dem jetzigen Zustande ihrer Erhaltung misst sie gegen $3\frac{1}{2}$ M. bei ca. 40 Cm. Höhe und ist ganz nach dem Muster ägyptischer Papyrusrollen in Columnen beschrieben, welche—mindestens zwölf an der Zahl—24·5 Cm. breit und rechts und links von rothen Strichen eingefasst waren. Die ägyptischen Einbalsamirer haben ohne Rücksicht auf den Text die Rolle zu Binden zerrissen, von denen fünf in elf Bruchstücken im Agramer Museum erhalten sind. Es ist daher sehr fraglich, ob die Rolle ursprünglich für die Mumie, auf welcher die Binden gefunden wurden, bestimmt war. Vielmehr ist es nicht unwahrscheinlich, dass die beschriebene Leinwandrolle als *Maculatur* ihren Weg in die Werkstatt ägyptischer Einbalsamirer fand.

Plünderungen der Nekropolen waren im alten Aegypten etwas sehr Gewöhnliches. Schon der Erbauer der grossen Pyramide von Gizeh, eines der ältesten Denkmäler von Aegypten und damit der Menschheit überhaupt, König Chufu (*Cheops*) war, wie die Anlage dieses Grabbaues zeigt, von der Sorge geplagt, wie er seine Mumie vor Beraubung schützen könnte. Wie uns erhaltene *Processacten* aus dem zwölften vorchristlichen Jahrhundert zeigen, haben sich bei den Plünderungen der thebanischen Nekropolen gelegentlich auch sehr hohe weltliche und geistliche Herren betheiligt. Von dem Ertragnisse derartiger Streifzüge werden gar manche Angehörige der niederen Stände ihr Leben kärglich gefristet haben.

Der Verbrauch der Leinwand war in den Werkstätten der Einbalsamirer ein riesiger. Die Leinwandbinden einer von Cailaud geöffneten Mumie massen 380 Meter. Es liegt auf der Hand, dass unter solchen Umständen die Einbalsamirer die Leinwand nahmen, wo sie sie fanden. Der Agramer Fund ist sonach den in den letzten Jahren in Aegypten gemachten Funden von Papyrus mit Fragmenten griechischer Dichter, welche zur Herstellung der *Cartonage* von ägyptischen Mumiensärgen gedient haben, analog.

Die nähere Prüfung des Textes ergab mir, dass hier ein etruskisches Sprachdenkmal vorliege. Die hohe Bedeutung dieses Fundes ergibt sich aus der Thatsache, dass der grösste bisher bekannte Text (auf dem Cippus von Perusia) etwa 125 Worte zählt, auf dem Agramer dagegen über 1200 Worte in etwa 200 Zeilen stehen. Anfang und Ende des Textes, sowie Anfang und Ende der einzelnen Columnen fehlen. Möglich, dass auch ursprünglich nicht mehr von der Leinwandrolle zur Umhüllung dieser Mumie verwendet wurde, möglich auch, dass bei der Abwicklung der Mumie einzelne schlecht

erhaltene beschriebene Binden (die letzteren bildeten die oberste Schichte der Umhüllung) verworfen wurden.

Ist es schon überraschend genug, wenn man plötzlich den weitaus grössten Text der räthselhaften Sprache vor sich hat, so wächst das Staunen, wenn man den Weg ins Auge fasst, auf dem uns derselbe zukommt, und man fragt, wie es denn kommt, dass ein solcher Text in Aegypten gefunden werden konnte.

Vorerst ist hier die Hypothese zu beseitigen, als ob wir ein Denkmal etwa aus der Zeit vor uns hätten, da die einleitungsweise erwähnten Turscha's in Aegypten ihr Unwesen trieben. Die Buchstabenformen unseres Textes weisen uns in eine viel spätere Zeit, in die der griechischen Herrschaft in Aegypten. Hier lenkt sich unser Blick auf Alexandria, welches durch Alexander den Grossen gegründet, unter seinen Nachfolgern in Aegypten rasch zur Weltstadt emporgeblüht war. Von dem betäubenden Menschen- und Sprachengewirre, welches in der Weltstadt Alexandria herrschte, kann man sich eine Vorstellung machen, wenn man die Verhältnisse in der kleinen Provinzialstadt Aegyptens, in Arsinoë, ins Auge fasst. Der grosse Papyrusfund von El Faijûm zeigt uns, dass gleichzeitig in Arsinoë in koptischer, griechischer, arabischer, persischer, hebräischer und syrischer Sprache geschrieben wurde. Bei den lebhaften Handelsbeziehungen, die zwischen Rom und dem Ptolemäerreiche seit Ptolemaios II. Philadelphos bestanden, hat die Annahme einer Ansiedlung etruskischer Familien in Aegypten, speciell in Alexandria, gewiss nichts Auffallendes. Dieser tuskischen Ansiedlung, welche auf ägyptischem Boden die heimischen Culte selbstverständlicherweise beibehalten hatte, entstammte jene Leinwandrolle, welche in einem freilich ganz verwahrlosten Zustande in den beschriebenen Binden der Agramer Mumie vorliegt.

Die Mumie selbst gehört, wie die Spuren einer Vergoldung an der Stirne zeigen, der griechisch-römischen Zeit an. Die Sitte des Einbalsamirens hat sich in Aegypten jedenfalls bis zum Siege des Christenthums über das Heidenthum im vierten Jahrhunderte erhalten. Wenn die Annahme richtig ist, dass die Leinwandrolle als Maculatur in die Werkstatt der Einbalsamirer kam, so liegt es auf der Hand, dass die Mumie mit Etrurien in gar keinem Zusammenhange steht. Wenn dagegen, was aus mehreren Gründen weniger wahrscheinlich ist, die Leinwandrolle speciell für die Mumie bestimmt war, so müssten wir annehmen, dass uns hier ein Glied des etruskischen Stammes vorliegt. Für alle einschlägigen Fragen wäre, wie man sieht, eine genaue anthropologische Prüfung der Agramer Mumie von der grössten Bedeutung.

Es ist natürlich, dass bei einem Denkmale, welches nach allen Seiten hin als ein Unicum sich darstellt, von welchem Georg Ebers in einer ersten Mittheilung (Beilage der Münchner "Allgemeinen Ztg." vom 7. Jänner 1892) mit Recht sagt, dass in jüngster Zeit kein Denkmal gefunden wurde, an das "sich mehr und schwerer zu beantwortende Fragen" knüpften, auch der Zweifel sich regt und die Frage der Echtheit desselben aufgeworfen wird. Die Echtheit des Denkmals ergibt sich aus folgenden Erwägungen. H. Brugsch, der Mumie und Binden zuerst einer näheren wissenschaftlichen Prüfung unterzogen hat, erklärt dieselben für zweifellos echt. Denselben Eindruck haben die Binden von Anfang an auf mich gemacht. Die naturwissenschaftliche Untersuchung, welche eine Autorität auf diesem Gebiete, der hiesige Pflanzenphysiologe, Professor Julius Wiesner, vorzunehmen die Güte hatte, ergab, dass die Leinwand zweifellos altägyptisches Fabrikat sei und die Tinte, mit welcher der Text geschrieben ist, keine moderne ist, sondern mit jenen Tinten stimmt, welche auf echten Mumienbinden vorkommen. Endlich spricht der Text selbst für sich. Es liegt uns kein aus altbekannten Inschriften zusammengestoppeltes Machwerk, sondern ein nach allen Seiten unsere Kenntniss ergänzender und erweiternder Text vor. Jeder, der sich mit dem Etruskischen näher beschäftigt, erkennt dies und die Gutachten, welche ich den Herren F. Bücheler, W. Deecke und K. Pauli, welche seit vielen Jahren auf diesem Gebiete thätig sind, verdanke, beweisen es. Ein Fälscher eines solchen Denkmals müsste nicht nur auf dem Boden ägyptischer Archäologie, sondern auch auf jenem etruskischer Sprachforschung sehr zu Hause gewesen sein, ja Entdeckungen vorweggenommen haben, welche erst nach Bekanntwerden der Mumienbinden durch Brugsch gemacht wurden, er müsste sich in den Besitz einer echten altägyptischen Leinwandrolle gesetzt haben, die er zuerst nach allen Regeln ägyptischer Paläographie, auf welche wir zum Theil erst durch den Papyrusfund von El Faijûm näher aufmerksam wurden, beschrieben, dann verstümmelt, zu Binden zerrissen und auf eine echte Mumie geschmuggelt hätte, welche zudem, was verhältnissmässig sehr selten ist, den Beweis für ihre Herkunft aus griechisch-römischer Zeit deutlich an der Stirne trägt. Und dies kunstvolle Werk, das er ohne Aussicht auf materielle oder sonstige Entschädigung unternommen, hätte er rein dem Zufalle überlassen, denn ein Zufall war es, dass Brugsch auf die beschriebenen Binden aufmerksam wurde.

Die Abhandlung, welche hier vorgelegt wird, ist in dem 41. Bande der Wissenschaften der Denkschriften der hiesigen Akademie

der Wissenschaften erschienen. Sie enthält die ausführliche Fundgeschichte, die Beschreibung der Binden, die Lesung und Reconstruirung des Textes und einen Index der vorkommenden Wörter, ferner die für alle einschlägigen Fragen hochwichtigen Ergebnisse der Wiesner'schen naturwissenschaftlichen Untersuchung, endlich kleinere und grössere Beiträge von Deecke (Mülhausen im Elsass), Ebner (Wien), Maspero (Paris). Die schwierigen photographischen Aufnahmen der Binden sind in der von Herrn J. M. Eder geleiteten k. k. Lehr- und Versuchsanstalt für Photographie und photographisches Reproductionsverfahren hergestellt.

Ueber den Inhalt können wir vorläufig nur vermuthen, dass wir es mit einem etruskischen Ritualbuche zu thun haben. Es scheint mir zweifellos zu sein, dass uns hier nicht eine Uebersetzung eines ägyptischen Textes, speciell eines Abschnittes des Todtenbuches vorliegt. Es wird sich vor allem darum handeln, den Text aus sich selbst heraus zu entziffern. Hiebei dürften die von mir gegebenen Zusammenstellungen der Parallelstellen¹ als nützlich sich erweisen.

Die Rätsel, welche uns dieses Denkmal aufgiebt, dürften nicht so bald gelöst werden, ich glaube meine Pflicht demselben gegenüber gethan zu haben, wenn es mir gelungen ist, den Thatbestand klarzulegen und das Material in möglichst gesichteter Form den Freunden etruskischer Studien zur näheren Prüfung vorzulegen.

¹ Auch auf das vereinte Auftreten gleicher Endungen wird Gewicht zu legen sein. So der Endungen—um—e (cisum pute, cisum Sesane uslanec, hetum ale, trinum flere, huslne vinum),—a—am (esvita vacitnam, etnam aisna, hia etnam, renxzua etnam, tinšasa etnam)—i—aś (tei menaś, usi clucšraś, tei zivaś, cereni enaś, esviti enaś). Nachtragen möchte ich, dass II 4, worauf mich W. Deecke aufmerksam gemacht hat, š]velštrešc zu ergänzen ist.

V.

SARCOPHAGES ÉGYPTIENS.

PAR

VALDEMAR SCHMIDT,

Professeur à l'Université de Copenhague.

AYANT été chargé par la direction d'un musée d'antiquités—le Musée de Copenhague—de faire un catalogue raisonné des sarcophages et cercueils égyptiens de ce musée, j'ai dû regretter beaucoup qu'il n'existe pas de manuel, surtout pas de manuel illustré, où cette partie de l'archéologie égyptienne a été traitée d'une manière approfondie et exacte. Cependant il y a quelques mémoires très précieux relatifs à ce sujet : dans le catalogue du Musée de Boulaq par feu Mariette Pacha,¹ et dans un mémoire sur les cercueils égyptiens et les momies rapportés par le Prince de Galles en 1868-69, dont l'auteur est notre regretté maître, le savant docteur Samuel Birch,² on trouve des notices très instructives et très intéressantes sur cette question. Enfin, dans le catalogue général du Musée Britannique³ nous lisons des renseignements très précieux et très utiles sur ce même sujet, dus, si je ne me trompe pas, à notre vénéré président, M. P. Le Page Renouf.

Mais il y a encore bien des points qui n'ont pas été éclaircis jusqu'ici ; beaucoup de questions de détail ne sont presque pas touchées. Ajoutons que les notices que nous venons de citer ne sont pas illustrées. Il n'est donc pas chose facile de déterminer l'âge de quelques cercueils égyptiens, dont la provenance est inconnue, et que le hasard a fait réunir dans un petit musée. Le seul moyen pour parvenir à un résultat est de faire une étude comparative des cercueils égyptiens conservés dans les divers musées de l'Europe et de l'Égypte. Je viens maintenant de faire un voyage circulaire en Europe et en Égypte, et je prends la liberté de communiquer mes observations,

¹ A. Mariette, *Notice des Principaux Monuments à Boulaq*. Paris (Poitiers), 1868. 8°. La dernière édition est de 1874.

² S. Birch, "Account of Coffins and Mummies Discovered in Egypt on the Occasion of the Visit of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales in 1868-69," dans les *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, New Series, tom. x. p. 185 et suiv. London, 1873.

³ "A Guide to the Exhibition Galleries of the British Museum," pp. 99-101. London, 1892.

tout en espérant qu'un autre plus compétent que moi et meilleur connoisseur de l'ancienne Égypte se chargera bientôt de cette tâche.

Je regrette que je ne suis pas à même d'illustrer ma communication par des photographies, mais les sarcophages ne sont pas souvent placés ainsi dans les musées pour qu'on peut les faire photographier facilement. Cependant à Londres des photographies de cercueils et sarcophages égyptiens sont bien moins nécessaires que partout ailleurs : on a dans le Musée Britannique un des meilleurs choix qui existe dans le monde entier de ce genre de monuments ; presque tous les types de cercueils égyptiens sont bien représentés dans ces magnifiques galeries.

Notons d'abord qu'il y a deux types principaux de cercueils égyptiens qui existaient déjà aux premiers temps historiques, et qui se conservaient jusqu'aux derniers siècles de l'époque romaine, presque jusqu'au moment où le paganisme commença à disparaître devant le christianisme naissant. Ce sont : *le type de l'habitation* et *le type de la momie*. Ces deux formes coexistent depuis les temps les plus reculés. D'après les idées des Égyptiens il fallait assurer avant tout au mort une existence éternelle ; la condition en était *la conservation du corps*, de la momie ; mais elle pouvait être détruite. Il fallait donc lui procurer une réserve qui pouvait servir de support au *double* de l'homme, au *ka*, comme disaient les anciens Égyptiens.

Une réserve de ce genre était le cercueil affectant la forme de la momie ; il pouvait à la rigueur remplacer la momie et ainsi sauver l'homme de la mort éternelle.

Cependant il ne fallait pas seulement préserver le défunt de la destruction, il fallait aussi lui assurer une existence agréable dans l'autre monde. Par conséquent il fallait lui préparer un logement convenable, une habitation. Cette habitation, la demeure éternelle du mort, est symbolisée par le premier type de cercueil, qui est de forme rectangulaire, et qui rappelle d'une certaine manière la forme d'une maison ; aussi le motif de la décoration était-il emprunté au style d'architecture de l'époque.

Les Égyptiens qui étaient assez riches pour pouvoir payer les frais considérables se faisaient faire de ce genre de sarcophages deux cercueils qu'ils faisaient placer l'un dans l'autre : l'extérieur, de forme rectangulaire, symbolisant l'habitation, et un autre, affectant la forme de la momie, qui servait d'enveloppe au corps du mort. Ceux qui étaient moins riches se contentaient ordinairement d'un seul cercueil momieforme. Cependant la sépulture en cercueil était toujours un luxe, réservé aux classes supérieures et aux gens aisés ; la grande masse de la population devait à toute époque se con-

tenter de faire ensevelir leurs morts sans cercueils. Souvent on déposait les cadavres tout simplement dans les sables ou bien on entassait les momies dans des grottes ou catacombes, l'une au-dessous de l'autre.

Le sarcophage extérieur pouvait être en pierre ou en bois ; tous ceux qui nous restent des premières dynasties historiques sont en pierre. Les cercueils intérieurs sont toujours en bois dans les temps anciens.

Nous avons un exemple très ancien de l'usage des deux types de cercueils employés simultanément pour le même corps, l'un étant placé dans l'intérieur de l'autre : les deux sarcophages du roi Mykerinos (Menkari), qui furent découverts dans la troisième pyramide de Gizeh et envoyés en Angleterre. Le sarcophage extérieur, qui était en pierre dure, périt malheureusement en route sauf un fragment minime, qui est conservé au Musée Britannique ;¹ mais la plus grande partie du couvercle en bois fut sauvée, et aujourd'hui ce cercueil est un des trésors du Musée Britannique (6647). Il affecte la forme de la momie, quoiqu'il est peut-être un peu plus plat que les boîtes momiformes des époques suivantes. On lit sur le devant de la boîte deux colonnes verticales hiéroglyphiques qui descendent de la poitrine jusqu'aux pieds : "Osiris, roi du sud et du nord, Men-kau-ri vivant toujours. Le ciel t'a engendré, tu a été enfanté par Nut ; tu es de la race de Seb ; ta mère Nut est étendue au-dessus de toi dans son nom de la mystérieuse du ciel ! Elle t'établit comme dieu ; tu n'auras plus d'ennemis, O Men-kau-ri, roi du sud et du nord, vivant toujours." ²

Les sarcophages en pierre de l'ancien empire sont tous de forme rectangulaire, le chevet est souvent arrondi ; quelquefois le couvercle est plat ; mais il est aussi souvent voûté par dessus avec quatre oreillettes carrées aux angles. Quelquefois le sarcophage est dépourvu de tout ornement, mais souvent il présente divers ornements dont le motif est emprunté au style d'architecture de l'époque. En effet, comme nous venons de le dire, ces sarcophages symbolisent l'habitation, la demeure éternelle de l'homme ; il est, comme a dit M. Maspero, une répétition pour ainsi dire du tombeau qui également, avec ses salles diverses, a pour but de préparer au défunt une résidence agréable après la mort ; les fausses portes des tombeaux et des sarcophages sont destinées à faciliter le passage au mort dans son existence d'outre-

¹ First Egyptian Room, Case A ; *Guide*, p. 105.

² First Egyptian Room, Wall-case 1. Voir Vyse, *Pyramids of Gizeh*, ii. p. 86 et suiv. Perring, *Pyramids*, Atlas ii. pl. 5-7. Lepsius, *Denkm.*, ii. pl. 2. Lepsius, *Auswahl*, pl. 7. Lenormant, *Éclaircissement sur le Cercueil du Roi Mycerinus*, 1839. S. Birch, *Zeitschr. f. Egypt. Spr.*, t. vi. p. 49 et suiv., 1869. Voir aussi *Guide*, p. 102.

tombe, de son séjour inconnu dans "l'ouest" (Ament) à son "habitation éternelle," aussi souvent qu'il le désirerait.

Le Musée de Gizeh possède trois sarcophages en pierre, datant de la iv^e et v^e dynastie;¹ le facsimile d'un d'eux, celui de Khufa-Onkh. est au Musée Britannique. D'autres sarcophages sont encore en place dans les pyramides, par exemple celui de Khafra (Kheops).²

Les inscriptions sont très courtes; elles ne se composent que du nom et des titres du mort, précédés du mot *amkhu*, le vénéré (auprès du dieu Anubis ou Osiris).

Les cercueils de bois remontant à la iv^e et v^e dynastie sont extrêmement rares; ils paraissent avoir été détruits par l'humidité. Les grands sarcophages en pierre doivent avoir renfermé des cercueils en bois comme celui de Mykerinos, mais comme la plupart des pyramides ont été violées depuis longtemps, les cercueils des rois ont été brisés et détruits. L'étude du couvercle en bois du cercueil de Mykerinos nous apprend, que les cercueils ont été composés de plusieurs pièces et assemblées à l'aide de chevilles en bois. Mariette ne parle presque pas de découvertes de cercueils en bois dans les nombreux Mastabas, datant de la iv^e et v^e dynastie, qu'il a fouillés à Sakkara, dans la nécropole de Memphis; ces cercueils doivent avoir été détruits par l'humidité.

Il y a cependant quelques cercueils en bois qui paraissent remonter à la vi^e dynastie; ils sont très simples, n'étant que des caisses rectangulaires dépourvues de tout ornement.

En revanche, les formules hieroglyphiques deviennent souvent plus développées; la formule funéraire ordinaire adressée ordinairement à Anubis et quelquefois à Osiris commence à apparaître. Les cercueils du Musée de Ghizeh, qu'il faut attribuer à la vi^e dynastie, proviennent des environs de Memphis et d'Achmin. Les musées européens ne sont pas riches en sarcophages remontant à l'Ancien-Empire; je ne connais qu'un seul exemple, un sarcophage double en pierre du Musée de Leide (L. 1 et 2). Le sarcophage extérieur (L. 1), un beau monument de granit, présente les ornements ordinaires à rainures prismatiques; une légende hiéroglyphique sculptée sur le couvercle nous apprend, qu'il a renfermé autrefois la momie d'un certain *Min-nofre* ou *Khem-nofre*, prêtre d'Anubis.³ Le sarcophage intérieur n'est qu'une caisse rectangulaire sans aucun ornement.

Le Moyen-Empire a fourni un certain nombre de cercueils aux divers musées égyptiens. La plupart appartiennent à la xi^e dynastie,

¹ Voir *Notice sommaire du Musée de Gizeh*, 1892.

² W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh*, pp. 29-30; Lepsius, *Denkm.*, ii. 2.

³ Leemans, *Monuments de Leide*, t. iii. pl. x.

La nécropole de Drah-abu'l-Neggah à Thèbes a été la plus riche. On a découvert dans cette nécropole trois sarcophages des rois, dont les deux, ceux d'un roi *Antef* et d'un roi *Antef-aa*, sont à Paris¹ et le troisième, celui d'un autre *Antef*, est à Londres (No. 6652).² Le reste de la nécropole a été fouillé avec beaucoup de soin par M. Mariette, qui y a recueilli un nombre intéressant de monuments et d'objets divers qui sont exposés dans les galeries du Musée de Ghizeh. Le Musée de Berlin possède un cercueil en pierre d'un certain *Antef* découvert à Kurnah (Thèbes),³ et le triple cercueil en bois d'un certain *Mentuhotep*, découvert par Passalacqua.⁴ D'autres cercueils de la xi^e dynastie proviennent d'Akhmin, d'autres encore de Memphis; le Musée de Berlin possède un sarcophage double d'un certain *Apa-onkh*, découvert en 1843 à Sakkarah.⁵

Les cercueils datant de la xii^e dynastie sont rares; les sépultures des rois de cette famille n'ont pas été découvertes, exceptée celle du roi Amenemha III., trouvée par M. Petrie dans la pyramide de Havara.⁶ M. Maspero a décrit la sepulture de la reine du roi Mentuhotep IV.; elle appartient aussi à cette époque. Les cercueils des particuliers qui ont vécu sous la xii^e dynastie sont rares aujourd'hui. Cependant il y a un beau sarcophage en granit de cette époque au Musée de Florence.⁷ M. Fraser a découvert dernièrement les débris d'un grand cercueil en bois dans l'un des tombeaux de Benihassan.⁸

En somme, on rencontre au Moyen-Empire les deux mêmes types que nous connaissons déjà dans l'Ancien-Empire: le type de la momie et le type rectangulaire. Quant à ces types, le premier nous paraît avoir eu la destination de servir de réserve à la momie, au cas qu'un accident arrivât au corps du défunt; le cercueil devait alors être un support au *ka* (ou double), comme les statues des morts déposés dans les tombeaux ou dans les temples. Quant aux cercueils rectangulaires ils nous paraissent représenter l'habitation éternelle du défunt; aussi longtemps que ce cercueil existait, le mort n'était pas sans logement, sans abri. Les deux systèmes combinés, le *ka* (le double) était sûr d'avoir une réserve pour sa momie et un logement convenable appropriée à son existence d'outre-tombe.

¹ P. Pierret, *Rec. d'Inscriptions des Louvre*, pp. 85-87.

² Brit. Museum, First Egyptian Room, Wall-case D; voir *Guide*, p. 105.

³ Les textes, Lepsius, *Denkm.*, ii. 145-146; Lepsius, *Älteste Texte*, p. 22; *Verzeichniss*, p. 24 (No. 82).

⁴ Passalacqua, *Catalogue*, p. 177 et suiv. Lepsius, *Älteste Texte*, p. 22.

⁵ Les textes, Lepsius, *Denkm.*, ii. 98-99.

⁶ Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob and Havara*, pp. 16-17. London, 1890.

⁷ Un dessin a été publié par Lepsius, *Auswahl*, pl. x.

⁸ Naville, Newberry, and Fraser, *Work at Benihassan*, p. 20.

Les cercueils en forme de momie présentent le plus souvent des formes du Moyen-Empire trapues. La poitrine est ordinairement couverte d'un ornement imitant un large collier qui descend des épaules. Au-dessous est figuré un vautour aux ailes déployées ou bien le vautour et l'uræus. Le reste du cercueil est recouvert presque entièrement de longues ailes qui paraissent se rabattre sur le mort renfermé dans l'intérieur, évidemment pour le protéger contre le mal. Comme l'a expliqué il y a longtemps M. Mariette ces ailes rappellent, sans doute, le souvenir de la déesse Isis, ressuscitant son frère Osiris, tué par Set. En effet, déjà à cette époque nous voyons tous les défunts, dans les inscriptions funéraires, assimilés à Osiris. Les cercueils ornés de ce genre d'ailes sont appelés des cercueils *richi* par les Arabes.

Les cercueil du roi *Antef* au Louvre est doré, celui du roi *Antef-aa* est peint; tous les deux, comme celui du roi *Antef* à Londres, présentent des légendes hiéroglyphiques.

Le Musée Britannique possède un cercueil en bois qui affecte la forme d'une momie mais qui rappelle beaucoup la forme trapue des cercueils momiformes de la xi^e dynastie : elle peut remonter à cette dynastie, mais elle peut aussi appartenir à une époque postérieure par exemple à la xvii^e dynastie (No. 6653, wall-case 2).¹

Les cercueils momiformes de cette époque sont souvent très simples; ils paraissent presque des troncs d'arbres évidés grossièrement pour recevoir le dépôt funéraire qu'ils sont chargés de conserver; les contours du visage ne sont indiqués que d'une manière très rude. Les figurines funéraires de la xiii^e dynastie présentent exactement le même type.

Le second type (figurant une habitation) est représenté par un nombre considérable d'exemplaires. Les cercueils en pierre faits avec soin sont rares à cette époque; cependant on voit un beau spécimen au Musée de Florence.² La plupart sont en bois; ils sont tous ornés du côté gauche, tout près de la place où se trouvait la tête du défunt, des deux yeux *ouza*, le symbole de la lumière et de la vie. Quelquefois aussi les cercueils présentent des ornements avec des rainures prismatiques, etc. On voit aussi des desseins de portes par lesquelles le *ka* peut passer faire la visite à sa momie ou aller se promener à son aise. Comme dans l'Ancien-Empire, les cercueils sont quelquefois ornés de quatre oreillettes carrées aux angles, et munis d'un couvercle voûté. Mais la plupart des cercueils sont des caisses rectangulaires extrêmement simples. Une légende hiéroglyphique contenant la formule funéraire ordinaire suit le bord supérieur de la caisse; une

¹ *Guide*, p. 102.

² Voir ci-dessus.

autre ligne se lit quelquefois sur le couvercle. Cependant on lit aussi des textes plus développés; les dons funéraires, par exemple, sont souvent énumérés. Des listes de ce genre se trouvent sur plusieurs cercueils en bois du Musée de Ghizeh. Des textes tirés du *Livre des Morts* (l'ancienne rédaction) se rencontrent souvent sur les cercueils de cette époque. Lepsius a publié ceux de Berlin;¹ Birch a étudié les textes qu'on rencontre sur un cercueil du Musée Britannique.²

A côté de ces deux types de sarcophages, on rencontre encore *un troisième* type, où le cercueil est formé de grands blocs réunis par un peu de ciment et par des queues d'aronde. Le tombeau de la reine Imum, femme de Mentuhotep IV., décrit par M. Maspero, était de ce genre. M. Petrie rencontra dans sa fouille de la pyramide de Havara, comme nous venons de dire, un sarcophage analogue, probablement celui du roi Amenemha III. Quelquefois ces cercueils n'ont pas de couvercle. Le tombeau de Horhotep (Horhotpou), découvert en 1883 par M. Maspero, était de cette construction, ayant été fait avec des blocs en calcaire blanc bien parés. Il a été transporté au Musée de Ghizeh.³

Le Nouvel-Empire, c'est-à-dire la période de la xvii^e jusqu'à la xx^e ou xxi^e dynastie, est représentée par un nombre considérable de sarcophages, dont l'époque est bien déterminée. Il y a d'abord les deux grandes trouvailles de Déir-el-Bahri, celle des momies royales,⁴ et celles des membres de la famille des grands-prêtres.⁵ Viennent ensuite les grands sarcophages en pierre qui se rencontrent encore en place dans les tombeaux royaux de Thèbes, plus ou moins bien conservés; comme celui du roi Amenhotep III., du roi Ai, du roi Ramsès IV. et de Ramsès VII. D'autres ont été apportés en Europe, comme le sarcophage d'albâtre de Seti I. au Musée de Sir John Soane (à Lincolns-Inn-Fields), le sarcophage en granit de Ramsès III. au Louvre (D. 1), dont le couvercle est à Cambridge. Ce sarcophage qui affecte à peu près la forme d'un cartouche égyptien, se rapproche des types symbolisant l'habitation; le sarcophage en albâtre de Sêti I., au contraire, est momiforme. Ces sarcophages étaient vides; les cercueils

¹ Voir Lepsius, *Älteste Texte des Todtenbuchs*. Berlin.

² Birch dans *Zeitschrift f. ägypt. Sprache*, t. vii. pp. 49-53, 1869.

³ Maspero, *Trois Années de Fouilles dans les Mémoires de la Mission Archéol. du Caire*, t. i. pp. 133-180.

⁴ Voir la description exacte de cette trouvaille par M. Maspero, *Les Momies Royales de Déir-el-Bahri*, dans les *Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique du Caire*, t. i. pp. 511-789. Paris.

⁵ Une liste des cercueils par M. Daressy dans le *Supplément au Dictionnaire des Noms Propres Égyptiens*, par M. Lieblein, Christiania, 1892.

intérieurs avec les momies ont été découverts dans la cachette de Dêir-el-Bahri.¹

Outre ces cercueils royaux on rencontre dans divers musées des cercueils divers qui ont renfermé les momies de particuliers et qui doivent appartenir au Nouvel-Empire. Cependant ce n'est qu'un nombre fort restreint des cercueils datant de cette époque et découverts en Égypte qui aient été conservés; la grande majorité a été détruite, les cercueils ayant été ordinairement peu bien conservés pour être transportés en Europe.

En somme les deux types principaux constatés dans les deux premières périodes existent toujours. On rencontre encore des caisses plus ou moins rectangulaires figurant une habitation. Il y a en pierre (comme le grand sarcophage de Ramsès III. au Louvre) et il y en a en bois. Au Louvre on rencontre un cercueil de ce genre à ouillettes carrées aux angles et à couvercle voûté; il est tout noir et renferme encore un cercueil momiforme également de couleur noire. Au Musée Britannique on voit encore un cercueil rectangulaire très-simple (No. 12,270, First Egyptian Room, Case C. 1), présentant le type de la xi^e dynastie; mais en juger d'après le nom du defunt, Amenhotep, ce cercueil date des premiers temps de la xviii^e dynastie.²

Les cercueils momiformes présentent de types divers dont on peut suivre sans difficulté les développements successifs. Au début de la période on rencontre encore les cercueils *richi* avec les grandes ailes; mais ils disparaissent bientôt. Les cercueils présentant des formes plus ou moins trapues se conservent encore pendant quelque temps; le cercueil du roi *Segenn-Ra Jaaken* de la xvii^e dynastie, qui paraît avoir été tué dans une bataille avec les Hyksos,³ est de ce genre; et le cercueil intérieur de Sêti I. en bois, découvert à Dêir-el-Bahri, se rapproche du même type. Ces deux cercueils sont recouverts d'une couleur blanche; ils ne présentent que peu de légendes hiéroglyphiques et peu d'ornements.

Les cercueils de la xviii^e dynastie présentent souvent des formes assez gracieuses.⁴ Sur la poitrine on voit ordinairement la déesse Nout et au-dessous une bande verticale d'hiéroglyphes qui descend

¹ Une édition magnifique du sarcophage de Sêti I. est due à M. J. Bonomi, voir J. Bonomi et S. Sharpe, *The Sarcophagus of Oimeneptia*. London, 1864. Les textes ont été expliqués par M. P. Pierret dans la *Revue Archéol.*, Nouvelle Série, t. xix. pp. 285-306, 1870.

² *Guide*, p. 105.

³ Voir Maspero, *l. c.*

⁴ Voir par exemple le cercueil de la dame *Ta-mai* ou *Ta-ise-m-ti-iu* (No. 6661) dont nous allons parler ci-dessous.

jusqu'aux pieds; cette bande est coupée par des bandes transversales qui se continuent sur la cuve.

Dans les espaces laissés vides sur la cuve entre les bandes on voit ordinairement les figures des quatre génies funéraires de Thot et d'Anubis ainsi que les deux yeux symboliques (*ouza*), mais ils ne sont pas réunies comme à l'époque du Moyen-Empire, chacun se voit de son côté de la tête du cercueil.

Les mains ne sont pas indiqués sur les cercueils momiformes de la xviii^e dynastie; mais elles apparaissent vers la xix^e dynastie.

Les cercueils en bois de la xviii^e dynastie ainsi que souvent ceux en calcaire, sont ordinairement revêtus d'une couleur uniforme blanche ou jaune ou bien noire. Plusieurs des cercueils des rois de la xviii^e dynastie, par exemple celui du roi Amenhotep, sont peints en blanc avec des bandes verticales et transversales en couleurs.¹ Le Musée de Berlin possède le cercueil d'un certain *Meri* qui date de cette époque; le fond est d'une couleur noire très brillante; le visage est doré, les légendes le sont également.² Nous avons déjà parlé d'un cercueil noir au Louvre. Au Musée Britannique on voit un beau cercueil de femme en bois, peint en noir (No. 6661, First Egyptian Room, Wall-Case 3), ayant appartenu à la dame *Ta-mai* d'après le catalogue, d'après nous plutôt à la dame *Ta-ise-m-ti-iu* ("Isis en faisant venir"³). Un cercueil en calcaire du Musée Britannique (No. 39, Southern Egyptian Gallery, 30) date bien évidemment de la xviii^e dynastie et non pas des basses époques, comme on trouve dans le catalogue.⁴

Le Musée Britannique possède un beau sarcophage en granit noir, ayant appartenu à *Meri-Mes*, prince-gouverneur d'Ethiopie sous le roi Amenhotep III. (No. 1001, Northern Egyptian Gallery, 32).⁵

Les sarcophages de la xix^e dynastie sont en pierre et en bois comme ceux de la xviii^e, mais les mains sont presque toujours indiquées; elles tiennent ordinairement des emblèmes ou symboles. Les bandes hiéroglyphiques sont disposées comme pendant la xviii^e dynastie; les espaces ou champs laissés entre les bandes qui se croisent à angle droit sur le couvercle restent encore vides; sur la cuve, au contraire, on voit Thot, Anubis, les génies funéraires, les yeux symboliques, etc.⁶

On voit à Berlin trois jolis sarcophages en granit de cette époque; ils appartiennent à *Meriti*, officier de l'armée égyptienne,⁷ à *Pe-neter-hon*, grand-prêtre de Ptah,⁸ et à *Hori*, également grand-prêtre de Ptah.⁹

¹ Voir les photographies de Dêir-el-Bahri publiées par MM. E. Brugsch Bey et Maspero.

² Lepsius, *Verzeichniss der aegypt. Alterthümer*, p. 16. Berlin, 1886.

³ *Guide*, p. 102.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 59 : unfinished limestone sarcophagus of late date.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

⁶ Voir ci-dessus.

⁷ Lepsius, *Verzeichniss*, p. 16.

⁸ Lepsius, *l. c.*, p. 18.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

À l'Ermitage de Saint-Pétersbourg on voit un beau sarcophage en granit rouge appartenant à un certain *Nai*.¹ Le Musée Britannique possède un sarcophage en granit, destiné à un grand-prêtre de Ptah, *Pe-neter-hon*, évidemment différent de celui de Berlin, mais de la même famille (No. 18, Egyptian Central Saloon, 9).² Le couvercle d'un autre cercueil du même Musée nous paraît fournir une transition à la période suivante ; il appartient à un gouverneur d'Éthiopie, *Setau* (No. 78, Egyptian Central Saloon, 8) ; les champs laissés entre les bandes qui se croissent sur les couvercles sont ici occupés par des tableaux où *Setau* est figuré adorant des divinités.³

À côté de ces cercueils momiformes on rencontre un autre groupe, où le defunt est figuré en bas-relief couché au-dessus du couvercle, vêtu du costume civil de son époque. Au Louvre on voit deux beaux spécimens de ce type, le cercueil du scribe *Anana* (D. 2) en granit noir veiné de rose, et celui de *Thothotep* (D. 3) en granit gris.⁴ Le Musée de Ghizeh possède un couvercle en bois ayant appartenu à un certain *Piai*, qui porte une tunique tombant jusqu'aux pieds,⁵ et le cercueil en bois d'une dame Isis, vêtue d'une robe blanche et tenant une branche de lierre.⁶

On aura remarqué déjà que les formes des sarcophages correspondent exactement avec les formes des figurines funéraires des mêmes époques. Sur les figurines des premiers temps de la xviii^e dynastie les mains n'apparaissent pas, mais plus tard elles sont indiquées, étant au commencement vides et ensuite munies de divers symboles ou emblèmes. Enfin, à l'époque de la xix^e dynastie les figurines funéraires n'affectent pas toujours la forme de la momie ; elles portent souvent le costume civil de l'époque ; tous les Musées en fournissent des exemples nombreux.

Les cercueils de la xx^e dynastie sont ordinairement en bois, richement ornementés et faits avec beaucoup de soin et de goût. Ils sont tout couverts de scènes et légendes multicolores ; le tout étant englué d'un vernis jaune. L'intérieur est également couvert de scènes et légendes. Le visage de ces boîtes est ordinairement peint en jaune, quelquefois doré. Les mains sont toujours indiquées ; elles sont croisées sur le poitrine, souvent ornées de bagues simulées au moyen de morceaux d'émail incrustés dans le bois ; quelquefois les mains des cercueils destinés à des individus mâles, tiennent un rouleau de papyrus.

On lit les noms du roi Amenhotep⁷ sur un certain nombre de ces

¹ Golenischeff, *Le Musée Impérial de l'Ermitage : Collection Egyptienne*.

² *Guide*, p. 57.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

⁴ Voir E. de Rougé, *Notice*, pp. 176-177.

⁵ *Notice Sommaire du Musée de Ghizeh*, p. 196.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 189.

⁷ *Guide*, p. 99.

cercueils ; par exemple, sur le cercueil No. 22,542 du British Museum (First Egyptian Room, Wall-case 12), sur les cercueils M. 2, M. 3, et M. 5 de Leide ;¹ sur un cercueil du Musée de Lord Amherst à Didlington Hall ; à Saint-Petersbourg (778),² à Vienne le cercueil de Nesipaheinhath,³ à Helsingfors,⁴ à Rome et à Turin (2236, le cercueil de Butehamon).⁵ Les cercueils de ce roi ne sont pas contemporains. Au contraire, plusieurs nous paraissent plutôt dater d'une époque très tardive de la xx^e dynastie. Le roi Amenhotep I. était considéré comme une divinité protectrice de la nécropole de Thèbes. Les nombreuses stèles où il est figuré adoré comme un dieu le prouvent suffisamment. Il était donc tout naturel de mettre son nom sur les cercueils.

Les cercueils multicolores ou polychromes appartiennent pour la plupart à la xx^e dynastie ; on s'en servait aussi pendant la xxi^e. Ils remontent probablement à la xix^e dynastie. Le Musée de Berlin possède un cercueil de ce genre appartenant à un certain *Bakenkhonsu* ; il est attribué à la xix^e dynastie par MM. les conservateurs du Musée.

Les cercueils multicolores sont souvent doubles ou triples, l'un emboîté dans l'autre ; ils sont presque toujours tous les trois momiformes, et ils sont tous ornements de la même manière ; rarement le cercueil extérieur est un sarcophage à oreillettes carrées et à couvercle en dos d'âne. La momie déposée dans les triples, doubles ou simple cercueils est souvent de plus entourée d'un cartonnage.

Tous les musées d'Europe possèdent de cercueils multicolores ; les deux grandes trouvailles de Dér-el-Bahri en ont fourni encore un nombre considérable. Ces monuments demandent une étude exacte et détaillée, mais nous ne pouvons nous en occuper maintenant.⁶ Nous remarquons seulement que les couleurs dont on se sert pour la décoration des caisses multicolores sont d'abord le jaune, le rouge, le vert et une couleur très foncée, nuance de noir. Le blanc n'apparaît au commencement que dans l'intérieur ; l'usage en est très restreint, mais peu à peu nous voyons le blanc se répandre et occuper de plus en plus de terrain. Enfin, le blanc apparaît aussi sur le côté extérieur des cercueils, par exemple sur le cercueil de la reine *Isis-em-kheb*.⁷ Le blanc de la xx^e dynastie et du commencement de la xxi^e est très brillant,

¹ Voir Leemans, *Monuments de Leide*, t. iii. M. 2, pl. iii. ; comp. *Descript. Raisonnée*, p. 151.

² Golenischeff, *Ermitage : Collection Egyptienne*, p. 110.

³ *Kunsthistorische Sammlungen*, p. 38, Wien.

⁴ Lieblein, *Aegypt. Denkmäler*, pp. 63-71, avec pl. xiii.-xv.

⁵ De Rossi, *Regio Museo*, p. 311.

⁶ Des dessins exactes de trois sarcophages multicolores ont été publiés par Leemans, *Monuments de Leide*, t. iii. M. pl. i.-xxiv. ; la description d'un cercueil de ce genre appartenant à un certain Amenhotep : *Recueil de Travaux*, t. xv. pp. 3-11. Paris, 1893.

⁷ Maspero, *Momies Royales* dans les *Mémoires*, l. c., pp. 577-578.

et il s'est conservé d'une manière merveilleuse.¹ Mais peu à peu le blanc devient moins brillant, vers la fin de la période il est presque grisâtre. Le blanc se rencontre souvent sur le cartonnage des momies ; à l'époque de la décadence (derniers temps de la xxi^e, et probablement au commencement de la xxii^e), on voit souvent plusieurs divinités ailées peintes sur le cartonnage et sur les cercueils intérieurs. Au Louvre on voit plusieurs cartonnages de ce genre exposés au milieu de la salle funéraire, par exemple celui de *Au-nf-mut* (1258).²

Avant de quitter le Nouvel-Empire nous devons remarquer que les types dont nous venons de parler ne sont pas les seuls employés ; il y en a à chaque époque des cercueils très simples, sans ornement, de forme carrée et momiformes. Des cercueils momiformes, fond nu, mais assez bien faits et ornés seulement d'une ligne hiéroglyphe, peinte en vert ou en bleu, et qui suit le bord supérieur de la cuve, peuvent aussi remonter à la xx^e dynastie. Enfin, il faut nommer comme des cercueils tout-à-fait extraordinaires les deux sarcophages gigantesques découvertes à Dér-el-Bahri, destinés l'une à la reine *Nofr-ari*, l'autre à la reine *Aah-hotep* ;³ elles appartiennent au commencement de la xviii^e dynastie.

Nous passons maintenant à la xxii^e dynastie, dont les rois ont régné sur l'Égypte de 950 à 725 environ. La nécropole royale n'a pas été découverte. Il est vrai que nous possédons quelques cercueils appartenant à des descendants de la famille royale de la xxii^e dynastie, mais ils appartiennent tous aux derniers temps de la dynastie, au viii^e siècle. Le Louvre possède le sarcophage extérieur de la Princesse *Iri-bast-uza-nef*, décrit par Devéria,⁴ et le cercueil de son fils, le prêtre Pima, tous les deux descendants du roi Tiglat ou Takelothis II. Ces cercueils diffèrent beaucoup de ceux de la xx^e dynastie. On voit que les idées et les modes ont bien changé depuis la xx^e dynastie. M. Mariette et M. Petrie ont fouillé plusieurs tombeaux qu'ils attribuent à la xxii^e dynastie, mais la plupart des cercueils découverts par eux ont été trop mal conservés pour être transportés et exposés dans les Musées. Cependant grâce aux observations exactes de ces savants et excellents explorateurs, nous pouvons nous faire une idée des cercueils employés en Égypte pendant la domination de cette dynastie. Au commencement on se servait encore des cercueils multicolores, mais les couleurs étaient déjà peu brillantes ; les divinités ailées prédominaient comme ornementation ; les cartonnages étaient peints en blanc,

¹ Les figurines funéraires de la même époque sont d'un bleu très brillant.

² L'autre placée à côté paraît anonyme ; le cercueil d'un certain *Onkh-pe-khrod*, appartient probablement aussi à la xxii^e dynastie.

³ Maspero, l. c., pp. 535-536, et 544-545 et pl. v.

⁴ *Revue Archéologique*, Nouvelle Série, t. viii. p. 7 et suiv. Paris, 1863.

mais un blanc très pale. Les légendes hiéroglyphiques qu'on lit sur l'extérieur de ces cercueils sont souvent peintes en bleu sur fond blanc; le blanc devient toujours moins brillant; les contours des hiéroglyphes bleues paraissent rehaussés d'une couleur un peu plus foncée. Le cercueil de la Princesse *Iri-bast* au Louvre donne un bon exemple de la manière dont les légendes hiéroglyphiques sont peintes en l'an 800 environ avant Jésus-Christ. Un autre sarcophage en bois du Louvre, appartenant à la dame *Ta-sheps-ne khonsu*, est tout à fait analogue à celui de la Princesse *Iri-bast*, et doit être de la même époque. Ces deux sarcophages sont de forme rectangulaire avec quatre oreillettes carrées aux angles et avec couvercle en dos d'âne. Ces cercueils ont tous les deux contenu autrefois des cercueils intérieurs, mais ceux-ci paraissent avoir disparu. Vers la fin de la xxii^e dynastie les légendes hiéroglyphiques sont souvent tracées à l'encre noir et d'une écriture très cursive. La mode de se servir de sarcophages doubles et triples existe encore pendant la xxii^e dynastie, mais les cercueils ne sont pas des répétitions l'un de l'autre; ils sont peints de diverses manières. Le Musée de Leide possède un triple cercueil d'un prêtre Pinehas (M. 15-17) avec le cartonnage contenant sa momie (M. 18); il paraît avoir vécu pendant la xxii^e dynastie.¹ Le cercueil extérieur est peint en couleur noire, le deuxième est jaune et le cercueil intérieur est brun; le cartonnage enfin est blanc. Le tout a été publié par M. Leemans. Notons enfin que les momies de la xxii^e dynastie sont souvent ornées d'une sorte de bretelles marquées ou cartouche du roi, et que sur les cercueils momiformes de cette période on observe quelquefois des bandelettes peintes sur la poitrine qui paraissent indiquer que le défunt a occupé une certaine dignité. On l'observe sur le cercueil M. 2 de Leide.² Les mains, toujours indiquées sur les boîtes de momies pendant la xix^e et xx^e dynastie, disparaissent peu-à-peu pendant la xxii^e dynastie. Des textes tirés du *Rituel funéraire* commencent à apparaître pendant la xxii^e dynastie.

Les deux derniers siècles avant la conquête de l'Égypte par les Perses en 525 sont représentés par de nombreux cercueils en bois et en pierre. Il est vrai que nous ne connaissons pas les nécropoles royales ni de la dynastie Ethiopéenne (la xxv^e dynastie), ni de la dynastie de Psamétik (la xxvi^e); mais d'un côté il y a dans les Musées quelques cercueils royaux de cette dynastie, et de l'autre côté nous possédons des parties notables de deux grandes trouvailles remontant à cette époque. Le Musée de Ghizeh possède un sarcophage d'enfant portant le nom de Psametik II., et trouvé à Damanhour

¹ Publié par Leemans, *Monuments de Leide*, t. iii. M. 15-18, pl. i. et suiv.

² Leemans, *Monuments de Leide*, t. iii. M. pl. iii.

(6029),¹ et le cercueil remarquable en granit de la reine Nitokris, rapporté de Thèbes par Maspero (Musée de Ghizeh, 6615).² La reine se voit sculptée couchée sur le couvercle. Le Musée Britannique possède le sarcophage en basalte de la reine Anchnesraneferab, usurpé à l'époque Ptolémaïque (Southern Egyptian Gallery 26, No. 32), dont M. E. A. Wallis Budge a publié une magnifique édition.³ Les deux grandes trouvailles sont celle de la nécropole des prêtres de Mentou dans le temple de Dêir-el Bahri, et celle des cercueils de la famille des Choachytes pendant la xxvi^e dynastie. Il faut beaucoup regretter que les nombreux objets dont se composaient ces deux grandes trouvailles n'ont pas été conservés réunis, mais répandus de tout côté; les meilleurs objets de la dernière trouvaille ont été présentés au Prince de Galles et emmenés en Angleterre.⁴ D'autres trouvailles de cercueils datant de l'époque Saïte, c'est-à-dire de la période de 700 à 300 avant Jesus-Christ, ont été faits souvent, et tous les Musées possèdent de nombreux cercueils de cette époque.

Les sarcophages sont tantôt en pierre, tantôt en bois. Les cercueils en pierre sont souvent des caisses énormes de forme rectangulaire ou à chevet arrondi, à couvercle plat ou voûté, destinés évidemment à renfermer une autre boîte plus petite ou même plusieurs, emboîtées l'une dans l'autre. Il y a de plus des cercueils affectant la forme de la momie; il y en a de très larges, comme les sarcophages des rois de Sidon, Tabnit et Esmunezer, qui sont de travail égyptien et ont été fabriqués pour des habitants de Memphis; il y en a aussi de dimensions très-modérées et dont la cavité est toute remplie par la momie. Ces derniers cercueils sont ordinairement en calcaire et datent probablement des derniers temps Saïtes et de l'époque Ptolémaïque.

Les cercueils en bois sont très nombreux; quant à la forme, la décoration, les couleurs, ils présentent des variations notables. Cependant il est très facile à reconnaître les cercueils de l'époque Saïte et de les distinguer de ceux de la xx^e dynastie; les couleurs sont autres, les hiéroglyphes sont dessinés d'une autre manière, souvent tracés à l'encre noire et d'une main cursive. Les cercueils momiformes sont ordinairement montés sur des socles. Le devant des boîtes en forme de momies est divisé maintenant horizontalement en tableaux où alternent les représentations et les textes hiéroglyphiques. En haut on voit souvent une scène où le défunt est introduit devant plusieurs divinités; la balance figure aussi là. La scène est de dimensions très petites; les individus sont ordinairement très-maigres.

¹ *Notice Sommaire*, p. 92.

² *Ibid.*, p. 203.

³ E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Sarcophagus of Anchnesraneferab*. London, 1885.

⁴ Voir ci-dessus et le Mémoire de M. S. Birch.

Assez souvent on voit la scène figurée où l'âme vient faire visite au corps (chap. 89). Dans les autres tableaux on voit ordinairement Anubis et les génies funéraires debout portant des bandelettes; les légendes hiéroglyphiques se composent le plus souvent que de la formule funéraire ordinaire répétée partout. Quelquefois on lit aussi, notamment dans l'intérieur du cercueil des extraits du Rituel Funéraire. Les mains ne sont pas indiquées à l'époque Saïte; le visage est le plus souvent rouge, quelquefois vert.

On se sert encore souvent de triples sarcophages et la momie est encore enveloppée dans un cartonnage. Le cercueil extérieur est souvent une caisse rectangulaire avec quatre oreillettes carrées et avec un couvercle en dos d'âne. Le Musée de Lord Amherst à Dillington Hall possède un beau specimen d'un triple sarcophage de ce genre¹; un autre est au Musée de Leide, M. 20-23 (le prophète de Mentou, *Onkh-hor*)²; un troisième à Ghizeh, le triple sarcophage de Khahor (Mariette, 597-598); un quatrième également à Ghizeh, le triple sarcophage de la dame Anes (Mariette, 596, 600 et 735).³ Souvent aussi tous les trois affectent la forme de la momie, comme le triple cercueil de Petises à Leide (M. 24-27),⁴ le triple cercueil d'un autre Petisis à Saint-Petersbourg (773-775),⁵ le triple cercueil d'un certain *Amonaru* au Musée Britannique, 6668 (First Egyptian Room, Wall-case 17, 35-36, et Case J. 2; Second Egyptian Room, Case T.),⁶ etc. Les doubles cercueils se rencontrent presque dans tous les Musées.

A l'époque grecque les cercueils égyptiens beaux et bien faits deviennent rares; mais ils suivent en général les types Saïtes. La plupart des sépultures sont pauvres. Cela a aussi lieu pendant l'époque romaine. Les sépultures égyptiennes riches ne sont pas fréquentes. Un tombeau intéressant de Thèbes du deuxième siècle après notre ère a fourni des cercueils intéressants aux Musées de Paris, de Leide et de Londres;⁷ les cercueils affectent la forme de la momie.

Avant de finir, il faut signaler les couvercles de cercueils remarquables qu'on vient de rapporter de la grande-oasis d'El-Kargeh; il en est 10 à la Glyptothèque de Copenhague, 4 à Londres, 4 à Paris, 2 à Leide, 2 à Berlin. Les défunts sont figurés en bustes avec l'apparence de la vie; Osiris est peint sur le dos de plusieurs de ces bustes.⁸

¹ Publié par S. Sharpe, *The Triple Sarcophagus of Aroeri-Ao*. London, 1858, 4to.

² Leemans, *Description Raisonnée*, pp. 167-170. Leide, 1840.

³ Voir Mariette, *Notice des Principaux Monuments à Boulaq*, p. 228 et suiv., 1874.

⁴ Leemans, *Description Raisonnée*, pp. 170-171.

⁵ Golenischeff *Ermitage: Coll. égypt.*, p. 102 et suiv.

⁶ *Guide*, pp. 103-108.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 109.

⁸ Comp. Heron de Villefosse, *Note sur Quatre Bustes en Plâtre Peint*, dans les *Comptes Rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr.*, quatrième série, t. xx, p. 187. Paris, 1892.

VI.

DAS DECRET VON KANOPUS.

VON

DR. EDUARD MAHLER (WIEN).

DIE zweisprachige Inschrift der 1866 entdeckten Stele von Tanis mit dem für die Wissenschaft des Alterthums höchst wichtigen Decrete von Kanopus, ist in Würdigung seiner grossen Bedeutung für die Erforschung der ägyptischen Inschriften von den hervorragendsten Forschern einer kritischen Untersuchung unterzogen worden, und eine Reihe merkwürdiger Ergebnisse in Bezug auf die Jahrform bei den alten Aegyptern hatte man hieraus zu folgern gesucht.

Allen voran sind die meisterhaften Arbeiten von Reinisch und Lepsius zu erwähnen, denen sich die trefflichen Arbeiten hervorragender Autoren über das altägyptische Kalenderwesen in würdiger Weise anschliessen. Jeder Fachkundige weiss, wie bahnbrechend Brugsch auf diesem Gebiete thätig war und was hier die Namen Biot, Chabas, Hincks, Letronne, de Rougé zu bedeuten haben. Nicht minder wichtig sind die Arbeiten von Henri Martin, A. J. H. Vincent, Rösler und Lauth.

Wenn man nun die Schriften dieser Autoren liest und dann vom Standpunkte des Chronologen ein Resumé ziehen will, so begegnet man trotz — und vielleicht auch wegen — des grossen lehrreichen Materials, das sich hier aufgehäuft findet, grossen Schwierigkeiten. Wenn ich dennoch diesen Versuch wagen konnte, so verdanke ich es einer gütigen Anregung von Seite meines hochverehrten Freundes, Herrn Professor Brugsch. In einem seiner letzten an mich gerichteten, wie immer sehr lehrreichen Briefe meinte nämlich Brugsch, ich sollte einmal die Apisdaten einer rechnerischen Prüfung unterziehen. Indem ich aber an die Lösung dieser Aufgabe schritt, und dabei zu einigen bisher unbekannten sehr interessanten Resultaten kam, fühlte ich mich veranlasst, auch den Kalender der Aegypter zur Zeit der Ptolemäer einer nähern Prüfung zu unterwerfen und die betreffende Literatur — so weit mir dieselbe zugänglich war — eingehend zu studiren. Die Resultate dieses Studiums will ich nun hier vorlegen;

in der Hoffnung, ein brauchbares Material zum Aufbaue der alt-ägyptischen Chronologie und einen wesentlichen Beitrag zur Erläuterung der bilinguen Inschrift von Tanis geliefert zu haben.

Ich habe bereits in verschiedenen Untersuchungen den Nachweis geliefert, dass die alten Aegypter das feste Jahr in der Dauer von $365\frac{1}{4}$ Tagen nicht nur gekannt, sondern auch kalendarisch gebraucht und darnach datirt haben. Den Frühaufgängen der Gestirne hatten die Aegypter die grösste Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt und dabei den heliakischen Frühaufgang des Sirius (Sothis-Isis) mit besonderer Vorliebe beobachtet, weil dieser während der ganzen Zeit der ägyptischen Reichsgeschichte mit der Nilschwelle gleichzeitig erfolgte.

Gar bald musste man merken, dass der ganze Landbau und die durch die Nilschwelle bedingte Physiognomie Aegyptens sich nach dem heliakischen Aufgange des Sirius regelte, und so wurde die Dauer von einem heliakischen Sirius-Aufgange bis zum nächsten, schon früh als die Dauer eines Normaljahres erkannt, dessen Epoche der Tag des Frühaufganges des Sothisgestirnes war. Dieses feste Siriusjahr, welches die Grundlage eines sogenannten Sothiskalenders bildete, erfreute sich bald allgemeiner Verbreitung, und wir finden auch in der That den kalendarischen Gebrauch dieser Jahrform durch inschriftlich bekundete Datirungen bestätigt. Wir wissen heute mit völliger Klarheit, dass dem Kalender der Aegypter schon seit der frühesten Zeit, da sie das Sonnenjahr genau erkannt hatten, das Siriusjahr mit $365\frac{1}{4}$ Tagen als Basis diente, und dass ihr Kalenderjahr in der Regel diese Dauer hatte. Aus dem Umstande, dass wir in den uns erhaltenen Rechnungen der Aegypter allgemein das Jahr zu 365 Tagen angenommen finden, die Folgerung ziehen wollen, die Aegypter hätten auch kalendarisch immer nur ein solches Wandeljahr benutzt und darnach datirt, wäre ebenso ungerecht, als wenn jemand aus der bei uns üblichen Gepflogenheit, das Jahr allgemein zu 365 Tagen und in vielen Rechnungsarten sogar zu 12 Monaten à 30 Tagen, d. i. 360 Tagen zu nehmen, sich zur Behauptung hinreissen lassen wollte, unser Kalenderjahr habe 365 oder gar nur 360 Tage. Das in der Rechnung übliche Jahr, welches bei den Aegyptern übrigens auch von den Astronomen gebraucht wurde und daher ganz wohl das *astronomische* Jahr genannt werden mag, muss eben von dem *Kalenderjahre* unterschieden werden. Und das Kalenderjahr wurde bei den Aegyptern mit dem Tage des heliakischen Siriusaufganges eröffnet und daher stets zu $365\frac{1}{4}$ Tagen gezählt. In einem Quadriennium waren 3 Jahre zu 365 Tagen (12 dreissigtägige

Monate + 5 Epagomänen) und ein Jahr mit 366 Tagen (12 dreissig-tägige Monate + 6 Epagomänen). Die Schaltregel war aber — wie wir sofort sehen werden — keineswegs so einfach, und *es ist daher sicherlich häufig vorgekommen, dass man dieselbe falsch gebrauchte oder ganz ausser Acht liess.*

In der Ptolemäerzeit nun, wo sich in Aegypten der Hellenismus überallhin geltend gemacht hatte, wurde auch der einheimische ägyptische Kalender durch den griechisch-macedonischen verdrängt. Diesem liegt aber das Lunisolarjahr zum Grunde, und da man leicht erkannt hatte, dass nach je fünfundzwanzig 365-tägigen Sonnenjahren die Mondphasen an denselben Tagen des Sonnenjahres in gleicher Weise wiederkehren, so ist es selbstverständlich, dass man jetzt die Schaltung im allgemeinen vernachlässigt und das Sonnenjahr zu rund 365 Tagen gezählt hatte. Nun wollte Ptolemäus Euergetes I. das alte Sonnenjahr in seiner ursprünglichen Bedeutung und Dauer ($365\frac{1}{4}$ Tage) wieder einführen — vielleicht gar in der Befürchtung, dass sonst die Kenntnis dieser heiligen Jahrform in Folge des fortgesetzten Verkehrs mit den Graeco-Macedoniern ganz abhanden kommen und er sich so die völlige Misgunst der die Nilschwelle herbeiführenden Göttin Isis-Sothis zuziehen könnte — und erliess daher in seinem IX. Regierungsjahre das merkwürdige Decret von Kanopus. Denn täuschen wir uns nicht! der historische Hintergrund des Decrets liegt ja doch nur in der Erzählung von der in Folge mangelhafter Nilschwelle eingetretenen Hungersnoth und damit in Verbindung in der Anordnung der Feier des heliakischen Sothis-Aufganges als Beginn eines neuen Jahres in der Dauer von $365\frac{1}{4}$ Tagen. Alles andere, Einleitung und Schluss, sind schwulstige Redensarten, wie wir solche bei allen Aktenstücken der Aegypter zu hören gewohnt sind. Die Sothis-Isis war eben die Urheberin der Nilschwelle, der mangelhafte Austritt des Nils musste also als Folge eines göttlichen Zornes angesehen werden. Die Ursache desselben war nicht schwer zu finden, und da es galt, die Göttin zu versöhnen, um weiteres Unheil von Aegypten abzuwälzen, so erliess man das genannte Decret.

Hiebei kommt noch ein Umstand in Betracht. Seit der Mitte des 6. Jahrhunderts vor Christi, bis zur Zeit dieses Ptolemäerkönigs, fiel der 1. Thoth des Siriusjahres in den vorchristlichen Jahren von der Form $-4n$, d. i. also in julianischen Schaltjahren auf den 19. Juli, und das beginnende ägyptische Jahr war Schaltjahr von 366 Tagen; in den übrigen julianischen Jahren, also in den Jahren von der Form

$$-(4n+3), -(4n+2), -(4n+1)$$

fiel der 1. Thoth des Siriusjahres auf den 20. Juli. Zur Zeit des Königs Ptol. Euergetes I. musste zufolge der Beschaffenheit des

Siriusjahres, die wir auch sofort besprechen werden, eine Kalender-Reformation platzgreifen. Der 1. Thoth des Siriusjahres, d. i. der Tag des heliakischen Sirius-Aufganges fiel von nun ab *stets* auf den 20. Juli, und Schaltjahre waren jene ägyptischen Jahre, welche mit 20. Juli derjenigen julianischen Jahre begannen, deren Jahreszahlen die Form $-(4n+1)$ hatten. Ptolomäus Euergetes I. mag diesen Umstand irgendwie erkannt und daher Gelegenheit genommen haben zu seiner Kalenderneuerung, die uns im Decret von Kanopus, datirt vom 7. Apelläus = 17. Tybi seines IX. Regierungsjahres, erhalten ist.

Das Siriusjahr, oder die Dauer von einem heliakischen Aufgange des Sothisgestirnes bis zum andern, zählt nämlich strenge nicht $365\frac{1}{4} = 365.25$ Tage, wie das julianische, sondern: ¹ —

$$\begin{aligned} &\text{Tage.} \\ &365.2510284 + 0.0000004137 (t - 139) + \\ &\quad | + 0.0000000000322 (t - 139)^2 \end{aligned}$$

Das julianische Datum des heliakischen Siriusaufganges ist daher nicht immer Juli 20, sondern =

$$\begin{aligned} &= \text{Juli } 19.8529 + \frac{1}{4}[(\frac{t}{4})_r + 4] + \\ &\quad + 0.0010284(t - 139) + \\ &\quad + 0.0000002069(t - 139)^2 + \\ &\quad + 0.0000000000107(t - 139)^3 \end{aligned} \left. \vphantom{\begin{aligned} &= \text{Juli } 19.8529 + \frac{1}{4}[(\frac{t}{4})_r + 4] + \\ &\quad + 0.0010284(t - 139) + \\ &\quad + 0.0000002069(t - 139)^2 + \\ &\quad + 0.0000000000107(t - 139)^3 \end{aligned}} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \text{Für} \\ \text{vorchristliche} \\ \text{Jahre,} \end{array}$$

$$\begin{aligned} \text{oder} &= \text{Juli } 19.8529 + \frac{1}{4}(\frac{t}{4})_r + \\ &\quad + 0.0010284(t - 139) + \\ &\quad + 0.0000002069(t - 139)^2 + \\ &\quad + 0.0000000000107(t - 139)^3 \end{aligned} \left. \vphantom{\begin{aligned} &= \text{Juli } 19.8529 + \frac{1}{4}(\frac{t}{4})_r + \\ &\quad + 0.0010284(t - 139) + \\ &\quad + 0.0000002069(t - 139)^2 + \\ &\quad + 0.0000000000107(t - 139)^3 \end{aligned}} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \text{Für} \\ \text{nachchristliche} \\ \text{Jahre,} \end{array}$$

wobei t die julianische Jahreszahl bedeutet und so aufzufassen ist, dass $t = -n$ das $(n+1)^{\text{te}}$ Jahr vor Christi bezeichnet. $(\frac{t}{4})_r$ ist der Rest, der sich bei der Division der Jahreszahl t durch 4 ergibt.

Demzufolge ergeben sich für den 30. Parallel und den 31. Längengrad östl. von Greenwich folgende Daten für den heliakischen Sirius-Aufgang:—

Im julian. Jahr.						Julian. Datum des heliak. Siriusaufganges.
I.	— 1400	.	.	.	.	Juli 18.7212
	— 1300	.	.	.	.	18.7659
	— 1200	.	.	.	.	18.8212
	— 1100	.	.	.	.	18.8760
	— 1000	.	.	.	.	18.9342
	— 900	.	.	.	.	18.9958

¹ Siehe: Oppolzer, Ueber die Länge des Siriusjahres und der Sothisperiode, pag. 19.

Im julian. Jahr.	Julian. Datum des heliak. Siriusaufganges.
II. { - 800	19-0608
- 700	19-1295
- 600	19-2016
III. { - 500	19-2775
- 400	19-3570
- 300	19-4404
IV. { - 200	19-5277
- 100	19-6188
0	19-7140
V. { + 100	19-8131
+ 200	19-9164

Und somit sehen wir, dass innerhalb der im Jahre $-1317 = 1318$ vor Christi beginnenden Sothisperiode eine 4-malige Reorganisation des Sothiskalenders nöthig war, und wir daher innerhalb dieser Zeit 5 verschiedene Kalender in Betracht ziehen müssen.

I.

Von -1317 bis -893 incl.

In den Jahren.	Datum des heliak. Siriusaufg.	Gattung des eben beginnenden Siriusjahres.
- $4n$	Juli 19	Gemeinjahr.
- $(4n + 3)$	19	Gemeinjahr.
- $(4n + 2)$	19	Schaltjahr.
- $(4n + 1)$	20	Gemeinjahr.

II.

Von -892 bis -537 incl.

In den Jahren.	Datum des heliak. Siriusaufg.	Gattung des eben beginnenden Sothisjahres.
- $4n$	Juli 19	Gemeinjahr.
- $(4n + 3)$	19	Schaltjahr.
- $(4n + 2)$	20	Gemeinjahr.
- $(4n + 1)$	20	Gemeinjahr.

III.

Von 536 bis -236 incl.

In den Jahren.	Datum des heliak. Siriusaufg.	Gattung des eben beginnenden Sothisjahres.
- $4n$	Juli 19	Schaltjahr.
- $(4n + 3)$	20	Gemeinjahr.
- $(4n + 2)$	20	Gemeinjahr.
- $(4n + 1)$	20	Gemeinjahr.

IV.

Von -235 bis $+36$.

In den Jahren.	Datum des heliak. Siriusaufg.	Gattung des eben beginnenden Sothisjahres.
$-4n$ u. $4n$. . .	Juli 20	Gemeinjahr.
$-(4n+3)$ u. $4n+1$. . .	20	Gemeinjahr.
$-(4n+2)$ u. $4n+2$. . .	20	Gemeinjahr.
$-(4n+1)$ u. $4n+3$. . .	20	Schaltjahr.

V.

In den Jahren.	Datum des heliak. Siriusaufg.	Gattung des eben beginnenden Sothisjahres.
$-(4n)$. . .	Juli 20	Gemeinjahr.
$-(4n+1)$. . .	20	Gemeinjahr.
$-(4n+2)$. . .	20	Schaltjahr..
$-(4n+3)$. . .	21	Gemeinjahr.

Die bei den einzelnen Kalendertäfelchen angesetzten Grenzen sind nicht willkürlich, sondern so gewählt, wie sie der strengen Rechnung vollkommen entsprechen, und *es ist jedenfalls sehr beachtenswerth, dass ein derartiger Grenzfall gerade in die Zeit fällt, aus der das Decret von Kanopus datirt.* (Vergleiche oben pag. 4.)

Und nun wollen wir auf den chronologischen Theil des Decrets selber übergehen. Dasselbe ist datirt vom "*Jahre IX, 7. Appelläus, 17. Tybi der Aegypter, unter dem Könige Ober- und Unter-Aegyptens Ptolemäos, dem Ewiglebenden von Ptah Geliebten, Sohne des Ptolemäos und der Arsinoe,*" und enthält die Ordre, dass von diesem Jahre an "*im Ober- und Unterlande und durch Aegypten in seiner Weite am Tage des Aufganges der göttlichen Sothis, welcher genannt wird das Neujahr mit seinem Namen in den Tempelschriften*" ein grosses Fest veranstaltet werde. Zugleich enthält das Decret die Weisung, dass dieses Fest "*in der Gegenwart in diesem IX. Jahre am Neumond des Monats Payni*" stattfindet und stets am Tage des Sothisaufganges gefeiert werden solle. Die betreffende Stelle lautet in Uebersetzung also¹:—

¹ Siehe: "Die zweisprachige Inschrift von Tanis," von Reinisch und Rösler. 1866.

ÜBERSETZUNG
DES AEGYPTISCHEN TEXTES.

“In gleicher Weise, wie begangen wird eine Panegyrie der grossen Götter und ein allgemeines Fest in Aegypten gefeiert wird jährlich zu seiner Zeit, auf dieselbe Weise werde ein grosses Fest veranstaltet zu seiner Zeit dem König Ptolemäos dem Ewigliebenden von Ptah Geliebten und der Königin Berenike, den wohlthätigen Göttern, im Ober- und Unterlande und durch Aegypten in seiner Weite *am Tage des Aufganges der göttlichen Sothis, welcher genannt wird das Neujahr mit seinem Namen in den Tempelschriften. In der Gegenwart findet er statt in diesem IX. Jahre am 1. Tage des Payni.*”

ÜBERSETZUNG
DES GRIECHISCHEN TEXTES.

“Und da den übrigen grossen Göttern jährlich begangen werden Feste und öffentliche Panegyrien, dass jährlich begangen werde eine öffentliche Panegyrie in den Tempeln und in dem ganzen Lande dem König Ptolemäos und der Königin Berenike, den wohlthätigen Göttern, *an dem Tage, an welchem aufgeht das Gestirn der Isis, der durch die heiligen Schriften als Neujahr festgesetzt ist; — dies findet aber jetzt statt, in dem IX. Jahre, am Neumond des Monates Payni.*”

Diese Angaben haben in allen bisher geführten Untersuchungen mehr weniger Schwierigkeiten begegnet. Die Einen legten der macedonischen Kalenderangabe genügende Bedeutung bei, um diese in der Untersuchung nicht vernachlässigen zu dürfen, gelangten aber dadurch zu Resultaten, welche mit den Angaben anderer chronologisch-beglaubigten Quellen nicht übereinstimmten. So erhält z. B. A. J. H. Vincent¹ in der hier angedeuteten Weise das Jahr 243 vor Christi als Jahr IX Königs Ptol. Euergetes I., während der Ptolemäische Regentencanon ganz deutlich das Jahr 238 vor Christi als solches gibt. Auch ist die Sothis im Jahre 243 vor Christi für die hier in Betracht kommenden Breiten nicht am 1. Payni, sondern schon am 30. Pachon heliakisch aufgegangen. Andere wieder (wie z. B. Lepsius, Lauth) meinten, dass, nachdem durch den Ptolemäischen Canon das Jahr 238 vor Christi als Jahr IX feststeht, man nur das ägyptische Datum (17. Tybi und 1. Payni) näher in Erwägung zu ziehen habe und man daher annehmen müsse, das Decret von Kanopus sei vom 7. März 238 vor Christi datirt. Die ganze Schwierigkeit liegt aber darin, dass man — wie ich dies sofort zeigen werde — den Charakter des ägyptischen Datums bisher verkannt hat. Man nahm an, das in dem Decrete mitgetheilte Datum: 7. Apelläos = 17. Tybi der Aegypter, beziehe sich auf das bewegliche Jahr und dachte nicht

¹ “Mémoire sur le calendrier des Lagides,” pag. 12.

darán, dass in dem nämlichen Decret dieser 17. Tybi auch als ein Festtag zum Andenken an die jungfräulich dahingeschiedene Berenike eingesetzt wurde und in dieser Beziehung wohl kaum vom beweglichen Jahre die Rede sein kann, nachdem wenige Zeilen vorher die *allgemeine* Einführung des *festen Sothisjahres* befohlen wurde. *Der 17. Tybi des Jahres IX, das Datum des Decrets von Kanopus, bezieht sich eben nicht auf den beweglichen Kalender, sondern auf den festen Sothiskalender.* Einen direkten Beweis hiefür liefert auch das Doppeldatum: 7. Appelläos = 17. Tybi.

Der griechisch-macedonische Kalender hatte die Monate: 1. Dios, 2. Appelläos, 3. Audynäos, 4. Peritios, 5. Dystros, 6. Xantchicos, 7. Artemisios, 8. Däsios, 9. Panemos, 10. Lous, 11. Gorpiäos, 12. Hyperberetäos. Während nun im *macedonischen* Kalender der 1. Dios dem julianischen 1. November entsprach, sollte er im griechisch-macedonischen Lunisolarjahre möglichst auf den diesem Datum zunächstliegenden Neumond fallen und sonach im Jahre 238 vor Christi dem 1. Mämakterion des attischen Kalenders entsprechen. In der That fiel auch im Jahre 238 vor Christi der 1. Dios des griechisch-macedonischen Kalenders auf den 29. October, den 1. Mämakterion Ol. 135 III, (d. i. des 17. Jahres der II. kallippischen Periode). Der 1. Poseideon I dieses Jahres, d. i. der julianische 27. November, war also der 1. Apelläos, und daher war der 7. Apelläos = 3. December = 17. Tybi des Sothiskalenders. Denn im Jahre 238 vor Christi = -237 fiel nach obigem Kalendertäfelchen (pag. 5) der Tag des heliakischen Siriusaufganges, d. i. der 1. Thoth des Sothisjahres, auf 20. Juli julianischen und es war somit:—

1. Thoth = Juli 20, 1. Paophi = August 19, 1. Athyr = Sept. 18,
 1. Choiak = October 18, 1. Tybi = November 17, und daher:
 17. Tybi = 3. December.

Wir haben daher nur noch zu beweisen, dass das Jahr $23\frac{3}{7}$ vor Christi = $-23\frac{7}{8}$, das IX. Jahr des Ptol. Euergetes I nach dem Ptol. Canon, in der That den im Decrete an dieses IX. Jahr gestellten Anforderungen in jeder Beziehung entspricht. Das Decret bemerkt vor Allem, dass Ptol. Euergetes I am 25. Dios den Thron bestiegen habe. Sein IX. Regierungsjahr erstreckte sich daher *vom Monate Dios des Jahres -237 = 238 vor Christi bis zum Monate Dios des Jahres -236 = 237 vor Christi.* In diesem Regierungsjahre soll das Sothisgestirn an der *Numanie des Monates Payni*, des *damals üblich gewesenen* 365-tägigen Jahres heliakisch aufgegangen sein. Nun war aber das julianische Datum des heliakischen Sothisaufganges in diesen Jahren (Siehe Täfelchen III auf pag. 6):—

Im Jahre.	Julian. Datum des heliak. Sothisaufg.	Tag des ägypt. Wandelkalenders.	Gattung des eben beginnenden Sothisjahr.
— 240 . . .	Juli 19	30. Pachon	Schaltjahr.
— 239 . . .	20	1. Payni	Gemeinjahr.
— 238 . . .	20	1. Payni	Gemeinjahr.
— 237 . . .	20	1. Payni	Gemeinjahr.
— 236 . . .	19	1. Payni	Schaltjahr.
— 235 . . .	20	2. Payni	Gemeinjahr.

Das julianische Datum des im Jahre IX Ptolemäos Euergetes I (d. i. im Jahre 237⁸ vor Christi) stattfindenden heliakischen Sothisaufganges war daher der 19. Juli = 1. Payni des Jahres 237 vor Christi. Auf diesen Tag fiel aber auch merkwürdiger Weise der Neumond, denn derselbe trat ein:—

am 19. Juli des Jahres — 236 um 13^h 12^m mittl. bürgerl. Greenwicher Zeit,
d. i. am 1. Payni des Jahres IX um 3^h 12^m Nachm. mittl. Memphiser Zeit,

und somit wird auch den weiteren Anforderungen des Decrets entsprochen, nach welchen "*in der Gegenwart in diesem IX. Jahre*" des Königs Ptolemäos Euergetes I der Tag des heliakischen Sothisaufganges an der Numenie des Monates Payni statt hatte.

Auf diese Weise wäre das berühmte Decret von Kanopus in der That vom 3. December des Jahres 238 vor Christi datirt, und auch unsere Behauptung, betreffend die Beweggründe zur Einführung desselben, hätte damit eine gewaltige Stütze gefunden.

Es erübrigt nun noch folgende Fragen zu beantworten: Ist es denkbar, dass in einer und derselben Inschrift nach zwei verschiedenen Jahrformen (17. Tybi des festen Jahres und 1. Payni des Wandeljahres) datirt sei? Im allgemeinen wohl nicht. Aber hier handelte es sich darum, das ägyptische Volk, das schon seit Langem in Folge des Verkehrs mit den Graeco-Macedoniern viele Gebräuche derselben und auch deren Kalender adoptirt hatte, auf die eigentliche Länge des ägyptischen Jahres aufmerksam zu machen und ihm nahe zu legen, dass dasselbe nicht etwa die in der Rechnung allgemein übliche Zahl von 365 Tagen, sondern 365 $\frac{1}{4}$ Tage enthalte, da es stets mit dem Tage des heliakischen Sothisaufganges begonnen werden müsse. Die Priester und der von ihnen unterrichtete König hatten den in den Tempelschriften als Neujahr vermerkten Tag zwar stets beachtet und daher, wo dies nur möglich war, nach dem Sothiskalender datirt (daher auch 7. Apelläos = 17. Tybi), nicht so aber das Volk. Dieses hatte — wie bereits Eingangs erwähnt wurde — das Sothisjahr ganz vernachlässigt, und daher war es nöthig im Decrete ausdrücklich denjenigen ägyptischen Kalendertag hervor zu heben, der beim Volke als solcher bekannt war, um so zugleich auf

das Abweichen des beweglichen Kalenders vom festen heiligen Sothisjahre aufmerksam zu machen. Uebrigens, wo Zahlen reden, da nützt alles Grübeln nicht. Wir haben oben gesehen, dass das Datum "17. Tybi" dem festen Jahre entsprechen *muss*; dass aber der genannte Monat Payni, an dessen erstem Tage das Sothisgestirn heliakisch aufgehen soll, *nicht* dem festen Jahre angehört, ist selbstverständlich. Freilich hat man bisher angenommen, dass auch der 17. Tybi dem Wandelkalender angehört, doch hat man dann entweder das griechisch-macedonische Datum unbeachtet gelassen, oder bei Beachtung desselben das Jahr 243 vor Christi, statt des Jahres 238 vor Christi als Jahr IX Ptolemäos Euerg. I annehmen müssen. Uebrigens wird ja noch heutzutage in jenen Ländern, wo noch der julianische Kalender in Gebrauch ist, nach 2 verschiedenen Jahrformen datirt; und in vielen mittelalterlichen Schriftstücken finden wir 2 und auch 3 verschiedene Datirungsweisen gleichzeitig angewendet.

Mit der Untersuchung über die Kalenderneuerung unter Ptol. Euergetes I ist eine weitere Frage in Verbindung gebracht worden, die wir auch nicht übergehen dürfen. Lauth¹ glaubte nämlich in den Angaben einer der Wiener Sammlung angehörenden Grabstele den ersten Nachweis einer thatsächlichen Befolgung den im Decret von Kanopus angeordneten Intercalation gefunden zu haben. Es ist dies die Grabstele eines königlichen Verwalters, namens Teho, welcher nach einer jeden Zweifel ausschliessenden Angabe der Inschrift am 29. Epiphi des Jahres XVII Königs Ptolemäos II Philadelphus geboren wurde, am 22. Mechir des Jahres XXIV Königs Ptolemäos III Euergetes I gestorben ist und ein Alter von 44 Jahren, 6 Monaten, 29 Tagen erreicht haben soll. Letzteres ist sogar zweimal auf dem Denkmal hervorgehoben.

Professor Lauth bemerkt nun zu diesen Daten folgendes:—

"Setzen wir nach dem astronomischen Canon für beide (Könige) die Regierungssumme 38 und 25 Jahre an, so wurde Teho geboren unter Philadelphus, Jahr XVII Epiphi 29. Er lebte also unter diesem Könige, da Epiphi der vorletzte Monat des Jahres ist und die 5 Epagomänen am Schlusse zum Messori zählen, noch 38 Jahre minus 16 Jahre, 10 Monate 29 Tage = 21 Jahre, 1 Monat 1 Tag. Er starb unter der Regierung des Euergetes I, Jahr XXIV, Mechir 22, lebte folglich unter ihm 23 Jahre, 5 Monate 22 Tage. Zählen wir dazu den vorigen Posten: 21 Jahre, 1 Monat 1 Tag, so erhalten wir als

¹ "Die Schalttage des Ptolemäos Euergetes I und des Augustus." (Sitzungsbericht der königl. bayrischen Akademie der Wissenschaft. Februar, 1874.

Summe: 44 Jahre, 6 Monate 23 Tage, während beide Texte die Summe: 44 Jahre, 6 Monate 29 Tage dargeboten haben."

Es bleibt somit "die Schlussfolgerung übrig, dass die 6 überschüssigen Tage der Summe 44 Jahre, 6 Monate 29 Tage von den durch das Decret von Kanopus beschlossenen vierjährigen Einschaltungen herrühren, kurz, dass es die Schalttage der Regierungszeit des Königs Ptol. Evergetes I sind."

Dies alles wäre zutreffend, wenn in der That

$$\begin{array}{r} 38 \text{ Jahre} \\ - 16 \text{ Jahre, } 10 \text{ Monate } 29 \text{ Tage} \\ \hline = 21 \text{ Jahre, } 1 \text{ Monat } 1 \text{ Tag} \end{array}$$

richtig wäre. Dies ist aber nicht der Fall. Denn nachdem das Jahr nicht 12 Monate à 30 Tage zählt, sondern überdies noch 5 Zusatztage hat, so sind:—

$$38 \text{ Jahre minus } 16 \text{ Jahre, } 10 \text{ Monate } 29 \text{ Tage} =$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 37 \text{ Jahre, } 11 \text{ Monate } 35 \text{ Tage,} \\ - 16 \text{ „ } 10 \text{ „ } 29 \text{ „} \\ \hline = 21 \text{ Jahre } 1 \text{ Monat } 6 \text{ Tage,} \end{array} \left. \begin{array}{l} \text{wenn das Jahr XVII} \\ \text{ein Gemeinjahr von} \\ 365 \text{ Tagen war.} \end{array} \right\}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} \text{oder} = 37 \text{ Jahre } 11 \text{ Monate } 36 \text{ Tage,} \\ - 16 \text{ „ } 10 \text{ „ } 29 \text{ „} \\ \hline = 21 \text{ Jahre } 1 \text{ Monat } 7 \text{ Tage,} \end{array} \left. \begin{array}{l} \text{wenn das Jahr XVII} \\ \text{ein Schaltjahr von} \\ 366 \text{ Tagen war.} \end{array} \right\}$$

Zählt man jetzt die Lebenszeit unter Ptolemäos Evergetes I, d. i. 23 Jahre, 5 Monate 22 Tage dazu, so ergibt sich als Lebensdauer:—

$$\begin{array}{r} 21 \text{ Jahre, } 1 \text{ Monat } 6 \text{ Tage (7 Tage),} \\ + 23 \text{ „ } 5 \text{ „ } 22 \text{ „} \\ \hline = 44 \text{ Jahr } 6 \text{ Monate } 28 (29) \text{ Tage.} \end{array}$$

Noch deutlicher zeigt dies die folgende Betrachtung: Nachdem die Geburt auf den 29. Epiphi des Jahres XVII Königs Ptolemäos Philadelphus gefallen, der Tod am 22. Mechir des Jahres XXIV des Königs Ptolemäos Evergetes I erfolgt war, so betrug die Gesamt-Lebensdauer:—

$$\text{I. } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} 2 \text{ Tage Epiphi vom Jahre } 17 \text{ Königs Philadelphus,} \\ 30 \text{ „ Messori „ „ „} \\ 5 \text{ (od. 6) Zusatztage „ „ „} \end{array} \right.$$

Zusammen 37 (od. 38) Tage vom Jahre 17 Königs Philadelphus.

$$\text{II. } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Die Jahre } 18-38 = 21 \text{ Jahre unter König Philadelphus,} \\ \text{„ } 1-23 = 23 \text{ Jahre unter Evergetes I.} \end{array} \right.$$

Zusammen also : 44 Jahre.

III.	Die Monate: Thoth des Jahres 24 Königs Euergetes I,				
	„	Paophi	„	„	„
	„	Athyr	„	„	„
	„	Choiak	„	„	„
	„	Tybi	„	„	„

d. i. 5 Monate des Jahres 24 Königs Euergetes I.

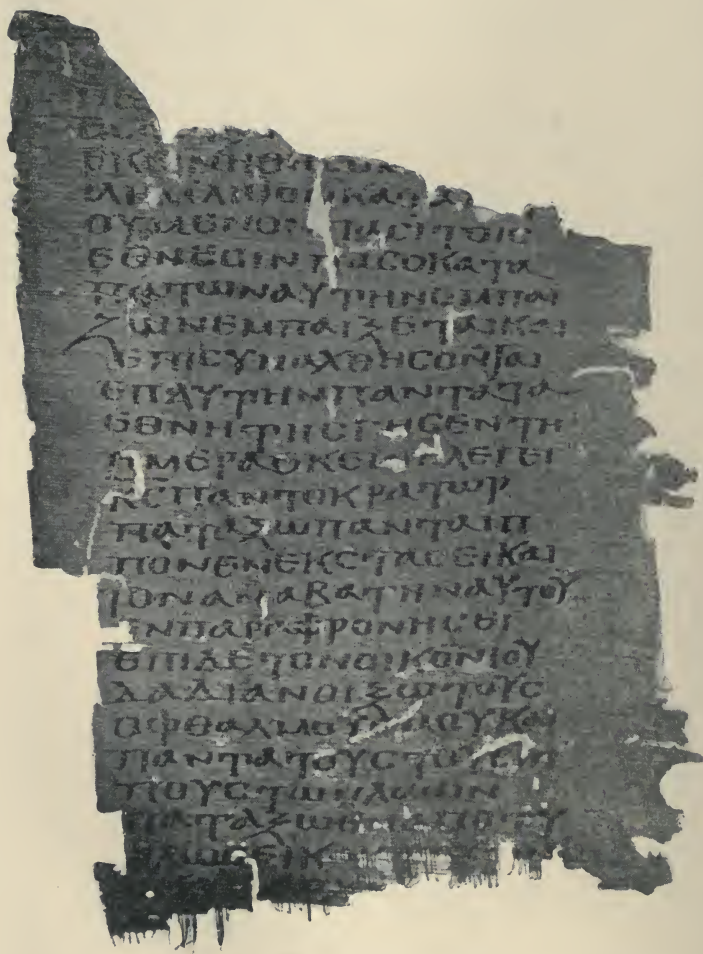
IV. { 21 Tage Mechir des Jahres 24 Königs Euergetes I.

Also im Ganzen:—

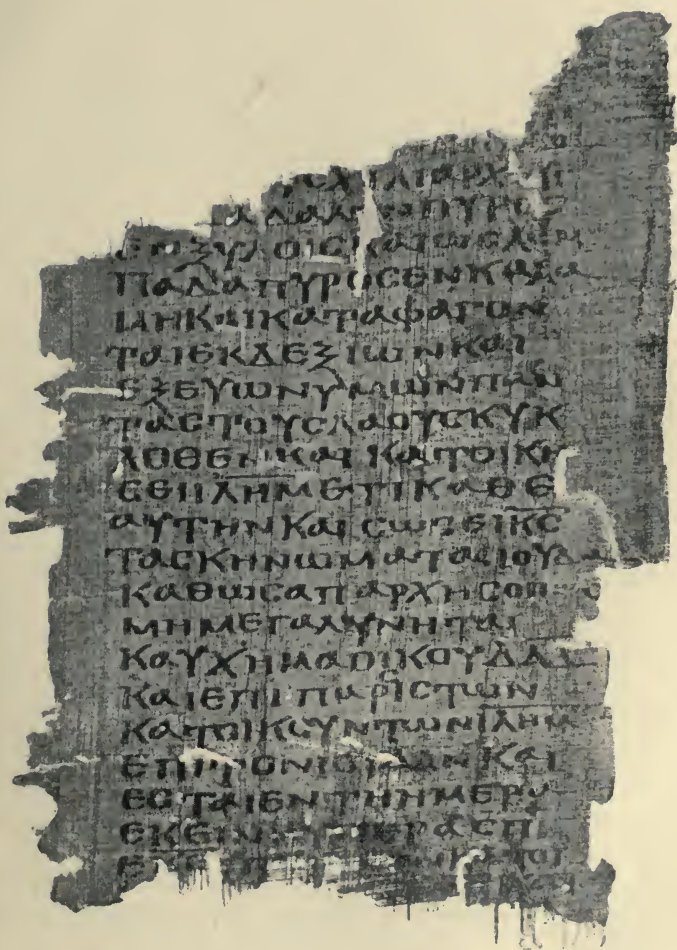
44 Jahre + 5 Monate + 58 (oder 59) Tage,

d. i. 44 Jahre 6 Monate 28 (oder 29) Tage.

Die Grabstele des Teho beweist uns demnach für eine *Kalenderneuerung* unter Ptolemäos Euergetes I gar nichts; im Gegentheile, sie zwingt uns zu der Annahme, dass die Einschaltung auch schon unter dessen Vorgänger, dem Könige Ptolemäos Philadelphus, erfolgt war. Es wurde nur nicht mehr so ordnungsmässig eingeschaltet, wie dies die heiligen Tempelvorschriften verlangten, und daher erliess auch Ptolemäos Euergetes I sein für unsere Wissenschaft berühmt gewordenes Decret.



PHOTOGRAPHS OF TWO LEAVES O



VII.

AN ANCIENT PAPYRUS MANUSCRIPT OF THE SEPTUAGINT.

BY THE

REV. W. H. HECHLER,

Chaplain to H.B.M. Embassy at Vienna.

THE extreme antiquity of the manuscript is attested by the uncial characters in which it is written, which would place it well before 300 A.D., but still more by the absence of divisions between the words. The manuscript consists of sixteen sheets written on both sides, or thirty-two pages, each about 10 inches by 7 inches. The manuscript reached Vienna a few weeks ago, and Professor Hechler submitted to the inspection of his audience one sheet of the manuscript enclosed in two pieces of glass. The papyrus contains the greater part of the Prophet Zechariah from about the fourth chapter, and parts of the Prophet Malachi. The manuscript is in a very fair state of preservation, each line containing from fourteen to seventeen letters, and the sheets are bound together in the form of a book in a primitive but very careful manner, and tied together with strips of old parchment. There is no doubt that the original scribe had an excellent copy of the Septuagint before him, as is clearly indicated by the various readings. There are for example readings which are wanting in many of the Septuagint manuscripts. Some of the new readings surpass some of the other Septuagint texts in clearness of expression and simplicity of grammar. A second scribe had also evidently corrected occasional mistakes of orthography made by the original copyist. These corrections may still be clearly distinguished by the different colour of the ink. On the sheet submitted for examination, there are some very interesting abbreviations with lines above the letters. For example, *Κύριος* is represented by *ΚΣ*, and *ΔΔΔ* stands for *Δαυΐδ*, and *Ιλημ* represents *Ιερουσαλήμ*.

The Septuagint translation of the Bible was begun under Ptolemy Philadelphus about 280 B.C., and finished about 150 B.C. It was the

version most commonly quoted by our Lord and His apostles, though they occasionally used the Hebrew text, translating it apparently themselves from the original. The historical importance of the LXX. is very great, as it was the first instance in literature of a translation made on so large a scale. Tradition asserts that the law or Pentateuch was first translated on the Island of Pharos, near Alexandria in Egypt, by seventy, or rather seventy-two Jews who brought the original manuscript from Palestine to Ptolemy, who was then collecting his library. Of this event a full account is given by Josephus in the twelfth chapter of his "Antiquities." The truth is probably that the large and wealthy Jewish population at Alexandria, living as they did under Greek influences, had almost lost their knowledge of Hebrew after their return from Babylon and the Dispersion. Thus it came about that the Jews needed a translation of their own sacred books. A careful examination disclosed that the translators differed from each other very widely in knowledge and skill, and as they were mainly of Alexandrian or at least Egyptian birth, the language of the translation was decidedly Hellenistic. Although the Septuagint translation was the first complete translation of the Old Testament, the so-called Targums existed previously. But these Chaldee translations, or rather interpretations, called Targums, were for many years only oral, and were generally paraphrases in which very often the ideas of the translator were more valued than the original Bible writers. The two best known Targums are that of Onkelos on the law, and that of Jonathan Ben Uriel on the earlier and later prophets. The joy of the Greek-speaking Jews in Egypt when the Septuagint version was finished is said to have been very great, and many a pious Jew went to visit the Isle of Pharos, where the translation was made. But the orthodox Jews of Palestine always considered the translation of the Hebrew Bible into Greek to have been a great mistake. The Talmud states that the strict Jews looked upon the day on which the translation was completed in the same light as the day on which Israel set up the idolatrous calf in the wilderness, because the Thora could not be completely translated into Greek. In another passage it was said, "This day was considered a day of misfortune, and was therefore appointed to be a fast day on the eighth of Tebeth;" and tradition adds that after the translation was made darkness prevailed for three days. Such was the language of the Talmud in protesting against the Septuagint translation on account of the many deviations and alterations of the Hebrew text. It seems to have been soon discovered that the Septuagint translation was far from accurate; but in consequence of Greek being, at the time of our

Lord, the language of the civilised world, the Septuagint translation was then generally used. It was only about four weeks ago that Professor Hechler's attention was drawn to this manuscript. He had not time to give all the various readings, but there were two which were very interesting ones—in the seventh and eleventh verses of the eleventh chapter of Zechariah. In the former two Hebrew words were read as one in the Septuagint version, and translated by "the Canaanite." In the Septuagint the words were, "And I will tend the flock of slaughter in the land of Canaan," whilst in the Hebrew it was, "Even you, O poor of the flock." The eleventh verse in the Septuagint reads, "It shall be broken in that day, and the Canaanite—the sheep that are kept for me, shall know that it is the word of the Lord." In the tenth verse of the twelfth chapter in the manuscript, "They shall look upon him whom they pierced," the word "ὄν" is missing; the words ran, "*καὶ ἐπιβλέφονται πρὸς με εἷς [ὄν] ἐξέκέντησαν.*" The Septuagint version had not been yet studied as it deserved, although ample materials existed for its elucidation. The principal texts which had as yet appeared were—(1.) That of the *Biblia Polyglotta Complutensis*, published from 1514 to 1517, and made up from several unknown manuscripts. It had often been reprinted—as, for example, in the *Paris Polyglot* published in 1629. (2.) The Aldine text published at Venice in 1518, also derived from unknown manuscripts. (3.) The best text was, no doubt, the *Sistine*, which was patronised by Pope Sixtus V., and published in Rome 1587. This edition followed the *Codex Vaticanus*, but not always, supplying as it did omissions from other manuscripts. Tischendorf had produced one of the best editions of this version. Fourthly, there was the *Codex Alexandrinus*, which was published at Oxford in 1707 to 1719. It was sincerely to be hoped that this most valuable papyrus of the Bible, probably the oldest now known to exist, would soon be published in facsimile, for the careful examination of Biblical scholars. He would add in conclusion that it was the pressing duty of the British Government to institute an organised and scientific search for papyri in Egypt. It was impossible to forecast what surprises might be in store for us, or what treasures might be placed at the disposal of modern scholarship.

VIII.

THE ORIGIN OF THE GREEK ANTÆ.

BY

R. PHENÉ SPIERS, F.S.A.

ALTHOUGH architecture is said to be a creative art, in opposition to painting and sculpture, which are imitative arts, this is only true in a certain degree.

In its first stage, architecture, or rather building, is creative—that is to say, the forms which it assumes are not found in nature; when these forms, however, are copied in other materials, and used in a decorative sense, then architecture becomes imitative—imitative of its original creations.

Thus the raking side of the Egyptian tomb or pylon, whether built in stone or carved in the solid rock, is an imitation of the crude brick hut, in which it was necessary that the lower portion of the wall should be thicker than the upper portion.

In some Egyptian tombs is found an elaborate decoration, copied apparently from the framed timber-work of royal residences. The projecting strips under the eaves of the tombs at Benihasan are copied from the rafters of a timber roof. Again, in India, in the stone rails and gateways round the topes and in the façades of the Chaityas we find imitations of wooden constructive forms employed in a decorative sense.

The close imitation of wooden forms in the Syrian tombs is well known, as also many of the features of the Greek temple, such as the epistyle, triglyphs, mutules, the raking eaves, and the guttæ, all of which have a timber origin assigned to them.

The perishable nature of wood by fire or damp has obliterated all traces of the coverings of Greek temples, so that we are only able to surmise, in comparison with other translations, that the several features above named had a wooden origin. With respect, however, to the antæ or parastades of Greek temples, viz., those features which form the termination of a wall or, by their projection, assist in carry-

ing, in conjunction with columns, the epistyle of the porch, known as a portico-in-antis, the discoveries of Dr. Schliemann at Tiryns are of the greatest possible value.

They prove conclusively that, as the walls of the earlier Greek temples were built of clay bricks, or of rubble masonry set in clay mortar, it was necessary, 1st, to protect or strengthen the frontal ends of their walls, as without some such provision they would have been exposed to injury; and 2nd, to afford some less yielding support for the epistyle or architrave beams than could be obtained by a wall of crude bricks, or even of rubble masonry set in clay mortar. This protection and support was provided by the employment of vertical posts of wood, which were fixed by dowels into a stone base, and probably by tenons into the epistyle.

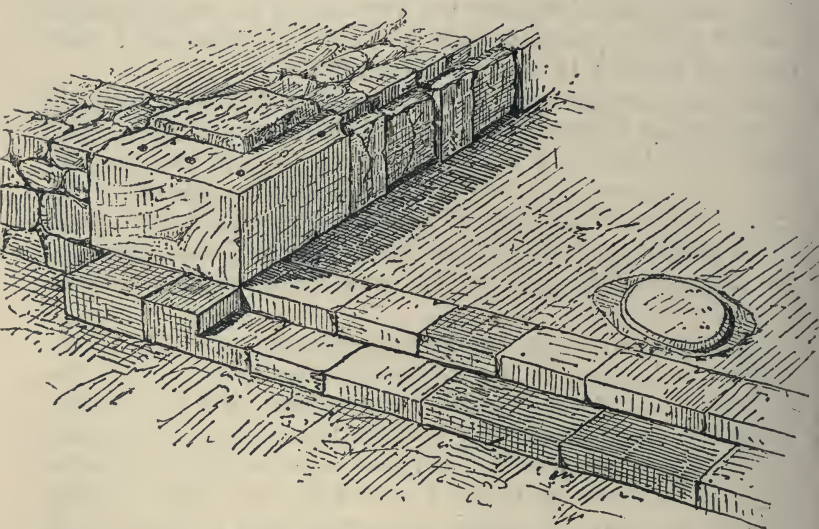
It is true that not a single example of these features in wood has been found at Tiryns, having been, with the columns, all destroyed by fire, and therefore it is only possible to conclude, from the position of the dowel-holes and the area of the base-stone in which they are found, the nature and the dimensions of the vertical posts. These would seem to have been from 10 to 12 inches thick, and the traces of their conflagration prove them to have been in wood.

It is pointed out by Dr. Dörpfeld, who measured the palaces at Troy and Tiryns for Dr. Schliemann, that whilst in Troy the parastades consisted of posts of wood placed in close juxtaposition to one another on a base-stone common to parastades and columns, in Tiryns the base-stone for the former was about 20 to 24 inches high. This base-stone consisted of one or more blocks of stone set close together. Twenty-six bases were found *in situ* in various parts of the palaces, either of brescia, sandstone, or hard limestone.

The dowel-holes which were cut in these base-stones were of two descriptions, being square when cut in the sandstone, which is easy to work, and either round or consisting of two circular holes intersecting; in both cases apparently bored with an augur, an instrument of which an example in bronze (the first ever found in prehistoric remains) was discovered by Dr. Schliemann in Troy. Dr. Dörpfeld surmises that the double or oblong holes had the object of fixing more firmly the wooden parastades in antæ, so that they would not turn on their axis. The diameter of the holes varied from $1\frac{1}{4}$ to $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches, and the depth from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The double circle was $1\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and its depth 2 inches. The square or rectangular holes varied from $1\frac{1}{4}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, the depth being $3\frac{1}{2}$

inches. A drawing is given in Dr. Schliemann's *Tiryns* of the vestibule to the Megaron or men's hall, which is here reproduced by the kindness of Mr. Murray. This consisted of a portico-in-antis. Only the base of the column and of one of the antæ is shown in the drawing.

It is curious to note, first, that there is no projection of antæ towards the column, as is usual in such features, and is found in the propylæa gateways; and, secondly, the frontal end of the wall projects in front of the column, and Dr. Dörpfeld (p. 212-213)



PORTICO TO MEGARON PALACE AT TIRYNS.

endeavours to account for this unusual arrangement—unusual so far as its reproduction in Greek temples is concerned.

In ordinary cases these antæ blocks are so arranged as to support a frontal end to the wall and a vertical post to carry the epistyle, and these features occupy the same position as the antæ in the stone temples of the Greeks, where, however, they no longer fulfil any constructive purpose. "While in Tiryns," Dr. Dörpfeld observes, "the antæ were still intended to strengthen the ends of the walls, which were of less resisting material, and to sustain the heavy pressure of the architrave beams on the wall, in later Greek buildings they merely suggest artistically these functions, which they no longer perform. We have accordingly here an important instance showing

how the Greek artistic forms of the later stone buildings were derived from the constructive members of older buildings."

Dr. Dörpfeld also gives some description of the columns, which play an important part in the palace at Tiryns, no fewer than thirty-one bases having been found. One of these is shown in the drawing, from which it will be seen that it stands from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 inch above the level of the cement floor. The diameter of the column was a little less than that of the base, and differs widely, therefore, from Egyptian bases, which in Benihasan are twice the diameter of the column. An ancient Doric shaft and base were found in 1882 by Mr. Thacher Clarke (who ascribes an Egyptian origin to the Doric columns), in which the base was $2\frac{1}{2}$ times the diameter of the column. This excessive width of the base, Mr. Clarke states, had no disadvantage before the closed tombs of Benihasan, but upon the threshold of the Greek temple would have been intolerable. He suggests, therefore, that the spaces below the bases were filled in so as to form a continuous plinth, the common base of all the columns. "Thus originated," he says, "the Doric stylobate, a term which is correctly applied only to the upper steps of a Doric temple." As regards the Egyptian origin of the Doric column, Mr. Clarke only contends that it was subsequent to the seventh century that the Greeks became so intimately connected with Egypt that no great work of the Egyptians could have remained unknown to them; whereas a much greater antiquity is claimed for the palace at Tiryns.

Dr. Dörpfeld is of opinion that the columns, and even their capitals, were in wood: 1st, because not a single stone drum has been found, whereas thirty-one bases of columns and twenty-six bases of antæ remain; 2nd, it is proved by the diameter of the bases, which is far less than that of the antæ, that the columns cannot have been of stone; 3rd, all the antæ consisted of wooden posts, and to wooden antæ naturally would belong wooden architraves and wooden pillars; and 4th, the present condition of some of the upper surfaces of the bases, the centre of which shows little trace of having been burnt, which may be explained by assuming the column to have been of wood, the outer edges being much calcined. A fifth reason might be adduced in the existence of a raised base, necessary to protect the lower part of the column, if in wood, from wet. These columns, Dr. Dörpfeld considers, must have consisted of single trunks, and not of several fastened together, or dowel-holes would have been found to keep them in position.

The same reasons for a base which we have here alleged exist also in Egyptian columns, and Mr. Flinders Petrie discovered at

Kahun the lower portion of a wooden column *in situ*. We are not aware that any antæ or parastades in wood have been discovered ; but the stone reproduction of that pattern is found at Benihasan in conjunction with the polygonal or protodoric columns which form the portico-in-antis of many of the tombs, and also inside other tombs in conjunction with the lotus columns. There can be little doubt in these latter examples as to the wooden origin of the antæ employed, the columns being of so small a diameter that they are copied from features supporting wood architraves, only the natural complement of which would be wood posts fixed against the wall.

IX.

THE RISE AND WANE OF THE MAHDI RELIGION IN THE SUDAN.

BY

MAJOR F. R. WINGATE, D.S.O., R.A.,
Director of Military Intelligence, Egyptian Army.

IN the following paper I propose to deal in general with the religious aspect of the great revolt against Egyptian authority in the Sudan known under the name Mahdiism.

The majority of those present are no doubt aware of the incidents which led up to this widespread movement, which, under the guise of religion, has resulted in completely overturning the recognised government authority in this vast country, and substituting for it a rule of the basest tyranny and oppression, in which the new religion still plays a subordinate part, but is daily waning before the terribly realistic rule of a barbaric power utterly opposed to all recognised laws and forms of government.

Indeed it has been truthfully said by those who have experienced the Sudan as it was under its former corrupt government, and under the iron hand of the Khalifat el Mahdi Abdullah, that the present state of this unfortunate country is immeasurably worse than it was before, and that this successful struggle of the inhabitants to be free from one master has only resulted in their falling into the iron grip of another, and one who has proved himself a task-master of the most savage and inordinate severity.

What wonder that these helpless people should writhe hopelessly in the grasp of this tyrant and beseech the pity of their former master, who cannot at present do more than look on from a distance, and hope that time will exhaust the tyranny and oppression which has so thinned the ranks of his former subjects, and reduced them to a position little better than that of abject slavery.

Such is the general hypothesis, and it is my object in the following paper to describe briefly the causes which led to this

gigantic movement against the orthodox Moslem religion, to follow its course during the last ten years, and to show how, based as it was on a fallacy or a series of fallacies, it has resulted not only in overturning and uprooting the small amount of civilisation existing in the Sudan at the time of its rise, but is also rapidly destroying the ancient tenets of Islam, and reducing its inhabitants to a condition of religious and moral decadence to which it would be difficult to find a parallel in the history of any other country in the world; for here in the Sudan we have a nascent and crude civilisation suddenly shattered by a wild, ignorant, and almost savage tribe, who have built over the scattered remnants a form of government, based to some extent on the lines they found existing, but from which they have eradicated almost every symbol of right, justice, and morality, and for which they have substituted a rule of injustice, ruthless barbarity, and immorality. Nor can I recall any other instance in modern times of a country in which a semblance of civilisation had existed for upwards of half a century falling back into a state but little removed from absolute barbarism.

It may be urged that these are strong words to use in regard to a country of which I cannot possibly have any recent personal experience, and to a certain extent the criticism is just; but in conveying to you the above impression, I would recall to you the fact that not only have hundreds of Egyptian and Sudanese refugees found their way to Egypt from the Sudan—one and all of whom will fully confirm the statements I have made—but undoubtedly the most lucid account of Mahdiism, from its rise down to the present time, has been given by Father Ohrwalder, late priest of the Austrian Mission Station of Delen, in Kordofan, who was for upwards of ten years a prisoner in the Sudan, and who only succeeded in escaping a few months ago.

He has written an account of his experiences which it has been my privilege to put into English, and which will shortly be published by Messrs. Sampson Low, Marston & Co. My duties as Director of the Egyptian Military Intelligence Department have led me to study, as far as the available matter would admit, the true aspect of Mahdiism, and I ventured a year ago to publish the result of these researches, which were largely based on the cross-examination of illiterate natives who had escaped. Father Ohrwalder has, however, thrown a flood of light on many dark passages which have hitherto never been fully elucidated, and in my remarks to-day I am making a generalised use of the information which has been supplied by him, and which, therefore, has the

additional impress of unquestionable accuracy, which many of the popular statements regarding the religion of the Mahdi have, owing to the nature of their source, failed to possess.

Before going further, I must crave for an instant your attention to an important point, a right understanding of which will greatly elucidate the complex nature of the Mahdi movement; I refer to the ethnographical subdivision of the Sudan, which for the present purpose I have divided into five main classes.

It will be observed on reference to a map, that the thirteenth parallel of latitude forms the division between efficient rain and scanty rain, between cattle-Arabs and camel-Arabs. South of this parallel camels are not usually bred, while north of it cattle are not found. To the north of this parallel dwell the great camel-owning tribes, such as the Kababish, Ababdeh, Shukrieh, and Hadendoa, whose instincts are naturally peaceful because their property brings them profit in proportion as it is employed in the transport of goods. These Arabs I propose to call the first class.

The second class may be designated as the Negroid tribes, who live in Darfur and in the mountainous country to the south of Kordofan; these races no doubt formed one of the ancient kingdoms which stretch across Africa, and may be numbered from the west as follows:—Senegambia, Bambara, Massina, Gando, Sokoto, Bornu, Bagirmi, Wadai, Darfur, Sennar, and Abyssinia; they are a contented and domestic race, who have little in common with the Arabs, and with whom they are constantly at war.

The third class are the dwellers in towns and villages; these are a mixture of almost every Eastern race; by intermarriage with Bashi-bazuks, Egyptians, and the foreign traders, they form a population which may not inaptly be compared to that of a Levantine seaport. Idle, dissolute, drunken, demoralised, they are superstitious to the lowest degree. Such is the population at Berber, Khartum, Sennar, and most of the large towns, while the centre of the plains of Kordofan contains a nucleus of 800 or 900 villages which excel all others in baseness; these villages contain a population of about 130,000, probably the most worthless in the world. They are overridden by a most shameless set of Fikis, or religious teachers, who are supposed to be invulnerable, supernaturally endowed, and able to work miracles. It can readily be imagined what an important factor were these Fikis in the Mahdi revolt.

The fourth class may be designated as the great slave-dealers of the Sudan. These people inhabit the country below the thirteenth parallel to the west of the White Nile; here cattle replace camels,

and to the south of Kordofan, and stretching away to the south-west and north-east, are the tribes and innumerable sub-tribes of the Baggara—the Red Indian of the Sudan. Their geographical position places them in touch with the great Negro supply to the south and the great retail market of Khartum to the north, and these are the great slave-forwarding agents of the world; they are inured to war and in constant readiness to plunder.

Below the Baggara come the great cattle-owning Negroes and Negroids, who, like the second class, are a peacefully inclined people, and who for years have supplied the Khartum slave-market. Indeed, whole tribes have been deported. Being heathen, there is no one idea which appeals to the large masses of them. It was from this class that Zubeir Pasha and his son Suleiman raised armies; it was with these men that Sir Samuel Baker and General Gordon performed such prodigies. These are the men who form the nucleus of the army of the present ruler of the Sudan; they are the races who supply the Egyptian army with its black battalions, who have again and again proved their sterling fighting qualities; and these are the men who will have to decide the struggle which will ensue when any advance is made on the Sudan. The value of this class of the population can hardly be over-estimated, and the European nation which sooner or later extends its sphere of influence over these distant lands will find a recruiting-ground for troops who, for reckless bravery and endurance, it would be hard to find equalled. This is a point worth bearing in mind by extensively-colonising European nations desirous of obtaining auxiliaries who are less tied down by feelings of patriotism than perhaps any other class, and who have been truthfully described elsewhere as creatures who "eat, drink, and fight, but never pray."

I do not propose to describe here the various causes which led to the first outbreak against Egyptian authority; suffice it to say that the venality and oppression of the Egyptian and Turkish officials, from the highest to the lowest, was undoubtedly made the lever by which the feelings of the masses were worked upon; but, though this was the apparent cause, there was another reason underlying it, and it is in the suppression of the slave-trade that the mainspring of the revolt must be sought; and here for a moment I must again digress.

Gordon, during his governorship of the Sudan from '74 to '79, had been most energetic in endeavouring to suppress the human traffic; but look for an instant at the instruments with which he was to overturn a national custom, inborn and inbred in the people

for centuries. The troops in the Sudan were the veriest scum; they consisted for the most part of exiles from Egypt and of local irregulars or Bashi-bazuks, who tyrannised over and lived upon the people. Uniform and tarbushes they had, it is true, and they were armed with rifles, but this was perhaps the only semblance to soldiers they possessed; they robbed without being strong, and, unwatched, they developed most of the propensities of slave-dealers. They it was who inflicted every kind of cruel injustice and ill-treatment on the people, and it was with this worthless material that Gordon succeeded in a great measure in suppressing the trade in slaves; but his success was due to a vigorous ability and determination, which left little that he attempted to do undone, and wherever Gordon was the slave-trade was temporarily suppressed; but when the life-giving energy of Gordon was withdrawn, and he was succeeded by incapable native governors, the result can readily be understood. Gordon had set the house on fire; all his successors could do was to watch the flames.

Thus it was that in 1881, when Gordon's capable government had been withdrawn, the great Baggara tribe suddenly found the slave-trade, which was as their life-blood, stopped, and trade of all sorts on the White Nile wholly stopped. What wonder, then, that this warlike race became a ready instrument in the hands of an unscrupulous adventurer, and who could foretell that this almost savage tribe was destined to oust, not merely the hated Turk, but also the rightful owners of the soil? And here it is not perhaps out of place to draw a brief conclusion from this suppression of the slave-trade, concerning which much has been written with more feeling than knowledge of the subject. The fact is that the suppression of this human traffic had been undertaken before its nature had been thoroughly understood. From the year 1794 up to the present time we have been discovering, gradually and slowly, what the slave-trade is. One thing it is not—it is not a thing to be suppressed easily and promptly by Egyptian troops, as Egyptian troops were in the Sudan in 1883. Venality and oppression of the officials, the suppression of the slave-trade, military weakness—these are the three causes of what has been called the rebellion. These weak and venal Egyptian colonists were to suppress the slave-trade, which was at once the religion, the occupation, and principal source of income of the fiercest of all the tribes that owned the soil. The miserable failure to suppress the slave-trade, the fact that Gordon, when he went for the last time to Khartum, was obliged, as a last resource, to cancel his previous orders on the subject—a

proceeding which at the time proved useless, for the revolt was then far beyond his personal control—does not this wretched picture show how necessary it is to look well to the means available before the fiat goes forth to suppress a traffic which, inhuman though it be, is inseparably connected with the life and religion of the people.

But to revert to our subject, the religion which we have styled Mahdiism has two sides to it. There is the Mahdi whose coming is looked forward to by good Sunnis, as the advent of the Messiah is expected by the Jews, and there is the Mahdi who disappeared, and may appear miraculously at any moment to good Shias; and it is one of the most singular things in religious history that Egypt has had, within or in proximity to its boundaries, two thriving Mahdis, one of each kind.

Indeed, the fact that these two Mahdis held different doctrines is a matter of congratulation, not to Egypt alone, but to the various colonies on the African shores of the Mediterranean; for had the religious views of these two Mahdis enabled them to combine in their efforts against all who refused to share their views, it is not improbable that Mahdiism would have developed into a power which would have required no small effort on the part of those by whom it would have been opposed, to stamp it out. But fortunately the two Mahdis became rivals, and the influence of that one who is in closest proximity to Egypt, and whose power, once enlisted in the cause of a Jihad, might have had the most serious consequences, was mainly instrumental in detracting from the influence of his more active but distant rival.

The two Mahdis to whom I refer are the son of Sidi Mohammed Ben Ali es Senussi of Jerhbub in the vicinity of Tripoli, and Mohammed Ahmed, the Sudan Mahdi.

The former is the head of the Senussi branch of the Shadli school, so called from the Senūs Mountain in Algiers, and dates its inception about the year 1837. Its first founder established some three hundred lodges in the north of Africa, of which the head-centre is at Jerhbub, a little to the west of the Oasis of Siwa, and here, on a spot given to him by a former Sultan of Turkey, he has built a strong and large enclosure termed a Zawia, which corresponds to the Deir or monastery of Eastern Christianity. Here dwells Mohammed es Senussi, a man of some forty years of age, affable and intelligent, not disdainful of newspapers, and a veritable veiled prophet, wearing generally a cloud of fine muslin over his head. Some years ago his father at his death somewhat guardedly expressed the view that his son would be the Mahdi, but his manifestation, which is said to

have been on several occasions on the point of being declared, has been indefinitely postponed, and will no doubt continue to remain in abeyance until the sect has decided on some definite line of action. Meanwhile their influence is not only widespread throughout the whole of Northern Africa, but extends far away into the heart of the Dark Continent. The inhabitants of the kingdom of Wadai, from the Sultan to his meanest subject, are all followers of the Senussi, whom they regard much in the same light as a Pope. Senussiism, indeed, extends still farther east, and in 1889 a local revolt on the confines of Darfur against the Mahdists of the Sudan was, curiously enough, talked of as the Senussi movement, though Sheikh Senussi himself was thousands of miles away from the scene of action; it is also certain that the movement was not inspired by him, and indeed had been carried on almost without his knowledge.

The fact, however, that a revolt against the Sudan Mahdi was, through a curious concatenation of circumstances, construed into a Senussi movement, is sufficient indication of the impending danger which such a state of affairs must inevitably produce, and a careful examination of the circumstances attending the Sudan ruler's government in these western portions of his dominions indicates that the fear of a recurrence of the events of 1889 on a large scale is constantly in his mind, and causes him no small anxiety.

Mohammed Ahmed, the Mahdi of the Sudan, took up Mahdism from the Shia point of view, and here, for the benefit of those who are unacquainted with the Shia doctrine regarding a Mahdi, I will endeavour to briefly explain the somewhat complex mystery of the long-hidden twelfth Imam.

The Imam, as you are aware, signifies he who precedes others—in Islam, he who leads prayers in the mosque. The Imam *par excellence* was of course the great Prophet Mohammed, whose full name was Mohammed Abu el Kasim Ibn Abdullah.

There were originally eleven or twelve Imams, exclusive of the Prophet, and the question of how the succession to the Imam was to take place was the original cause of the division which, on Mohammed's death, arose in Islam. The Persians and all Shias declared that the dignity remained hereditary, while the Sunnis believe it to be elective. The Shias called Ali, the first cousin of the Prophet and the fourth Khalifa, the first Imam, and regarded the other three Khalifas as usurpers. The eleventh Imam was a certain Hassan Askeri, whose son was named Mohammed Abu el Kasim el Mahdi—el Mahdi meaning "the directed one;" hence "he who is fit to direct others, guide, leader." On his birth his father wished to kill

him, and he was concealed by his mother in a cave, where no one was permitted to see him; from this seclusion he issued divine instructions by messengers. One of these messengers duly predicted the death of the Mahdi, which actually occurred within six days, and added that before the end of the world he would reappear with the Prophet Elias at the second coming of the Messiah. And here I may as well refer to the traditional connection between the Mahdi and Jesus Christ. Some Moslem sects believe that Christ will be the Mahdi, *i.e.*, expect his second advent; others share the opinion as stated by Ibn Kaldum (who died in Cairo, A.D. 1406), and who, in the introduction to his history of the Arabs, Persians, and Berbers, says, "At all times the Moslems have believed that towards the end of the world a man of the Prophet's family would appear to sustain the true religion. He will lead the true believers, and be named the Mahdi; then will appear the 'Messih ed Dejjal' (anti-christ). After the appearance of the latter, Christ (Jesus) will come down from heaven and destroy him, and the Mahdi will become Christ's Imam."

The Sunnis, on the contrary, do not admit that the Mahdi has yet made his first appearance, and have strongly denounced this schism; but in the Sudan this fact was less known, and the Shia schism was accepted because two Mahdis had already been successful, and had founded dynasties in Egypt. The most recent dynasty of the Fatemites was founded in 908 by Mohammed Obeidallah, who styled himself the Mahdi, and who drove out of Egypt the descendants of Ibrahim Bin Aglab (Harun's governor of Africa), and established a dynasty of Khalifs who reigned in Egypt from 972 to 1172.

With such an example before him, an unscrupulous adventurer has ample grounds on which to formulate a claim to be the long-hidden twelfth Imam; and it was precisely on these lines that Mohammed Ahmed, the so-called Mahdi, set to work.

This individual was born at Dongola in the year 1848, of a family of well-known boat-builders. At an early age he was sent to the Mesit, or Kuran school, at Kererri, near Omdurum, and there soon gave ample evidence of a violently fanatical nature. At the age of twenty-two he was already a sheikh, with a great reputation for sanctity, and his preaching was renowned far and wide. After leaving school he led the life of a dervish, moving about from place to place, distributing amulets and writing on little slips of paper mysterious words which were supposed to protect the wearer against all the ills and diseases to which human beings are liable.

As we have already seen, the ground was well prepared in many ways, but the broad base of this itinerant dervish's appeal was the injustice and cruelty of every sort which sprang up the moment after Baker's and Gordon's wholesome discipline had been withdrawn; and indeed he had ample material for a theme when he could point to the wretched tax-gatherer, who had twice—nay, three times—carried off the last goat or last bundle of dhurra-straw from the poorest of his listeners; he could point to a neglected religion, to widespread immorality, and to a decadence of the Moslem faith, induced by the luxurious mode of life of their foreign masters—those unscrupulous colonists who were gradually ousting the rightful owners of the soil. But he urged that, with the coming of the Mahdi, the right should triumph, and all oppression should have an end. Amongst the superstitious masses of Kordofan through which he moved the heaven worked rapidly, and at length at Abba Island, 150 miles south of Khartum, he gathered a few determined followers and there openly declared himself to be the Mahdi, divinely sent by God to free the religion from the pollution of the hated Turk, and re-establish it once more as it was in the time of the Prophet.

I will here pass over the various ineffectual attempts made by the Khartum Government to secure the person of the new prophet, suffice it to say, that finding himself dangerously near the seat of Government, he fled first to Tagalla and then to Jebel Gedir, in South Kordofan, and located himself at the foot of that mountain. This flight he designated his "Hejira," in imitation of the Prophet, and here again, following the footsteps of his divine predecessor, he nominated his four Khalifas.

It will be remembered that the four immediate successors of the Prophet Mohammed were designated *Khulāfā er Rashidūn* (or the well-directed Khalifas); their names were Abu Bakr, Omar, Osman, and Ali. The Prophet's only son, Kasim, died when a little child. Ali, who had married the Prophet's daughter, Fatima, did not push himself successfully on the Prophet's death, though urged to do so by a large party, and Abu Bakr succeeded Mohammed. Thus the succession to the Khalifate became elective, and not hereditary.

This is an important point to bear in mind in watching the further development of Mahdism.

Following the above precedent, the Mahdi at Gedir appointed his four Khalifas—Abdullah, of the Taisha-Baggara tribe, occupied the chair of Abu Bakr, and it was this move that secured Mohammed Ahmed the alliance not only of the Taisha, Homr, and Rizighat

Baggaras, who thirsted for vengeance owing to the suppression of the slave-trade, but also numbers of other dissatisfied slave-dealers who had been dispersed by Gessi Pasha. Thus it was that the Mahdi unwittingly laid the foundation of the Baggara rule, under which the Sudan has now fallen; for, according to precedent, Abdullah must succeed the Mahdi.

In the chair of Omar was seated Ali Wad Helu, the chief of the powerful Degheim and Kenana Arabs. This man had been educated in the Azhar University in Cairo, and had the reputation of being well versed in Moslem theology.

The chair of Osman the Mahdi offered to Sheikh es Senussi, but the latter, for reasons which I have explained, declined the honour. Interesting correspondence, a copy of which fell into the hands of the Egyptian troops at the action of Toski, passed between the rival Mahdis, and Mahommed Ahmed exerted all his persuasive powers to gain over the Senussi, but in vain. Thus a third Khalifa was never appointed.

The chair of Ali was given to Mohammed esh Sherif, the Mahdi's son-in-law, a Dongolawi, who was the representative of the Gellabas (or traders) and of the inhabitants of Gezireh (the country between the Blue and White Niles), Berber, and Dongola. Thus Ali was the last Khalifa.

These three Khalifas were the commanders-in-chief of the three divisions into which the Mahdi now divided his forces; each had a proportion of Jehadieh or rifle-bearing black troops, whilst their followers were of the various Arab tribes they respectively represented, and were, for the most part, armed with swords and lances.

Each Khalifa had his own special flag. Abdullah's was the Raya Zerga, or black flag; Ali's the Raya el Hamra, or red flag; and Sherif's the Raya el Khadra, or green flag; each also had his own special *nahas* or copper drums and his *noggaras*, whilst Abdullah had a specially distinctive trumpet known as the *onbeïa*, formed out of an elephant's tusk.

In addition to the principal flags, each Emir had his own distinctive flag made of varied colours, and on each of which are embroidered the words "Mohammed Ahmed el Mahdi Khalifat er Rasul" (the successor of the Prophet). The number of men under the leadership of an Emir varies; in the early days of the revolt they numbered sometimes 2000 to 3000 men, whilst the subordinate leaders are known as Mukuddums.

Thus did the Mahdi roughly organise his forces at Gedir, and the various unsuccessful attempts to dislodge him, into which I do not

propose to enter here, all tended to add numbers to his standard, and at the same time gave him possession of not inconsiderable stores of rifles and ammunition; but so precisely did the Mahdi follow in the footsteps of the Prophet that at first he disdained the use of firearms, on the plea that the holy victories in the early days of Islam had been gained by sword and spear alone; but the bitter experiences which he subsequently underwent (notably in his first unsuccessful attack on El Obeid), caused him to put aside these ideas, and latterly we find him striving might and main to increase his stock of firearms and augment the numbers of his rifle-bearing blacks.

Gedir did not long remain the only centre of revolt; emissaries were sent out far and wide, bearing proclamations urging the inhabitants to rise against their oppressors; other forces were soon operating in different parts of the Sudan, and before long the streams of fanatical insurrection were permeating the country in all directions from the fountain-head at Gedir.

Thus we find many of the towns in Kordofan seized, Egyptian garrisons massacred, whilst every small success more than doubled the numbers of the Mahdi's adherents. Even in the distant province of Sennar and in the Gezireh the revolt was gaining large proportions, though in this part it was for a time successfully combated from Khartum.

It is not, however, my purpose to describe here the various events which led to the revolt assuming proportions with which the resources of the Egyptian Government were quite unable to cope; suffice it to say that ere long El Obeid, the capital of Kordofan, after a most gallant defence, was forced to surrender, and thus Mohammed Ahmed became conqueror of the entire province.

Already the insurrection in Darfur and Bahr el Ghazal was growing apace, and if help was not soon forthcoming, these provinces too would soon be lost to the Government.

Then followed the fatal mistake of despatching the Hicks expedition on a wild adventurous career into the Kordofan deserts, only to be annihilated, almost to a man, by over 200,000 dervishes, all fired with the wildest fanaticism and belief in their new leader. What wonder that, with this wholesale destruction of 10,000 of their enemies, the belief in the divine mission of Mohammed Ahmed should become universal. The annihilation of this expedition was in truth the deathblow to Egyptian authority in the Sudan; other places quickly fell, and now, with the exception of Khartum, Kassala, Sennar, and Dongola, the rapidly rising tide of fanatical

revolt was submerging the entire Sudan. It extended even to the shores of the Red Sea, where the redoubtable Osman Digna scored success after success, and soon only a slender foothold of Egyptian authority remained at Suakin.

From his headquarters at El Obeid the Mahdi watched the swelling tide of revolt. Within a few months he found himself master of a large portion of the Sudan, the garrisons destroyed or incorporated with his own troops, the officials either in chains or enthusiastic adherents of their new master. Why should the truth of the cause be any longer doubtful? If previously he had had any misgivings on this score, they were now dissipated, and henceforth Mohammed Ahmed became venerated, nay, almost worshipped, by his wild and turbulent followers. But let us consider for a moment what form of government he was substituting for the admittedly effete and corrupt rule which he had overthrown with so much ease. First and foremost his object was to be a religious reformer; he therefore formulated many severe orders. The use of alcoholic liquors, to which the Sudanese are much addicted, was forbidden, and an infringement of the order was punished by sixty lashes. Smoking and chewing tobacco was also strictly prohibited; disobedience of this order brought with it the punishment of eighty blows with the kurbash, under which death frequently resulted. The marriage ceremonies were simplified, and where formerly they were lavish and extravagant in the extreme, the Mahdi now forbade the expenditure of more than ten dollars on the entire ceremony. The wearing of gold and silver ornaments was not permitted. He forbade weeping and wailing for the dead, on the ground that to die in such times for the Mahdi's cause was an honour and reward which would without fail secure Paradise. He further ordained that the poorest of clothes should be worn, the feet bare or in sandals, and, in imitation of the Prophet's example, the hard floor or ground should be chosen as the place on which to sleep. The uniform to consist of a *jibbeh* or coat, *takia* or skull-cap, turban, drawers, and *sibeh* or beads.

All these innovations, which were based on religious motives, were intended by the Mahdi to enforce cohesion amongst his followers, and at the same time they had the effect of hardening them to undergo the hardships of war without complaint. The Mahdi thoroughly understood that as long as men were rich they would fear death, and that a luxurious mode of life was the worst possible training for a Jihad.

In like manner, the principle that all worldly goods are to

be despised formed argument for forcing every one to place his property in the *beit el mal* or public warehouse. Again, the principle that only the meek and lowly are acceptable to God permits the slaughter of all such persons as are disaffected to the cause.

Thus the principle of the construction of the Khalifate is the "destruction of all opposition and the accumulation of all property;" and if we refer to the histories of former Khalifates, such as the rule of the Abbassides at Baghdad, the Bouides at Basrah and in Persia, the Hamadamides in Mesopotamia, the Akashid in Egypt and Syria, the Fathemites in Africa, the Umaides in Spain, the Samanides in Khorasan, and the Dilemites in Georgia, we shall find that the same principle holds good more or less throughout, though perhaps the but partially civilised condition of the Sudan more especially admits of the abuse.

Neither Mohammed Ahmed nor his successor have shown any understanding of the word government, nor has the word trade any meaning for them beyond a suggestion of property made available for attack because its foolish owner has discovered to the world its hiding-place, and has sought to carry it elsewhere than to the *beit el mal*. In fact, the conduct and qualities of a Mahdi which are requisite to raise the storm are incompatible with the ability to control it, and thus we find that, in Father Ohrwalder's own words, "After the capture of El Obeid, the Mahdi and his Emirs began to live a life of ease; they placed no restrictions on themselves in the way of food and drink; there was money in abundance and supplies were plentiful; consequently sensuality and luxurious living were substituted for the abstemious life which the Mahdi doctrine had at first inculcated. The Emirs vied with one another in their wealth of slaves, cattle, horses, and donkeys."

But as yet the Mahdi did not fully give way to a life of debauchery. The revolt, though successful, was still young; much remained to be done; he did not in the smallest degree abate his efforts to spread far and wide the new propaganda, and he continued to mete out punishments of exceptional severity on those who transgressed the new-made laws.

His prestige after the fall of El Obeid was so enormous that the people rendered him an amount of adulation which was little short of absolute worship. Ohrwalder relates how a dispute occurred between two men; one argued that the Mahdi would have a higher seat in heaven than the Prophet, while the other affirmed that God was higher than the Madhi. The dispute waxed hot, and the case

was referred to the judge, who settled the matter by saying that "the living was better than the dead;" but at the same time the man who advocated the Prophet's claims was relegated to prison, not so much for asserting what was perfectly true, that "God was higher than the Mahdi," but that "the tone in which he said it was tantamount to an insult to the Mahdi."

The above is a very fair example of the marvellous hold the Mahdi had acquired in an incredibly short time over the minds of his credulous followers.

The limits of this paper oblige me to hurry through the thrilling events connected with the siege and fall of Khartum, the death of its most gallant defender General Gordon, and the terrible massacre of the inhabitants. The story of this most eventful period has been gradually pieced together, and probably the memorable circumstances connected with that magnificent example of courage and fortitude are engraven on the minds of all those here present.

I will, therefore, pass on to a brief consideration of the effect on the Mahdi of the capture of the metropolis of the Soudan.

If there had been some who still doubted the Mahdi's divinity prior to the fall of Khartum, this final and overwhelming victory definitely settled the matter, and for the short five months Mohammed Ahmed lived after Gordon's death, there is no doubt he was as nearly deified by his devoted followers as it is possible for any human being to be. But if he had somewhat fallen into a life of excess after the fall of El Obeid, he now plunged wildly into a life of uxorious debauchery, which soon resulted in a complete breakdown of his constitution.

The following brief description by Ohrwalder of the Mahdi's home-life just prior to his death serves to show the true nature of the impostor. He says, "It was the month of Ramadan, the great fast, and any one who failed to keep it strictly was punishable by death. From noon till midnight people used to crowd to the mosque, which was then only a large enclosure surrounded by a zariba. Thousands of dervishes could be accumulated in this large rectangular space, in which the clash of this forest of spears indicated their impatience to see the Mahdi as he came to prayers; they had seen him hundreds and hundreds of times before, but they never seemed satisfied of gazing at him, and often fought to get a place near the Mihrab. Whilst the impatient murmur of thousands of voices indicates that the time of his approach has almost arrived, let us for a moment turn to the Mahdi's harem, and here is a true

picture of what my friends there beheld. The Mahdi is reclining on a magnificent carpet, his head propped up by a pillow covered with gold brocade; he is clothed in a linen shirt of finest texture, a pair of *siroual* and a *gallabich*, his shaved head is covered by a *takia* of embroidered silk; some thirty women stand around him; some fan him with great ostrich-feathers, others gently rub his feet without in any way disturbing his slumber, others gently smooth his hands, and Aisha (his favourite wife) lies beside him covering his head and neck with loving embraces.

"Meanwhile hundreds of *ansar* are shouting outside his *zariba*, impatiently awaiting his blessing, and anxiously expecting to hear his voice. The eunuchs are trying to drive off this unfortunate crowd with whips, but they will not leave until they have obtained the earnestly sought blessing. At length one of the eunuchs enters and receives from Aisha the blessing which she gives without disturbing the Mahdi. He then returns and tells the crowd that the Mahdi is at present in deep contemplation, but that he is graciously pleased to give them his blessing, which is then repeated. This is the signal for a wild shout of joy, and then they return to the mosque to range themselves in the appointed lines for prayers; and now those who are not present to receive the blessing press forward merely to touch those who have, and thus obtain some of its virtue.

"After a time the Mahdi rises, and his ablutions performed, Aisha clothes him in his dervish *jibbeh*, girdle and turban, and in this godly raiment he marches off to the mosque. As he quits the palace the bodyguard surround him and keep off the crowd. On reaching the *Mihrab*, he is received with a shout by the assembled multitude. After prayers he gives a short sermon, and then returns to his wives."

Thus did the Mahdi enjoy the sweets of victory indoors, whilst outside he practised the most abominable hypocrisy; outraged nature could stand the strain no longer, and, the victim of his own indiscretion, he died on 22nd June 1885. Thus in the zenith of his power did Mohammed Ahmed die, but he had done practically nothing towards substituting a government for that which he had so completely broken down and trampled under foot.

The shock of his death was terrible. The wild fanatics were, so to speak, struck dumb; their eyes were suddenly opened and their very confusion showed they had realised that the Mahdi had been an impostor. It was thought that a revolution must take

place; but he who had all along been the moving spirit of the revolt suddenly asserted himself in the person of the Khalifa Abdullah. This, the elective successor, had been content, during the Mahdi's lifetime, to support Mohammed Ahmed as the religious head, well knowing that the false prophet was but a spiritual figure-head, and that it was his own masterly determination which had been, so to speak, the fly-wheel of the machine.

The strife and discord occasioned by the two remaining Khalifas, on Abdullah's accession to power, was speedily quelled; the new ruler now definitely settled on Omdurman as the capital of the conquered Sudan, and he set to work with amazing energy to secure himself in his new position.

It may, however, be urged that with the death of the Mahdi all belief in the imposture would be at an end; but this was not so, for, in point of fact, from the moment a divine mission is established, a prophet is no longer required; his continued existence is even a source of danger; but the prophet once dead, canonised, and buried in a tomb to which pilgrimage is enjoined, the superstition is on safe ground, and an energetic Khalifa has his hands free. His part is simple, he need pretend to no divine inspiration; he is simply a man appointed as successor by the divinely inspired one who has passed the ordeal in safety.

Abdullah's watchword now, therefore, became "Ed Din Mansur" (religion is victorious), and what prestige the new propaganda had lost by the death of the Mahdi was amply compensated for by the rigorous severity and tyranny of the new Khalifa's rule.

In what I have just said it is my special object to point out that the Sudan Mahdi has followed almost exactly in the footsteps of previous Mahdis and that the formation of the Khalifate succession was, in almost all its essential features, similar to the various Khalifates I have named.

In Moslem countries it is well known with what ease a jihad can be raised. The great masses of the population are simple and uneducated; they are to an extraordinary extent under the influence of their religious Fikis, and the adherence of one of these superstitious teachers to a special cause is tantamount to the adherence of his entire audience. Islam face to face with a new prophet, Mahdi or other, is and ever has been in a difficult position.

To any one desirous of following out the arguments put forth by the orthodox Moslems against the Mahdi, I would recommend a perusal of the reply sent by the Ulemas of Khartum to the Mahdi's proclamation urging them to rise and join him. I think they will

find these arguments halting and self-contradictory; their main object appears to have been to prove that there was no Mahdi; but when an individual so styling himself has arisen and has succeeded in inducing 99 per cent. of the population to believe in him, this line of argument is not likely to be very effective.

That the Khalifa Abdullah should begin his rule by still enforcing the Mahdi's doctrines was not to be doubted, but the real belief which the Mahdi himself had in the divine nature of his mission, and with which he had so successfully inspired his followers, could hardly be kept up with equal force by his successor, who soon showed that he was determined to be a ruler not in name only, but in fact, and that his new rule, based though it was on the newly-implanted religion, was to be of a very much more temporal nature, and the necessity for this soon showed itself.

Before even the Mahdi died, many of his followers were tiring of this constant warfare and movement; their ordinary social and domestic life had been abandoned, cultivation had been neglected, and not a few began to wish for a return to their former modes of life. But if Mahdism, or rather the new power to which it had given birth, was to continue progressive, it was necessary to at once check this tendency; and Abdullah, now holding the reins, and seeing how rapidly the Mahdi had sprung to power, never doubted that he too would have equal, if not greater, conquests than his predecessor. Utterly uneducated and ignorant of the world's history or geography, the capture of Cairo, Constantinople, Mecca, Paris, and London presented to him no greater difficulties than had been experienced in the capture of El Obeid and Khartum. He was to be the conqueror of the world he knew, and he would lose no time in putting forth his strength. But before he could launch out into the unknown regions beyond the Sudan, there still remained something to be done within the immediate sphere of his own influence. A few of the tribes still held aloof from Mahdism; these must at once be forced to accept the cause, and now followed several minor and punitive expeditions, which did their work most completely, inasmuch as their operations resulted in little else than wholesale butchery, whilst the captured women and children were carried off into slavery.

Father Ohrwalder gives the most appalling account of the sights he witnessed at that time, and testifies to the awful cruelty and barbarity which then characterised the Khalifa's successes. Whole districts were depopulated, cattle and camels killed, women ravished, towns and villages reduced to ruins, and fields turned into a wilderness.

What wonder, then, that the inhabitants of the Sudan soon became a prey to abject misery and grievous famine. The utter neglect of all cultivation caused the price of grain to rise. In 1878, which was considered to be a year of famine, the price of grain in the Sudan never exceeded sixteen dollars the *ardeb*, but now in Omdurman it rose to sixty dollars, and in Kassala, for a short time, it reached the astounding price of 240 dollars. People flocked to the capital only to die by thousands of starvation, and this terrible state of affairs lasted for almost a year. Father Ohrwalder estimates that upwards of three-fourths of the population of the Sudan has been destroyed by war, disease, and famine.

But in the midst of all this want and desolation the Khalifa's own tribe—the Baggara—were not allowed to suffer, grain was issued to them from the *beit el mal* at the rate of six dollars the *ardeb*, even when the famine was at its height. Sometime previously this immense tribe or mass of sub-tribes had, by the Khalifa's order, emigrated *en masse* to Omdurman; here they were given the best lands, which were ruthlessly seized from the rightful owners of the soil, and Abdullah took every occasion to heap benefits on his own tribesmen at the expense of the Aulad-belād, as the Jaalin, Danagla, Berabra, and Gezireh tribes are called, in contradistinction to the Baggara. The latter, in the old days of the Government, had been considered little better than slaves by the Aulad-belād; now, gradually but surely, the tables had been turned, and servant and master had changed places.

The Baggara was not the only tribe who quitted their forests and plains in the West to follow their master; the Rizighat, Habbanieh, and other large tribes were also induced to come and settle in Omdurman, the Khalifa's intention being to gradually augment the influence of his own tribesmen and diminish that of the original inhabitants. He had gradually destroyed ancient tribal systems and tribal government; almost all the important sheikhs who had survived were ordered to come and live with their families in the capital, whilst Baggaras were sent to their places. Thus gradually a nucleus of the Khalifa's own tribesmen became established in the various provinces, and their numbers in Omdurman itself gives Abdullah such a preponderating influence that his rivals can have little or no hope of success should they attempt to oppose his authority; on the contrary, they have now fallen under the yoke of most cruel and tyrannical oppressors, by whom they are taxed and plundered to an almost incredible extent; and is it a matter of wonder that they should look back with unfeigned regret to the old Egyptian rule, corrupt and venial as it was?

I believe I am not mistaken in stating that it is popularly supposed by a large number of persons that the Sudanese, who under the leadership of the Mahdi had so effectively struggled to be free, are now living untrammelled in the full enjoyment of the sweets of victory; but this is an absolutely erroneous idea. It is true of the Baggara and other western tribes, who may practically be classed as foreigners, and these have become masters of the situation; their garrisons are scattered in varying strength throughout the country, and they are, to all intents and purposes, as much in occupation of a foreign country as their predecessors, the Egyptians, ever were in occupation of the Sudan. But in this latter case the Egyptian occupation was little better than a farce, and only lasted as long as the local inhabitants were ignorant of their own strength; the instant, however, they exerted it and were combined in a common cause, the feeble Egyptian authority collapsed like a house of cards.

As long as the Mahdi lived, the Aulad-belād held the ascendancy, but with the Khalifa Abdullah's advent, and his gradual but determined action in giving his own tribesmen the preference in everything, the Aulad-belād—already greatly weakened by disease, famine, and war, by the loss of power of their own representative Khalifas, and by a complete destruction of their tribal systems—have sunk into an entirely subservient position, and are now little else than a prey to their former servants, then allies, and lastly their conquerors.

I must crave the patience of my listeners in my endeavour to place before them, with, I trust, not undue prominence, this aspect of the present situation in the Sudan, but I do so because it has occurred to me (though I may be mistaken) that a considerable percentage of the general public who are interested in Sudan affairs still think that the Sudanese who revolted are now in happy independence; while, on the contrary, their struggle to be free has thrown them into the hands of taskmasters who are pitiless in their masterful severity. The piteous appeals of the once-powerful tribes of the Sudan to be freed from their present bondage are indeed proof enough, and more, of their present misery and degradation.

It may, however, be urged, that if this be the case, why should they not again combine to overturn their new oppressors as they did the Egyptians? But the answer is ready to hand. The Baggara is a rule of terrible reality, the Egyptian was exactly the reverse; the tribes which were towers of strength during the Egyptian rule are

many of them absolutely obliterated, whilst others are so merged in the tide of Baggara conquest that they exist little else than in name ; there is no cohesion amongst them ; there are no men worthy to be called leaders ; they have been deprived of their arms, and in many instances of their lands and property ; resistance is hopeless.

There have been several vain attempts to raise a revolt against their oppressors, but they have invariably proved utterly abortive, and have resulted in the imprisonment in chains of the Khalifa Mohammed esh Sherif, and the reduction to almost powerless insignificance of the Khalifa Wad Helu, whilst numbers of their followers have been exiled to Regaf on the White Nile.

The Baggara rule is at present absolute in the Sudan. Its attempts at extension beyond its present limits have, it is true, met with complete failure. The war against Abyssinia, although it accidentally resulted in the death of King John, never added an acre to the Khalifa's dominions in that direction. His attempts to invade Egypt have met with nothing short of absolute disaster. The greatest of all the dervish fighting leaders—the conqueror of Hicks and the director of the assault on Khartum—the redoubtable Wad en Nejumi, fell, with the greater part of his forces, before the English and Egyptian troops under the leadership of General Sir Francis Grenfell at Toski.

The oft-resuscitated Osman Digna, too, has been driven out of his position in the vicinity of Sawakin and Tokar, and at length a period of peace has fallen upon that unfortunate neighbourhood, which has been for upwards of seven years the scene of almost constant warfare.

It is evident, therefore, that Abdullah's pretensions to increase the extent of his dominions have received a severe check, but that he is quite capable of maintaining his authority in what may be called the Sudan proper, provided that he is not molested by foreign intrusion, would seem unquestionable. What would happen in case of his death it is hard to predict, though rumour points to the succession of his son Osman, and this is but one more proof of the wane of the religious side of Mahdiism ; for if the precedent of the early days of Islam were followed, the succession should devolve on the Khalifa Ali Wad Helu, who, as I have already stated, has been rendered almost powerless.

I fear I have already overstepped the limits of time ascribed for this paper, but the following brief sketch of Abdullah's character, as described by Ohrwalder, may be of interest :—" He is an intensely vain and proud man, very cruel and quick-tempered. Occasionally

his ideas are good, but so surrounded is he by fanatics that his ideas, however good they may be, generally die almost before they are born. He is of a most distrustful nature, because he knows he is surrounded by enemies; thus he is a curious mixture of resolution and inconstancy. He listens eagerly to calumnies, and delights in hearing evil spoken of other people. This causes his decisions to be changeable and capricious; he is much guided by what low slanderers tell him, but they have to watch his temper very closely, and have become great adepts at humouring him. He is fearful and jealous of his authority, and the very smallest infringement of it is looked upon as a most serious crime and punished accordingly. He has surrounded himself with spies, who pander to his jealous and tyrannical nature."

The following is Ohrwalder's brief estimate of the present situation in the Sudan:—"Mahdiism was founded on plunder and violence, and by plunder and violence it is carried on. In some districts half the people are dead, in others the loss of life is even greater. Whole tribes have been completely blotted out; in their place roam wild beasts, spreading and increasing in fierceness and in numbers, until they bid fair to finish the destruction of the human race, for they enter huts, and women and children are no longer safe."

Such has been the rise and such is the wane of the religion which led to the latest holy war; such has been the history of former Mahdis and Khalifates, and such it may be again. The only difference is that the Khalifate with which we have to deal is the first which has arisen under European observation; its propaganda have been carefully studied, and whatever aspect of it we may examine, we will find that the whole may be summed up in the familiar phrase, "Your money or your life."

SECTION V.
GEOGRAPHICAL.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

BY

THE RIGHT HON. SIR M. E. GRANT DUFF, G.C.S.I., F.R.S.,

President.

THE most useful contribution which I can make to the work of the Geographical Section of this Congress will be, I think, to review very briefly the principal additions which have been made in recent years to our knowledge of the continent of Asia.

And as "recent years" is a somewhat vague expression, I will take as a convenient starting-point the January of 1869, because it was in that month that the last Lord Strangford, who did more than any one else, by his brightly written contributions to reviews and newspapers, to explain to the general public the bearing and importance of the work which was being done by geographers in the countries lying between the Adriatic on the west and the frontiers of India and of China on the east, prematurely closed his brief and brilliant career.

As a clue through the labyrinth of Asiatic exploration, I shall chiefly use the addresses which have been delivered by successive Presidents of the Royal Geographical Society. The sort of brief review which alone can be attempted, on such an occasion as this, must inevitably omit the names of very many persons who have made useful contributions to Asiatic geography; but I think the chances are that in making it I shall be able to notice, however shortly, a larger number of the travellers who most deserve mention than in any other way which has suggested itself to me.

Sir Henry Rawlinson, "*clarum et venerabile nomen*" to all who discuss Asiatic geography, said in his first address, delivered twenty years ago, to the Royal Geographical Society:—

"Geographical research in Asia does not lead to the same large and brilliant results as in Africa and Australia. There are, in the former continent, no great discoveries to reward exploration; no important physical features to be determined; no rivers, lakes, or mountains to be introduced for the first time into the map. All that is left for the most successful inquirer is to verify a few doubtful points of geography, or to fill in topographical details of more or less extent

and consequence. Yet is the East so rich in associations of the past, so mixed up with the material interests of the present, that the mere gleanings as it were of Asiatic travel command often more attention than the full harvest of discovery in other quarters."

In saying this, Sir Henry somewhat underrated the triumphs which were still reserved for Asiatic explorers; but he was thinking no doubt of the enormously greater extent of unexplored territory which still, in 1872, deformed the map of Africa, and also suspected, what has turned out to be the case, that a very large proportion of the parts of Asia which were then unknown, were unknown simply because they were unfit for human habitation.

But we are not yet arrived at 1872. In the January of 1869 the Royal Geographical Society was still swayed by the sceptre of Sir Roderick Murchison.

The Asiatic subjects which made most figure in his presidential address of that year were the information collected by the Pundits employed by Captain, later Colonel Montgomerie in the mountainous south-western region of Tibet; the journey of Mr. Shaw, the Kangra tea-planter, with his caravan of merchandise into Yarkand territory; and Colonel, now General Walker's great map of Turkistan, based upon the surveys made by Russian and British officers, as well as on the most recent itineraries up to 1867, and marking a step in our cartography of that region greater than any that had been made for nearly thirty years. It will be remembered that during that period, thanks to an ingenious but grossly dishonest mystification, and to some other causes, our knowledge of Central Asia had gone rather backward than forward. In the same address special attention was drawn to one result of the new knowledge which General Walker had co-ordinated in his map, to the great increase, namely, which had been made to the width of the mountain country between the Upper Oxus Valley and the basin of Eastern Turkistan. Until this change had been effected, every one was puzzled by the great number of days assigned by old travellers to the transit between Eastern and Western Turkistan, and naturally the first to rejoice in the clearing up of the difficulty was their most ardent student, Colonel, later Sir Henry Yule. Other interesting events mentioned in the address of 1869 were Captain Sladen's expedition *via* Bhamô to Momein, the frontier city of the short-lived Panthay power, and the attempt of that intrepid but ill-fated explorer, Mr. T. T. Cooper, to traverse the unknown region between Sze-chuen and Assam. He got, it will be remembered, only as far as Bathang. A third was the French exploration of the great Cambodia river, which was conducted to a

satisfactory conclusion, after the lamented death of the commander of the expedition, by Lieutenant Francis Garnier. The party started from Saigon in 1866, reached Kiang-Hung—the terminus of Lieutenant, later General Macleod's remarkable journey in 1837—then struck northwards through Yunan, and eventually reached the Yang-tsze, not, however, until Lieutenant Garnier had, at great personal risk, succeeded in penetrating to the Panthay capital.

In the following year the patron's medal of the Royal Geographical Society was awarded to this distinguished explorer, and the founder's medal was received by Sir Henry Rawlinson on behalf of Mr. Hayward, who earned that honour by travels along the upper courses of the Khoten and Yarkand rivers, and by careful measurements and observations on his journey from Ladak to Yarkand and Kashgar. At the time the medal was decreed him, he was pushing his investigations in the direction of the Upper Oxus, and it was on that expedition that not long afterwards he was assassinated.

In 1870 Sir Roderick was able to announce that Mr. Douglas Forsyth, a distinguished Indian civilian, was about to be sent on a special mission to the Ataligh Ghazee, accompanied by Mr. Shaw.

While our own countrymen were thus advancing knowledge in what we used to call Interior Central Asia or Eastern Turkistan, Sir Roderick was able to tell of good work done by the Russians in Western Turkistan, and to eulogise, amongst other things, the Memoir by Baron Osten Sacken, translated by Mr. Delmar Morgan, adding characteristically : "The day, indeed, has now arrived, and to my great delight, when the Russian Imperial Government on the north, and the British Government on the south, are rivals in thoroughly exploring and determining their respective frontiers, leaving between each dominion wild tracts which will probably be for ever independent, but whose chiefs will well know how to respect their powerful neighbours."

In the presidential address of 1871, which was prepared, but not delivered, by Sir Roderick Murchison, who had been meantime struck down by the disease which eventually proved fatal to him, the veteran geographer had to deplore the sad end of Mr. Hayward ; to record the journey of one of Montgomerie's explorers known as Mirza, who made a survey of the southern portion of the Pamir plateau, 350 miles of the ground traversed by him being perfectly new ; was able to congratulate Mr. Shaw upon the exploration of a considerable portion of unsurveyed ground between the Karakorum and the Kuen-Lun ; to record the expedition of the Archimandrite Palladius through Manchuria, which took him over nearly a thousand

miles in one of the least known parts of Asia, as well as the journey of Dr. Radlof in Mongolia. He had also much to say of exploration on the Upper Yangtze, and the setting saluted the rising sun when he recorded the first Chinese travels of the Baron von Richthofen, and told the Geographical Society, on the authority of that eminent man of science, that the coalfields of Shansi were capable of supplying the whole world at the present rate of consumption for thousands of years to come. To this year, too, belongs the publication of Mr. Markham's Memoir on the Indian Surveys, furnishing a history of what has been done for the advancement of geography and kindred sciences in India from the days of Rennell up to twenty years ago. The marine survey and the trigonometrical, the revenue survey, the topographical survey, the geological survey, the archæological survey, together with meteorological and tidal observations made in India, are all fully noticed. A warm tribute was paid in the presidential address to Mr. Markham's work soon after it appeared, as well as to his labours in the geographical department at the India Office, from which issued in that year two small and cheap, but elaborate maps of the mountains and river basins of India, prepared by Mr. Trelawney Saunders. I was at that time Under-Secretary at the India Office, and I may take this opportunity of mentioning, to the credit of that highly meritorious geographer, that when it was the prevalent opinion that the Mahomedan power would certainly maintain itself in Yarkand, and perhaps also in Yunan, Mr. Trelawney Saunders warned me that the Chinese hold over these countries would quite certainly be reasserted. I had not lived many years before I saw reason to admire his foresight.

Perhaps the greatest event connected with the geography of Asia in 1871 was the publication of Colonel, afterwards Sir Henry Yule's magnificent edition of Marco Polo, a real triumph of labour, enthusiasm, scholarship, and sagacity.

In the following year, when the death of Sir Roderick had placed the guidance of the Geographical Society in the hands of Sir Henry Rawlinson, that great expert was able to congratulate his hearers on the reconstruction of the map of Southern Arabia by the Baron von Maltzan; on the researches of Captain, later General Miles, the assistant to the Resident at Aden; upon good geographical work done in Persia and the countries between it and India by Sir Frederick Goldsmid and others; upon the journey of the native explorer known as the Havildar; and on Dr. Anderson's report on the expedition to Western Yunan, which was led by Major Sladen. He had much to tell too of Russian surveys over upwards of a thousand miles

east and south-east from Krasnovodsk Bay, of a new map of Khokand made by M. Struve, and the explorations of M. Schépeleff in Kuldja.

In 1873 Mr. Ney Elias received the founder's medal of the Geographical Society partly for various short journeys in China, partly for a great one from that country through Mongolia to the Russian frontier and so to Nijni Novgorod, during which he carried on through the whole of his route a continuous series of most careful observations. Much, too, was done during this time incidentally to extend geographical knowledge both by our own Government and by the Russians; by our own Government through Sir Frederick Goldsmid and Sir Richard Pollock's delimitation of the Afghan and Persian frontiers; by the Russian Government through the march of Russian columns accompanied by professional topographers across the steppes in the direction of Khiva.

Sir Bartle Frere, who was President of the Geographical Society in 1874, had the painful task of communicating to it the death of Mr. Francis Garnier, and the more agreeable one of enumerating a long list of successful explorations by Russian geographers, of whom Prejevalsky, who became afterwards so well known, was perhaps the most distinguished. His travels extended even at that time over no less than 7300 miles of Interior Central Asia. Another successful explorer of that day was Dr. Fritsche, Director of the Pekin Observatory, who travelled through Eastern Mongolia on his way from Pekin to Nerchinsk in Eastern Siberia, and their exploits were emulated by others of their countrymen, partly in the Chinese Empire and partly in Asiatic Russia; while Sir Bartle was also able to say, in continuation of the remarks of his predecessor, that the military expedition of 1873 to Khiva had resulted in a considerable accession to geographical knowledge. English explorers were not idle during this period; and Captain, now Colonel Trotter, of the great trigonometrical survey of India, was able to announce that the scientific observations of Russia and England had now crossed each other in friendly rivalry, the road from Kashgar to the crest of the Tian-shan being a link in the chain across Asia common to both countries. Colonel Gordon at the same time explored a portion of the Pamir, and Captain, now Colonel Biddulph, was despatched by him to examine the country from Kashgar to Aksu. All these researches were connected with Mr. Forsyth's mission to the court of the Ataligh Ghazee, already alluded to.

In 1875 Sir Henry Rawlinson had to thank the Russians for a great deal of useful work done in the year which immediately pre-

ceded the delivery of his address, more especially the expedition to examine the delta of the Oxus and the country adjoining it; had to tell of the steady progress made by our own countryman, Captain Felix Jones, with his great map of the countries between the Persian Gulf and the Mediterranean, and of increases made to our knowledge of the geography of Persia by the cartographical and other labours of Major, later Sir Oliver St. John, Sir Frederick Goldsmid, and Colonel Baker.

Other subjects which came under review were the work done by Captain Trotter and by Captain Biddulph in the regions south of Kashgar to Pamir-Kul, and then westwards over the Little Pamir by Pamir-Kul Lake, which they ascertained to be the source of a river called at first the Aksu and afterwards the Murghabi, now considered to be a head-water of the Oxus itself. In dealing with China, Sir Henry had to chronicle the commencement of the travels and researches of the Lazarist Père David, who for a dozen years previous to the date of which I am speaking had been steadily pushing geographical and botanical research on the Upper Yangtze in Mongolia, Manchuria, and Northern China.

The year 1876 was rich in new geographical works relating to Asia. Sir Henry Rawlinson in his address to the Royal Geographical Society had to speak of the quarto printed by the Indian Government containing the official reports on scientific subjects submitted by the members of Sir Douglas Forsyth's Mission, of Mr. Markham's "Tibet," of Dr. Anderson's "Mandalay to Momein," of Major Herbert Wood's volume on the Aralo-Caspian Basin, and Mr. Delmar Morgan's translation of Prejevalsky's travels in Mongolia, annotated by Sir Henry Yule.

Other subjects on which he touched were a variety of Siberian expeditions promoted by the Russian Geographical Society or the Government, further explorations in Central Asia along the old bed of the Oxus and elsewhere. He had to tell, too, of the treacherous attack upon the English political agent, Captain Holcombe, by the Nagas, and of surveys carried on in Manipur territory.

In the year 1877 one of the medals of the Royal Geographical Society was assigned to the native Indian traveller who became famous through all Europe as the Pundit, but whose real name was Nain Singh. He made his fame by his great journey in 1865-66 from the capital of Nepaul to Lhàsa, carrying a route-survey over some 1200 miles, and determining the position of that famous place. After many other valuable services, he travelled from Ladak to Lhàsa, and returned thence to Assam, a journey of more than 1300 miles,

in which, amongst other things, he examined a long and hitherto unknown portion of the Brahmaputra.

Other matters of interest to Asiatic geographers of which Sir Rutherford Alcock had to tell were the expeditions of Colonel Sosnoffsky from Kiakhta to Peking, Shanghai, and Hankow, and researches, both geographical and geological, in the basin of the Yenisei and the Lena.

Both the geographical medals in the year 1878 were given to travellers who had added to our knowledge of Asia. The founder's medal went to Baron von Richthofen, chiefly for his four years' exploration of China, in the course of which he made seven long journeys, traversing twelve of its provinces from end to end, and recording his results in a work so well written that Sir Henry Rawlinson said, "Though it is vast and copious, there is not a dull page in it."

The patron's medal was awarded to Captain Trotter, whose name I have had occasion so often to mention, for having, in the capacity of geographer to Sir Douglas Forsyth's Mission to Kashgar, conducted the survey operations which resulted in the connection of the trigonometrical survey of India with Russian surveys from Siberia, and for having further improved the map of Central Asia by uniting his own work on the Upper Oxus with the exploration of the Mollah and Havildar, so as to give for the first time a nearly continuous delineation of the course of that river down to the frontiers of Balkh. At this time the attention of the Russians was very much absorbed by the Turkish war, but nevertheless Sir Rutherford Alcock was able to include in his geographical survey a good deal of information contributed by Mr. Delmar Morgan with regard to work done shortly before this time, as well in Khokand as in Turkistan. In the year 1879, however, the Russian Colonel Prejevalsky was the geographical hero, and had a good second in our own countryman, Captain Gill. Prejevalsky was honoured for the great additions he had made to our knowledge by his successive expeditions into the unexplored parts of Mongolia and the high deserts of Northern Tibet, in the latest of which he penetrated from Kuldja to Lob-Nor, and to the hitherto unknown mountain-range of Altyn-Tag. Captain Gill, who had some years before done much to increase our knowledge of the northern border of Persia, started from Shanghai in January 1877, proceeded up the Yang-tsze, struck across Sze-chuen, and crossing the frontiers of Tibet, reached Bathang. Then, with better fortune than Mr. Cooper, he travelled south to Tali-fu, and so, passing the place where Mr. Margary was murdered, to Bhamô, on the Irawaddy,

illustrating the latter part of his journey by careful and complete maps of forty-two miles to the inch. Mr. Margary's death had, previous to this period, led to Mr. Grosvenor's journey from Hankow to Burmah, and to Mr. Baber's official report on the route from Tali-fu to Momein.

In 1879 Mr. Markham, who delivered the address on the progress of geography in the capacity of Honorary Secretary to the Society, was able to record that the advance of our troops across the Afghan frontier by three different routes had added considerably to our acquaintance with the country traversed; that a further section of the unexplored course of the Brahmaputra had become known to science; that Colonel Ross, Captain Napier, and other soldiers had done good work in Persia, as had also a Spanish traveller, Señor Rivadeneyra; that the Inland Mission in China, and especially Mr. Mc'Carthy, had also ascertained many facts of importance, and that efficiency and activity had from 1873 onwards taken the place of neglect in the matter of Indian marine surveys, with the result that, thanks to the invitation of Captain Taylor, a surveying vessel was being built at Bombay which has become widely and most creditably known as "The Investigator."

A Russian journey to the Alai, another to the mountainous country south of Bokhara, a third to Mazar-i-Sharif, the chief town of Afghan Turkistan, and so on to Maimenah and across the mountains to the plain of Herat, was also mentioned, as was the discovery of the sheer ice-wall, 240 feet high, from which the Sel-sai issues, and which was named by its discoverer, M. Oshanin, "The Fedchenko Glacier."

Lord Northbrook in 1880 had not a little to tell which must have been agreeable to him both in his capacity of ex-Viceroy of India and President of the Geographical Society; as, for instance, of Captain Samuell's calmly surveying at Ali Musjid under the fire of the enemy's guns, and continuing his operations after a cannon-ball had passed between the legs of his plane-table; of Captain, now Colonel Woodthorpe, while similarly engaged, having his life saved by his pocket sketch-book; of the labours of Colonel Tanner along the Hunza River, and much else of the same sort.

The address of Lord Aberdare in 1881 was less occupied with Asia than with the Arctic Regions and Africa, but he too had to chronicle the termination of Prejevalsky's scientific expedition to Tibet, and his visit to the Upper Hoangho after having been turned back on his march to Lhàsa. Mr. Delmar Morgan's journey through Western Siberia and Semiretchia to Kuldja, as well as Mr. Col-

borne Baber's visit to Western Sze-Chuen were also honourably mentioned.

By the year 1882 we were fairly within what will be called in the twentieth century the African period of the nineteenth; but Lord Aberdare could nevertheless recount the results of a good deal of exploration in Asia, such as the journey of Colonel Stewart, in the disguise of an Armenian horse-dealer, to the frontier regions of Khorassan and the Tekke Turcoman country; Mr. O'Donovan's visit to Merv; Mr. Lessar's railway survey carried east to Sarakhs, and the researches of Dr. Regel, who, having visited it for botanical investigations, proved that the "roof of the world" was broken up into ridges and narrow valleys.

In 1883 Asia was more fortunate than in the preceding year. Of the two geographical medals, one fell to Sir Joseph Hooker, the most illustrious of living botanists, for much good work done to promote the knowledge of the earth, and not least for what he had accomplished as a young man in the Himalayan range. The other was awarded to Mr. Colborne Baber for travels to which I have already alluded. Surveys in the Elburz range by Colonel Beresford Lovett, an important paper by Colonel Bateman Champain on communication between Central Persia and the sea, and researches in the Malayan Archipelago were also commemorated in Lord Aberdare's presidential address.

Asian travel obtained in 1884 one of the geographical medals for Mr. Colquhoun for his route-survey carried through Southern China in 1882 from Canton to Bhamô, over 1300 miles, described by Sir Henry Yule as the best that had yet been made from sea to sea across Further India in or near the latitude of Canton. Sir Charles Wilson's journeys in Asia Minor; the explorations of a variety of Russian travellers in or near the Pamirs; Mr. M'Nair's journey through the Swat and Chitral Valleys into Kafirstan, and so across the Tiu Pass by Gilgit to Cashmere, were also noticed. About the same time two new names of native explorers, worthy successors of the Pundit, began to appear. One of them, known as A—— K——, made a four years' journey through Tibet and Mongolia, his work connecting with that of Prejevalsky and Gill. He it was who cleared up the long-disputed identity of the Sanpo and the Brahmaputra. Lord Aberdare had also much to tell of difficult and dangerous exploration by native surveyors in the passes leading to the Afghan uplands through the border hills, and to record the fact that Major Holdich had placed his theodolite on the highest peak of the Throne of Solomon. The surveys of Captain Talbot, Colonel Tanner, Colonel

Woodthorpe and others, with the ascents of mountain peaks in Kumaon and Sikkim by Mr. Graham, were other events on which its President was able to congratulate the Geographical Society.

Africa bore off the geographical medals in 1885, but Asia had its part in Lord Aberdare's account of exploration. Sir Peter Lumsden, Major Holdich, and other officers connected with the British and Russian Afghan Boundary Commission, being those of whose labours he had most to say, though they had a rival in Professor Ramsay, who by this time was embarked on those studies in Asia Minor of which I shall have more to say presently.

The journey of Mr. Needham from Sadiya to Rima, the vexed questions connected with the portion of the Brahmaputra not yet traced, the explorations of Colonel Woodthorpe and others between Assam and the Upper Irawaddy, the travels of Mr. Holt Hallett in Burmah, undertaken with a view to the construction of a railway to connect India with China, with various papers upon Burmah, Western China, and Corea found honourable mention in Lord Lorne's address of 1886.

In the following year Asiatic geography, as represented by Colonel Holdich, again had its share of the geographical medals, and General Strachey had to record the journey of Mr. Ney Elias from Ladakh to Chinese Turkistan, and then over the Pamir to the Khanate of Shignan. General Strachey sketched too the journey of Mr. Carey and Mr. Dalgleish from Leh, across the high Tibetan plateau, descending upon Kiria by a rugged defile *viâ* Polu, and advancing thence to Khotan, a place which, even when Lord Lawrence was Viceroy, seemed to us the very world's end, but which to this adventurous member of the Indian Civil Service was little more than a starting-place for a very long journey round Chinese Turkistan and along the northern frontier of Tibet, in the course of which he covered twenty degrees of longitude and ten of latitude.

The Asiatic journeys which attracted most attention when General Strachey delivered his address in 1888 were those of Mr. Carey, which I have just mentioned, and that of Mr. Younghusband, who starting from Pekin with a very small party of native guides and carriers, travelled to Hami by the Gobi desert, making a survey of his route, and connecting it with that made by Mr. Ney Elias some years before. From Hami Mr. Younghusband went to Kashgar, then to Yarkand, and thence by a terribly difficult pass over the Mustagh range back into the realms of relative civilisation.

A good deal of Russian work, including the travels of M. Potanin and his wife in Mongolia, and of Messrs. Garnack and Ressine in the

range between Mongolia and Manchuria, also came in for honorific notice. Other heroes of a time rich in Asiatic exploration were Mr. James and Mr. Tulford who made a very interesting journey through the heart of Manchuria.

In 1889 Mr. Carey received the founder's medal of the Geographical Society, more fortunate than Mr. Dalgleish, who, before that honour fell to his companion, had been treacherously murdered. The patron's medal went to Dr. Radde, the Director of the Natural History Museum at Tiflis, for a long life devoted to the promotion of scientific geography in Eastern Siberia and the Caucasian chain, in Trans-Caspia, and many other places. It was acknowledged in a speech of remarkable merit, one of the best ever, I think, addressed to the President of the Geographical Society on a similar occasion. A variety of Russian travellers were congratulated by General Strachey in his address of 1889; among them M. Grombchevsky, who traversed the Pamirs from north to south; M. Nikolsky, who explored Lake Balkash and its fishes; but they had lost from among their number General Prejevalsky, who died just as he was commencing a new expedition. There was also good work to be noticed in connection with the Black Mountain operations on the north-west frontier of India, in Burmah, and in Afghanistan, as well as in the Caucasus, where a sad accident destroyed the valuable lives of Messrs. Fox and Donkin.

Captain Younghusband received the founder's medal in 1890 for his great journey through what was known to Marco Polo as the land of Gog and Magog; and the President of the Geographical Society had to notice also the important journey of Colonel Mark Bell from Pekin to Kashgaria, and the progress under Colonel Pevtsoff of the Russian expedition, which would have been the fifth of the great journeys of Prejevalsky if he had not died before he had passed the Russian frontier. A French traveller, M. Dauvergne, had also been doing good service to geography along the northern foot of the Hindu Kush; while Mr. Rockhill, Secretary to the American Legation at Pekin, had made a courageous attempt to penetrate to Lhàsa. By this time also, Mr. Curzon had begun to give to the public some of the information about Persia which has since been incorporated in his book published this year, which will for a long time supersede all others dealing with that country. Mr. Freshfield and Mr. Dent had been in the previous year making further explorations in the Caucasus, which also called for acknowledgment.

Neither of the medals of 1891 went to Asia, but the travels of various Russian explorers, more especially of the brothers Grum

Grijimalo along the flanks of the Tian-shan and Altai ranges, whence they passed to Lob-Nor and Northern China, were extremely important, resulting, amongst other things, in the discovery of a mountain mass, the altitude of which they state to be 19,700 feet; and the exploration of a tract south of Turfan, which turned out to be below the level of the sea; the long and hardy journey of Prince Henry of Orleans and his companions from Kuldja to the Tibetan frontier of China also came in for recognition; and attention was pointedly drawn to the large amount of valuable geographical information which was quite unnecessarily shut up at Simla and Calcutta, seeing that most of it might be proclaimed by the voice of a herald at Charing Cross without the possibility of the smallest mischief accruing to the public service in any sort of way.

Mr. and Mrs. Theodore Bent, who had previously visited the Cyclades and the Bahrein Islands, communicated to the Geographical Society in 1890 the results of an interesting exploration made by them in the spring of that year, which deserved and received notice in the address of 1891.

In 1892 also the geographical medals were given for services unconnected with the continent of Asia, though some of Mr. Wallace's most important work had been done not far from it. Lord Lamington's journey through the Northern Shan States to Tonkin, Mr. Hogarth's travels in Asia Minor, Mr. Littledale's expedition across the Pamirs, and Mr. Campbell's journey to the "Long White Mountain" on the borders of Corea and Manchuria, were amongst the Asiatic subjects which most engaged the attention of the Society at its last anniversary meeting. Captain Younghusband, too, had been doing more useful work, while Major Hobday and others had been disclosing some of the secrets of the Upper Irawaddy. We are now looking forward with no little curiosity to learn more than has yet been allowed to transpire about Captain Bower's journey in the hitherto unexplored areas of Tibet, and to what Mr. Conway and Mr. Bruce, who had gone to study the glaciers of the Karakorum, may be able to communicate to us.

A countless number of Asiatic travellers, whose names I have found it impossible to mention, contributed papers on unknown or scarcely known districts, from the beginning of 1869 onwards, to the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* and to the *Proceedings*, which, in the year 1879, took its place. Of many of these there is a list in Mr. Markham's "Fifty Years' Work of the Royal Geographical Society," and most of those which have been published since are noticed in the "Bibliography of British Geographical Work, from

1789 to 1889," prepared by Mr. Keltie. While, however, many have been at work in adding to our knowledge of the great sparsely inhabited regions of Central Asia, Siberia, or Arabia, others have been engaged in a not less fruitful or interesting kind of geographical study in coming to know minutely certain limited areas which are exceptionally interesting from the historical events which have occurred in them or from other causes. The regions of Asia in which most has been done in this way from 1869 onwards have been Palestine and the huge continent for which our geographical expression is the word India, and which nearly all, except those who have been there, think of as a single country. To give the faintest outline of what has been done since 1869 to make the world better acquainted with India would require not one, but many addresses.

I have spoken already of Mr. Markham's book on Indian Surveys, but every President of the Geographical Society, since that book was published, has had much to say about their progress; and I have to-day alluded more than once to the numerous explorations connected with them, and often under the direction of some of their principal officers in the countries conterminous to India.

Long ago, when in charge of Indian affairs in the House of Commons, I fully acknowledged that part of our duty there "was to extend geographical and scientific research to every corner of India, and as occasion serves, to all those countries adjacent to India, for the exploration of which its rulers have facilities not shared by other men, to make a royal road for every inquirer who wishes to collect whatever of value to mankind at large has, through countless ages, been carved on stone, or stamped on metal, or recorded in manuscript through Southern Asia."

I think the Government of India there and at home has, as regards everything that lies within the bounds of India, continued to follow that course, and a great deal has been done all round the frontier to acquire geographical knowledge. If that knowledge has, as I have already remarked, not been communicated as fully to the public as might have been the case; if geographers in the Indian services have sometimes sighed for "*la liberté comme en Russie*," I am sure the cause of the mischief has not been any desire on the part of the Government of India to disoblige the scientific world, and I trust there is reason to hope that the embargo placed upon perfectly innocuous knowledge may be removed. Many pages of the Bibliography to which I lately referred are occupied by an enumeration of the books, or pamphlets, or papers appearing since 1869 in the Journal and Proceedings of the Geographical Society relating to India, and

it would be idle to attempt to speak of them here. I will mention only one fact, which shows how immensely more we know about India than we did in 1869. In that year the very best guess that could be made as to the population of India at the India Office put it at two hundred millions; now we know that that computation fell short by at least forty millions, and the latest census puts the population, including the new Burmah annexations, at above two hundred and sixty-six millions.

I have said that it would be idle to attempt to enumerate the principal works connected with Indian geography which have appeared since 1869, but one must be named, and that is the great *Gazetteer* which was brought out under the editorship of Sir William Hunter. If any one wants to have a good idea of what India is without giving the subject too much time, he should read the article 'India,' which forms a whole volume of that *Gazetteer*, and supplement it by Sir John Strachey's book, also published under the title of "India," which gives a full and accurate idea of our system of government there. Honourable mention must also be made of the beautiful atlas of India, prepared by Mr. Trelawney Saunders, and published by Mr. Stanford in 1889.

Next to India, the country in which there has been most extensive exploration has been Palestine. In the earlier part of the century there was a Palestine Society in England, but it, like the African Society, became merged in the Royal Geographical Society, which dates from 1830. It was not, however, till 1865 that the examination of Palestine by thoroughly trained experts, amongst whom officers of the Royal Engineers took the most conspicuous place, was set on foot. The quarterly statement of that body was first published in the spring of 1869.

Up to 1886, when Mr. Besant put forth his *résumé* of the work of its founders, it had received and expended over £66,000, and had produced, amongst many other things, its work in six very large volumes called "The Survey of Western Palestine," forming a most valuable contribution to geography as well as to history.

Mr. Besant brings the state of our knowledge of Palestinian geography, at the time when the Society commenced its labours, into sharp contrast with its condition after those labours had been continued for twenty-one years.

Here is the state of things at its commencement: "We had before the meeting of June 22, 1886, an enlargement of a portion of Van de Velde's map, and beside it an enlargement of the Society's survey of the same portion. The first, with its hills roughly sketched in, its

valleys laid down roughly, and its inhabited places, villages, or ruins, gives absolutely all that was known of this piece of country before the survey. It was on such a map as this, the best at the time, because the most faithful, that the geographical student had to work. There was little use, from a geographical point of view, in consulting previous books of travel, because they gave no facts other than had been taken from them and laid down upon the map by Van de Velde; hardly any single place was laid down correctly; none of the hill-shading was accurate; the course of the rivers and valleys was not to be depended upon; the depression of the Lake of Galilee was variously stated; distances were estimated by the rough reckoning of time taken from place to place; and out of the 10,000 names collected by our officers and laid upon our map, Van de Velde's had about 1800, while the general index of names given by Robinson shows only 1712 names. Not a single position certain; not a single distance trustworthy; not a range of hills, not a wady or a river, correctly laid down; and only an eighth part of the modern names collected, and this for a country where the ancient names survive with a most remarkable vitality, clinging under changed forms to the old sites."

And here is the state of things in 1886: "To sum up, therefore, as to the value of this survey to the world at large. Not only has there been a very great extension of the known sites, but, for the first time, the natural features of the country have been laid down in exact detail, so that the reader of the Bible may now follow, step by step, the events of which he reads. It is no longer with him a question as to which route might have been followed; he need no longer, to arrive at the true distances from place to place, follow Robinson, Guérin, and the rest, in their tedious 'two hours to the east, then an hour and a quarter to the north-east,' and so forth; he can simply take a compass and measure the exact distance. More than this, he can follow on the map the route which must have been taken in any expedition. If, again, he will turn from the map to the memoirs, he will learn the character of the country and its fertility, its ancient vineyards, terraced hills, and olive-presses, its modern forests, its fountains—in one sheet alone of the map there are two hundred fountains—and its flora. Again, if he wishes to study the history of the country subsequent to that of the Bible, he will find how one ruin stands upon another, and that upon an older ruin still; so that even in Joshua's time there were already ruins in the land; how you may find the mosque built from the materials of the church, the church from those of the synagogue, or the Turkish fort from the Crusading

castle, the castle from the monastery, the monastery from the Roman walls."

It may, in short, be fairly claimed for the survey of Western Palestine that nothing has ever been done for the illustration and right understanding of the historical portions of the Old and New Testament since the translation into the vulgar tongue which may be compared with this great work.

The survey of Eastern Palestine was vigorously undertaken, and would no doubt long ere this have been completed in a satisfactory manner, had it not been for the refusal of the Turkish Government to permit the explorers sent by the Society to continue a work which would, in the nature of things, have been a godsend to any Government which was conducted on the principles usually accepted in civilised communities. Till the Porte listens to reason, the work of the Society must remain incomplete. The past has been its own, and it may be congratulated upon having awakened a very general interest in the subject to which it has devoted itself, as well as on the foundation of various other societies for the exploration of Palestine, and of the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, for the publication of ancient writings bearing upon the same studies.

America, which, before the establishment of our Palestine Exploration Society, took the lead, thanks to Dr. Robinson, in this department of study, founded a Palestine Exploration Society of its own, one interesting product of which is Mr. Merrill's book, "East of the Jordan," published in 1881.

Further I will not attempt to pursue the subject of Palestine exploration, for an account of the principal things which have been done since the publication of Mr. Besant's book will be given us by Mr. Haskett Smith, than whom no one is better suited by recent and minute study of the country to add to our knowledge of it.

Another region in which much intensive exploration has been done since 1879 is Asia Minor, and in hardly any part of the Asiatic continent is exploration likely to produce more remarkable results, seeing that it was the bridge by which civilisation passed into Europe, and over which Hellenic culture returned once more to the East.

Of recent explorers in that country, the most distinguished is Professor Ramsay of Oxford and Aberdeen, whose historical geography of Asia Minor was published in 1890 as one of the supplementary volumes issued by the Geographical Society, and Mr. Hogarth of Magdalen College, Oxford, who read an interesting paper at one of its evening meetings during the session recently concluded.

American travellers have also of late done good service there as well as in Palestine.

It would be unpardonable to forget that the Hakluyt Society has done much for the comparative geography of Asia ever since its foundation in 1847, when it was formed for the purpose of printing rare and unpublished voyages and travels. Amongst many others of its publications since the beginning of 1869 have been three voyages of Vasco de Gama, the Commentaries of Albuquerque, the voyage of Pyrard de Laval, and the diary of William Hedges, on which Sir Henry Yule bestowed great and most fruitful labour.

Military and political requirements round the Indian frontier, administrative necessities in India itself, religious feeling in Palestine, an increased interest at the Universities in the nobler side of classical study, have, it will be seen from what I have said, combined with an Ulyssean desire to

“ Follow knowledge like a sinking star
Beyond the utmost bound of human thought,”

in impelling men to add to the volume of geographical facts already known. Another impulse seems likely to be found very useful in the future; this is the passion for climbing which broke out like an epidemic in England something more than a generation and a half ago, and has spread to many other countries. In the early days of the movement it was remarked that our mountaineers “led too much the life of mere ibexes; they went up in the morning to gaze, and they came down at night to feed.” Long since, however, a considerable proportion of them have taken quite a different view of the responsibilities involved in the possession of muscular limbs, good lungs, and strong heads. It is to this passion we owe not a little valuable geographical work, extensive and intensive, which has been done since January 1869. It was just before that date that Mr. Freshfield made two great Caucasian ascents, not actually in Asia, but very near it; and he and others, largely inspired by him, have since made all the adjoining lands far better known to science. To the same passion too we owe Mr. Bryce’s ascent of Mount Ararat, Mr. Conway’s expedition to the Karakorum which I have already mentioned, and countless other raids of the same kind. We may be very sure that they are destined in the future to multiply with every year.

It is right that all these different tastes and passions should co-operate towards the progress of geography, for earth-knowledge must in the very nature of things be the nexus of all the sciences,

and in one sense the *scientia scientiarum*. It is destined, I believe, to become a more and more important study for ages to come, and few portions of it seem likely during the next fifty years, thanks to the concurrence of a great many causes, commercial, political, and other, to be more interesting, at least in England, than the geography of Asia, to the continental portion of which I have confined this rapid review, from which so much that deserves attention has, in obedience to the imperious necessities of time, been unwillingly omitted.

II.

ON THE

PERMANENT ATTACHMENT OF RELIGIOUS VENERATION TO SPECIAL LOCALITIES IN ASIA MINOR.

BY

PROFESSOR W. M. RAMSAY.

I SHOULD explain that the following remarks, in so far as they relate to Turkish facts, are founded entirely on the actual beliefs of the present day, as the traveller hears them from the mouth of the people. Probably they might be more accurately and scientifically expressed, if I had any knowledge of Turkish literature and antiquities; but I know Turkish only by ear. I cannot read it, and have not studied Turkish history. What I have actually seen and heard among the peasantry, the impression made on me by their own statement of their ideas—that is what I try to explain. In venturing to submit these remarks to a Congress of Orientalists, I feel that I am treading on dangerous ground; but perhaps the very fact that what I say has no foundation in theory formed through previous knowledge, and that it is purely an attempt to understand and classify what seemed to me the ideas of the peasantry, may give what I have to say some interest.

In regard to their religious ideas, we begin by setting aside all that belongs strictly to Mohammedanism, all that necessarily arises from the fact that a number of Mohammedans, who live together in a particular town or village, are bound to carry out in common the ritual of their religion, *i.e.*, to erect a proper building, and to perform certain acts and prayers at regular intervals. Anything that can be sufficiently accounted for on that ground has no bearing on the present purpose. All that is beyond this is, strictly speaking, a deviation from, and even a violation of, the Mohammedan religion; and therein lies its interest for us. Mohammedanism admits only a very few sacred localities—Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem. Possibly even the Sunni Mohammedans may allow one or two others, as the Shiya do, but I do not remember to have heard of them. But the actual

belief of the peasantry of Asia Minor attaches sanctity to a vast number of localities, and to these our attention is now directed. Without laying down any universal principle, it will appear easily that in many cases the attachment of religious veneration to particular localities in Asia Minor has continued through all changes in the dominant religion of the country.

A. In the cases where this permanence of religious awe is certain, the sanctity has, of course, taken some new form, or been transferred from its original bearer to some Mohammedan or Turkish personage, such as :

1. Some character of Mohammedan history. The typical example is Seidi Ghazi (the Arab general Sayyid al Battal al Ghazi), slain in the battle of Acroenos in A.D. 739, the first great victory which cheered the Byzantine emperors to stem the tide of Arab conquest. How this defeated Arab should have become the Turkish hero of the conquest of Asia Minor, after the country had for two centuries been untrod by a Mohammedan foot, is not explained satisfactorily by any of the modern writers, French and German, who have translated or described the Turkish romance relating the adventures of this stolen hero. He became one of the chief heroes of the Bektash dervishes, that sect to which, I believe, all the Janissaries belonged (I speak under correction in a matter that lies out of my own sphere of study). On Mount Argæus strange stories about him are told. He shares with others the awe attaching to this mountain, the loftiest in Asia Minor, and worshipped as divine by the ancient inhabitants. At Nakoleia, in Phrygia, once one of the greatest establishments of dervishes in Asia Minor, now passing rapidly into ruins, his tomb is shown, and that of the Christian princess, his supposed wife.

2. Some personage of Turkish history proper becomes the bearer of the religious awe attaching to certain spots, *e.g.*, Hadji Bektash, who, I am told, led the Janissaries at the capture of Mudania, and from whom the chief seat of the Bektash dervishes derives its name. At this place, now called Mudjur, in Cappadocia, Hadji Bektash has succeeded to the patron saint of the bishopric of Doara. Another such character is Karaja Ahmed, who has his religious home in several parts of the country, sometimes, at least, with tales of miraculous cures attaching to his grave.¹ I assume him to be a historical character, as he is found in several places, but I do not know whether

¹ I have observed the veneration of Karaja Ahmed at a village six hours S.S.W. from Ushak and about three hours N.W. from Geubek ; also at a village one hour from Liyen and two from Bey Keui (one of several spots which divide the religious inheritance of the ancient Metropolis). At the latter, sick persons sit in the Turbe all night with their feet in a sort of stocks, and thus are cured.

any actual record survives. Many other names I might quote, such as Hadji Omar, Omar Baba, whom I assume to have been real persons, often probably tribal ancestors unknown to fame.

3. The *dede*, or nameless heroised ancestor. In many cases his name has been entirely lost, but in other cases inquiry elicits the fact that the *dede* belongs to Class 2, and that the villagers know his name, though the world in general knows him only as the nameless *dede*, father of the tribe or settlement.

4. The word *dede* is also used in a still less anthropomorphic sense to indicate the mere formless presence of divine power on the spot. Many cases hang doubtfully between this class and the preceding: it is not certain whether the *dede* once had a name and a human reality which has afterwards been lost, or whether from the beginning he was merely the rude expression of the vague idea that divine power dwelt on the spot.

As an example the following may be selected. In the corner beneath the vast wall of Taurus, where Lycaonia and Cappadocia meet, at the head of a narrow and picturesque glen, there flows forth from many outlets in the main mass of Taurus a river—for a river full grown it issues from the rock. Rushing down the steep glen, it meets at its foot a quieter stream flowing from the east through a rich soil, and long after the junction the clear water from the glen refuses to mix with the muddy water from the rich soil of the valley. The stream flows on for a few miles to the west, turning this corner of the dry Lycaonian plain into a great orchard, and there it falls into the Ak Göl (White Lake). The lake is one of those which vary greatly in extent in different years. In 1879¹ it reached close up to the rock-wall of Taurus, and flowed with a steady stream into a great hole in the side of the mountain. In 1882 and in 1890 it did not reach within a mile of the mountain-side.

This remarkable river has always been recognised by the inhabitants of the glen as the special gift of God, and about 800 B.C. they carved on a rock near the source one of the most remarkable, and even beautiful, monuments of ancient days, figuring the god presenting his gifts of corn and wine—whose cultivation the river makes possible—to the king of the country. The king is dressed in gorgeous embroidered robes, the god is represented in the dress of a peasant; he is the husbandman who, by patience and toil, subdues Nature for the benefit of man. This old conception evinces imagination, insight, poetic sympathy with Nature, and artistic power to embody its ideas in forms that appeal directly to the spectator's eye.

¹ This I learn from Sir Charles Wilson.

The modern peasantry recognise as fully as the ancients that the divine power is manifested here; they express their belief differently. The tree nearest the spring is hung with patches of rag, fastened to it by modern devotees. In the contrast between the ancient sculpture and the modern tree you have, in miniature, the difference between Asia Minor as it was 2700 years ago, and Asia Minor as it is under the Turk. The peasants' language is as poor as their ritual. If you ask them why they hang their rags on the tree, the one explanation is "*dede var*" (there is a *dede*).

There can be little doubt that the idea of the sacred tree here is older than the sculpture. A sacred tree hung with little offerings of the peasantry was no doubt there before the sculpture was made, and has in all probability never been wanting in the religious equipment of the place. It has survived the sculpture, which has now no nearer relation to the life and thoughts of the people than the gods in the British Museum have to us, while the tree is probably a more awful object to the peasants than the village mosque.

The extreme simplicity of the peasants' way of expressing their religious idea is interesting; it is so contrasted with the manifold mythopoetic power of the Greek or Celtic races. It throws some light on their religious attitude to observe that in their topographical nomenclature there is the same dearth of imaginative interpretation of Nature. The nearest stream is commonly known as Irmak, the river, Su, the water, Tchai, the watercourse; half the population of a village know no other name for it, while the other half, more educated, know that it is distinguished from other streams as Kizil Irmak (red river), or Ak Su (white water), or Gediz Tchai (the stream that flows by the town of Gediz). The mountain beside the village is commonly termed simply "*dagh*;" if you ask more particularly, you learn that it is the "*dagh*" of such and such a village; if you ask more particularly still, you find that some one knows that it is Ala Dag (the Spotted Mount), or Ak Dag, or Kara Dag (White or Black Mount). Very rarely does one find such a name as Ai Dogh-mush, the Moon-Rising; a name that admirably paints the distant view of a beautiful peak near Apamea-Celaenae, as it appears rising over some intervening ridge. The contrast between a name like this and the common Turkish names might suggest that it is a translation of an old pre-Turkish name.

Wherever the sacred building is connected with or directed by a regular body of dervishes, it is called a *teke*; where it is little more than a mausoleum, it is called a *turbe*. The most characteristic form of the *turbe* is a small round building with a sloping roof rising to a

point in the centre and surmounted by the crescent; but it also occurs of various forms, degenerating into the meanest type of building. Often, however, there is no sacred building. The divine power resides in a tree or in a grove (as at Satala in Lydia, the modern Sandal), or in a rock, or in a hill. I cannot quote a specific case of a holy rock, though I have seen several; but of several holy hills the most remarkable occurs about one hour south-east from Kara Bunar, which probably is the modern representative of the ancient Hyde the Holy, Hiera Hyde. Here, within a deep circular depression, cup-shaped and about a quarter of a mile in diameter, there rises a pointed conical hill to the height of several hundred feet, having a well-marked crater in its summit. A small lake nearly surrounds the base of the hill. The ground all around is a mere mass of black cinders, without a blade of vegetation. I asked a native what this hill was called; he replied, "Mekke; Tuz-Mekkesi daiorlar" (Mecca; they call it the Salt-Mecca). Mecca is the only name by which the natives can signify the sacredness of a place.

B. There appear to be cases in which the actual rites and forms, or at least the accompaniments, of a pre-Mohammedan worship are preserved.

1. The Ayasma (any holy spring to which the Christians resort) is also respected by the Mohammedans, who have sometimes a holy tree in the neighbourhood. In general a Christian place of pilgrimage is much respected by the Turkish peasantry. At Hassa Keui, the old Sasima, in Cappadocia, the feast of St. Makrina on January 25 attracts not merely Christians from Konia, Adana, Cæsarea, &c., but even Turks, who bring their sick animals to be cured.¹

2. Iflatun Bunar; springs with strange virtues and having legends and religious awe attached to them, are in some cases called by the name of the Greek philosopher Plato, which seems to imply some current belief in a magician Plato (like the mediæval Virgil). One of these springs of Plato is in the acropolis of Iconium: the history of Iconium is not well enough known to enable us to assert that the spring was holy in former times, however probable this may be. Another is situated about forty miles west of Iconium, and from the margin of the water rise the walls of a half-ruined little temple, built of very large stones and adorned with sculptures of a religious character, showing the sanctity that has attached to the spring from time immemorial.

We may note in passing that Plato's Springs belong to the neighbourhood of Iconium, the capital of the Seljuk kingdom of Roum,

¹ Carnoy et Nicolaïdes, *Traditions Populaires de l'Asie Mineure*, p. 204.
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where a high standard of art and civilisation was maintained until the rise of the Ottoman Turks. The name of Plato probably was attached to the springs in the Seljuk period, when Greek philosophy was perhaps studied and Plato was popularly known as a wise man or magician.

3. The Takhtaji, woodcutters and charcoal-burners, are not pure Mohammedans. Their strange customs have suggested to several independent observers the idea that they are aboriginal Anatolians, who retain traces of a religion older even than Christianity.¹ Nothing certain is known about their rites and the localities of their worship, except that cemeteries are their meeting-place and are by the credulous Turks believed to be the scene of hideous orgies.

4. The music and dancing of the Mevlevi dervishes have much of the character of the old ritual of Cybele, toned down and regulated by the calmer spirit of the Mohammedan religion and of the Turkish character.

The same situation for great religious centres has in many cases continued from a pre-Mohammedan, and even from a pre-Christian period. In some cases, as in great cities like Iconium, the mere continuity of historical importance might account for the continuity of religious importance; but in other cases only the local sanctity can explain it, for the political prominence has disappeared from many places which retain their religious eminence.

The fact which is most widely and clearly observable in connection with the localities of modern religious feeling is that they are in so very many cases identical with the scenes of ancient life, and often of ancient worship. Every place which shows obvious traces of human skill and human handiwork is impressive to the ruder modern inhabitants. The commonest term to express the awe that such places rouse is *kara*. In actual usage *kara* (literally, *black*) is not much used to indicate mere colour. A black object is *siakh*; but *Kara Mehmet* means, not Mehmet with black complexion, but big, or powerful, or strong, or dangerous Mehmet. Ancient sites are frequently called *kara*: thus we have Sanduklu, the modern town, and Kara Sanduklu, five miles distant, the site of the ancient Phrygian city Brouzos.

No village names are commoner in modern Turkey in Asia than Kara Euren, or Karadja Euren, and Kizil Euren. I have never

¹ See Humann and Puchstein, *Reisen in Kleinasien und Nordsyrien*. Mr. Hyde Clarke has long had this idea, which is, he says, fully proved by what he has seen and heard among the people. On their ethnological character see Von Luschan in Benndorf-Niemann, *Lykia*, vol. ii. My ideas have been gained chiefly from Sir C. Wilson.

known a case in which Kizil Euren marks an ancient site;¹ whereas a Kara or Karaja Euren, always, in my experience, contains remains of antiquity.

The awe that attaches to ancient places is almost invariably marked by the presence of a *dede* and his *turbe*, if not by some more imposing religious building; and a religious map of Asia Minor would be by far the best guide to the earlier history of the country. Even a junction of two important ancient roads has its *dede*: for example, the point where the road leading north from the Cilician Gates forks from the road that leads west is still marked by a little *turbe*, but by no habitation.

The exceptions to this law are so rare, that in each case some remarkable fact of history will probably be found underlying and causing it, and these exceptions ought always to be carefully observed and scrutinised; some apparent exceptions turn out to be really strong old examples of the rule, as when some very insignificant mark of religious awe is absolutely the sole mark of modern life and interest existing upon an otherwise quite deserted site. Two ancient cities I have seen, and yet cannot actually testify to the existence of an unbroken religious history on their sites—Laodicea on the Lycus, and Comana in Cappadocia—but in the latter case the construction of a modern Armenian village on a site where fifty years ago no human being lived has made such a break in its history, that very close examination would be needed to discover the proof of continuity. Both these cases are, perhaps, not real exceptions, but I have never examined them with care for this special purpose, for it is only in very recent times that I have come to recognise this principle, and to make it a guide in discovery.

C. Going back to an earlier point in history, no doubt can remain that the Christian religion in Asia Minor was in a similar way strongly affected in its forms by existing religious facts, though the unity of the Universal Church did for a time contend strenuously and with a certain degree of success against local variations and local attachment.

1. The native Phrygian element in Montanism has been frequently alluded to, and need not be described in detail. The prophets and prophetesses, the intensity and enthusiasm of that most interesting phase of religion, are native to the soil, not merely springing from the character of the race, but bred in the race by the air and soil in which it was nurtured.

2. A woman, who prophesied, preached, baptized, walked in the snow with bare feet without feeling the cold, and wrought many

¹ The name usually marks some obvious feature of the modern village, e.g., reddish stones.

wonders of the established type in Cappadocia in the beginning of the third century, is described by Firmilian, Bishop of Cæsarea.¹ The local connection did not interest Firmilian, and is lost to us.

3. Glycerius the deacon, who personated the patriarch at the festival of Venasa, in Cappadocia, in the fourth century, was only maintaining the old ritual of Zeus of Venasa, as celebrated by the high-priest who represented the god on earth. The heathen god made his annual progress through his country at the same festival in which Glycerius led a ceremonial essentially similar in type to the older ritual. See my *Church in the Roman Empire*, ch. xviii.

4. The Virgin Mother of the Lakes replaced the Virgin Artemis of the Lakes, in whose honour a strange and enigmatic association (known to us by a group of long inscriptions and subscription lists) met at the north-eastern corner of the Lakes. They appear to have been a sort of "freemasons," recognising each other by a secret sign, and calling themselves Tekmoreioi, the brotherhood of the Tekmor or secret-signal.

5. The Archangel of Colossæ, who clove the remarkable gorge by which the Lycus passes out of the city, no doubt was the Christian substitute for the Zeus of Colossæ, who had done the same before the time when Herodotus alludes to the cleft through which the Lycus flows.

6. The Ayasma at Tymandos, to which the Christians of Apollonia still go on an annual festival, was previously the wonder-working fountain of Hercules Restitutor, as we learn from an inscription.

7. In numerous instances the legends of the local heathen deities were transferred to the local saints, to whose prayers were ascribed the production of hot springs, lakes, and other natural phenomena. The examples are too numerous to mention. Sometimes they enable us to restore with confidence part of the hieratic pagan legends of a district, as, for example, we find that a familiar Greek legend has been attached to Avircius Marcellus, a Phrygian historical figure of the second century, and he is said to have submitted to the jeers of the mob as he sat on a stone. We may feel confident that the legend of Demeter sitting on the ἀγέλαστος πέτρα, localised by the Greeks at Eleusis, had its home also in this district of Phrygia.

We can then trace many examples of the unbroken continuance of religious awe attached to special localities from the dawn of historical memory to the present day. What reason can be detected for this attachment? In studying this aspect of the human spirit in its attitude towards the divine nature that surrounds it, the first requi-

¹ See Cyprian, *Epist.* 75, sec. 10.

site is a religious map of Asia Minor. This remains to be made, and it would clear up by actual facts, not darken by rather hazardous theories, a very interesting phase of history.

The extraordinary variety of races which have passed across Asia Minor, and which have all probably without exception left representatives of their stock in the country, makes Asia Minor a specially instructive region to study in reference to the connection of religion with geographical facts. Where a homogeneous race is concerned, a doubt always exists whether the facts are due to national character—to use a question-begging phrase—or to geographical environment. But where a great number of heterogeneous races are concerned, we can eliminate all independent action of the human spirit, and attain a certainty that where races of most diverse character are similarly affected in this country, the cause lies in the natural character of the land. It would be absurd to anticipate by theory the appeal to fact, whose importance I would urge upon the Congress.¹

One character, however, is too obvious and prominent to be a matter of theory. In a considerable number of cases the sacred spot has been chosen by the divine power, and made manifest to mankind by easily recognised signs. An entrance from the upper world to the world of death and of God, and of the riches and wonders of the under world is there seen. The entrance is marked by its appearance, by the character of the soil, by hot springs, by mephitic odours, or (as at Tyana) by the cold spring which seems always boiling, in which the water is always bubbling up from beneath, yet never overflows.

One fact, however, I may refer to in conclusion, on a subject on which more knowledge may be hoped for. Throughout ancient history in Asia Minor a remarkable prominence in religion, in politics, in society characterises the position of women. Most of the best attested and least dubious cases of *Mutterrecht* in ancient history belong to Asia Minor; and it has always appeared to me that the sporadic examples which can be detected among the Greek races are alien to the Aryan type, and are due to intermixture of custom, and perhaps of blood, from a non-Aryan stock whose centre seems to be in Asia Minor; others, who to me are *φίλοι ἄνδρες*, differ on this point, and regard as a universal stage in human development what I look on as a special characteristic of certain races.

¹ One of the objects of the expedition which Mr. Hogarth and I would like to make in 1894 and 1895 would be to construct such a map for a part of the country. The observation of all *turbes* may be urged on every traveller in Asia Minor, especially on the French students of the *École d'Athènes*, from whom there is so much to hope.

Herodotus speaks of the Lycian custom of reckoning descent through the mother, but the influence of Greek civilisation destroyed this character, which was barbarian and not Greek, and hardly a trace of it can be detected surviving in the later period. Lycia had become Greek in the time of Cicero, as that orator mentions. When, however, we go to regions remoter from Greek influence, we have more hope of discovering traces of the pre-Greek character, *e.g.*, the inscriptions of a little Isaurian town, Dalisandos, explored two years ago by my friend Mr. Hogarth, seem to prove that it was not unusual there to trace descent through the mother even in the third or the fourth century after Christ.

Even under the Roman government, and in the most advanced of civilised cities of the country, one fact persisted, which can hardly be explained except through the influence of the old native custom of assigning an unusually high rank to the female sex. The number of women magistrates in Asia Minor is a fact that strikes one on the most superficial glance into the later inscriptions. A young French scholar has recently collected the examples with much diligence, and has explained them as the result of an ingenious scheme for wheedling rich women out of their money. I did not discover in the book any proof that the writer was joking.¹

In the Christian period we find that every heresy in which the Anatolian character diverged from the standard of the Universal Church was marked by the prominent position assigned to women. Even the Jews were so far affected by the general character of the land, that the unique example of a woman ruler of the synagogue occurs in an inscription found at Smyrna.²

We would gladly find some other facts bearing on and illustrating this remarkable social phenomenon. My own theory is that it is the result of the superiority in type, produced to a noticeable degree by the character of the country in the character of the women.

NOTE.—In connection with the maintenance of *tekės* and *turbes*, we find an interesting case where the method of Roman law has survived through Byzantine times into Turkish usage. These religious institutions have been kept up by a rent charged on estates: the estates descended in private possession, according to the ordinary rules of inheritance, charged with the rent (*Vakuf*). The system is precisely the same as that whereby Pliny the younger provided a public school in his native city Novum Comum (Ep. vii. 18); he made over certain property of his own to the municipality, and took it back from them in permanent posses-

¹ Pierre Paris, *De Feminis in Asianis Civitatibus*, Paris, 1891.

² See my *Church in the Roman Empire*, pp. 161, 345, 360, 375, 438, 452-9, 480.

sion at a fixed rent (so far under its actual value as to provide for contingencies), and the possession remained with his heirs, and could be sold. This custom is the same as that which, according to Professor Mommsen, is called *avitum* in an inscription of Ferentinum (C. I. L., x., No. 5853) and in one of the receipts found in the house of Cæcilius Jucundus at Pompeii, and which is termed *avitum et patritum* in another of Cæcilius Jucundus's receipts (*Hermes*, xii. p. 123). Much difficulty has been caused in Turkey owing to the rents having become insufficient to maintain the religious establishments. Many of the establishments, as, *e.g.*, that of Seidi Ghazi at Nakoleia (now called Seidi Ghazi, after the hero), are rapidly going to ruin. The Government has made great efforts to cope with the difficulties of the case ; but its efforts have only been partially successful. I am much indebted to Mr. Hyde Clarke's criticism, privately communicated, on this subject. In my original remarks, as read to the Congress, I had been unfairly and untruly severe on the conduct of the Turkish Government in permitting these old establishments to fall into ruin ; but Mr. Hyde Clarke has shown me that I did not rightly estimate the magnitude and difficulty of the task which the Government had to undertake. The fact, however, remains that the Evkaf Department is popularly believed to be very corrupt, and its administration has been far from successful.

III.

EXPLORATION IN ASIA MINOR.

BY

D. G. HOGARTH.

ASIA MINOR is the *bazar* of the ancient Orient. It cradled no great civilisation of its own, but shared in many, which came from without, growing old but never out of date, like one of those periodic fairs, so often found in the East flourishing on the sites of cities of the past.

As a storehouse of ancient treasures, it is not comparable to the valleys of the Tigris or Nile. The primeval art, to which we owe the rock-sculptures of Cappadocia and Phrygia, will bear comparison with that of any contemporary people; but, nevertheless, whoever penetrates Asia Minor in the hope of gratifying an artistic sense, developed by contemplation of the wonders of Athens, Nineveh, or Thebes, will be sorely disappointed. But where an antiquarian finds less to interest him, a historical student often finds more, and to the eyes of the latter Asia Minor will prove hardly less attractive than Egypt. All archæologists must feel that, among the monuments of the Nile valley, they do little more than gratify a fine intellectual curiosity: the mighty civilisation, whose records they read, is separated by a profound abyss from the modern world; and hardly able to clothe the skeleton of archæological facts with the flesh even of conjectural history, they are conscious of so faint a link between this old world and the new, that they observe involuntarily rather as antiquarians than historians. Like Pausanias at Tiryns, they see the work not of their own forefathers, but of a more heroic race.

In Asia Minor there is no break in the chain that binds the centuries together; the falling levels of civilisation have left their marks on the hill-sides, like the receding waters of a lake. In the valleys of the Halys and Euphrates are found monuments of the earliest age, when the population of the plateau was not modified as yet by contact with Aryan races, but derived the character of its institutions and creeds from the East. We know very imperfectly as yet how

many relics of that period are to be found in the eastern valleys, although of late years we have learned much. Since Texier discovered in 1834 the great rock-city of Boghaz-koi in Cappadocia, and Hamilton in 1836 added the neighbouring palace-fortress of Eyuk, monuments have been sought and found on the great roads radiating from those centres. Those processions of goddesses and gods, erect on the heads of animals and followed by hierophants, which were seen first in the temple-grotto of Boghaz-koi and believed to be unique, now find a parallel at Frak-tin,¹ not far north of the Cilician Gates. The sphinxes that guard the gate of Eyuk are known to be the work of a race which has left two stone lions to mark the site of a perished palace at Arslan Tash, on the road to the fords of the Euphrates. The same symbols, which occur at Boghaz-koi, are to be seen in the Karabel near Smyrna and on the monuments of the priest-kings of Tyana.

Turning westward, we find a later art, deeply influenced by that of Boghaz-koi, but distinct. The Sangarius valley is full of rock-cut tombs, grouped round those "cities of Midas and Gordius," which Strabo tells us had perished even in his day. The beautiful Phrygian sepulchres, conceived by their makers as gates of the other world, are often hung with a curtain of exquisite stone-tracery in imitation of the veil which hid the sanctuary of the Great Mother. Herself the expression of the idea of death-in-life and life-in-death, she presides over that Nature-cult wherein, before the revelation of spiritual monotheism, the Eastern mind sought to find unity amid diversity, and in later ages Greece and Italy looked to simplify their pantheistic systems. The Phrygian cult may be said to bridge the centuries from the dawn of history to the days of Montanism. Truths which the world has since accepted were foreshadowed in its primitive idea that life and death, generation and production, differ not essentially but accidentally; and, notwithstanding the horrors which attended the glorification of reproduction and obliteration of sex, the worship of the Earth-Mother plays a part in the development of purer Monotheism.

The persistent connection of locality with cults can be studied nowhere better than in Asia Minor. The ruling race changes, Hellenistic kings succeed Persian, and Rome the Greek, but Tyana is still a holy city when Apollonius goes forth to rival Jesus of Nazareth, and the rites of the Great Mother, as Professor Ramsay has shown,² were celebrated in all but name when Glycerius the

¹ See an account of "Pre-Hellenic Monuments in Cappadocia," published in the *Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la Philologie, etc.*, vols. xiv. and xv.

² *Expositor*, 1891.

deacon led forth the women of Venasa to revel in the mountains to the great scandal of Basil of Cæsarea.

Asia Minor was one of the last refuges of the old gods and the cradle of the new. The march of Græco-Roman civilisation over the central plateau coincides almost exactly with the progress of Christianity, and there may be seen the latest temples and earliest churches. Indeed of the whole Roman Imperial period Asia Minor can show a continuous series of relics hardly inferior to those in Africa, or even Italy herself. The wonderful remains of Hierapolis on the Lycus, or those more solitary of Adada in the heart of the Pisidian mountains show us now what cities were in Roman Asia in the second and third centuries. The sacred Olba, in the Rough Cilicia, still stands almost entire, with gates, citadel, theatre, and temples; while a Roman road runs by it to the coast with pavement and milestones intact at this day. In this district, the Pompeii of Asia Minor, the Roman villages, forts, and tombs are so frequent and perfect, as to give an air of life to what is really a land of the dead. No other part of the peninsula can show so many memorials of Rome, but no part is without them altogether: from the Ægean to the Euphrates the vestiges of her Empire lie on every hill and plain.

The roll of Anatolian explorers includes nearly a hundred names; but there is still much to discover, or rather to re-discover; for Asia Minor was well enough known two thousand years ago. Darkness fell on the plateau in the seventh century; the ports continued to be frequented so far as the corsairs would allow, but of the region behind the littoral little more was known than what the ancients had left on record. The marches of the Crusaders in 1097, the great Comneni in the early part of the twelfth century, and Barbarossa at its close, shed a passing light on the condition of the country under the Seljuk sultans of Iconium; but on the fall of their dynasty and the partition of Asia Minor among countless chieftains in the fourteenth century, darkness settles deeper than ever. For the next three hundred years we have the meagre narratives of a handful of pilgrims, envoys, and adventurers. Ibn Batuta, who travelled in the fifteenth century to see holy places, and Evliya, who was despatched in the seventeenth century on political missions, have left us a few rapid descriptions and passing observations. The Christian pilgrim, Bertrandon de la Brocquière, gives us a picture of the court of the Grand Karaman in 1433. Busbequius, a Flemish envoy of Ferdinand II., penetrated to Amasia, and found opportunity, passing through Angora, to copy a few lines of its great inscription, the Acts of Augustus, and so share with Antonius Verantius, Bishop

of Agria, the honour of its re-discovery. A few adventurers must be added to the list, such as John Newbery, who journeyed from Erzerum to Brusa in 1578, noting little on his road but the prices of grograms in the *bazars*; or Jean Baptiste Tavernier, who of all his journeys upon caravan-routes in Northern Anatolia between 1660 and 1670 has left a bare itinerary, whence he has been careful to exclude most of his dates and distances, and all observations of any interest whatever.

The re-discovery of Asia Minor was due to Louis XIV. The Grand Monarque, "*atentif à tout ce qui pouvoit contribuer à la perfection des arts et des sciences*,"¹ was indirectly the cause of Spon, a doctor of Lyons, reaching Asia Minor in 1676, in the company of Dr. Wheeler of Lincoln College, Oxford, and two English friends; and directly of Tournefort, Paul Lucas, and Otter, a Swede, being sent to pick up information and portable antiquities in the early part of the eighteenth century. Tournefort has the credit of first describing intelligently the great Angora inscription. Otter mentions a figure cut in the rock near Eregli and called "*Abriz*"—the now famous "*Hittite*" relief of Ivriz—but says no more of the antiquities, and little enough of the scenery or condition of Asia Minor. Spon traversed the land route from Scutari to Smyrna in haste and fear, and never dared go inland again from Ephesus; while Paul Lucas was in such dire terror that he scampered over half Asia Minor, leaving to those who should enjoy "*plus de commoditez*" than he, the task of describing everything off the high-road, and most things upon it!

To these pioneers succeeded a line of less mercenary travellers, inspired by that enthusiasm for antiquity which had been gaining strength ever since the Revival of learning. Two Englishmen, Richard Pococke in 1745, and Richard Chandler in 1764, most worthily head a list which contains the names of Arundell, who discovered Antioch of Pisidia in 1833, and Hamilton, whose record of his journeys in 1835 and 1836 is still the best general account of Asia Minor. Some of those, to whom Anatolian archæology owes most, penetrated into the peninsula for reasons not archæological at all; such were Colonel William Martin Leake, who made a hurried journey across the plateau in 1800, which has proved of more value to scholars than the most careful exploration, Macdonald Kinneir, Ker-Porter, Von Moltke, and Major Fischer, soldiers whose latest successors have been Sir Charles Wilson and his subordinates a decade ago. Their work has been hardly less valuable than that of the professed archæologists, those Frenchmen such as Texier,

¹ Paul Lucas, preface to the "*Third Voyage*."

Victor Langlois, and Charles Perrot, who were sent out by their Government, or the emissaries of societies like the English Dilettanti.

There had been many workers, but so little method in the work, that Asia Minor was still not half explored ten years ago. The professed explorers, no less than the rovers in search of intellectual adventure, had kept to single caravan-tracks, and described a few main routes again and again. The features of the roads from Scutari to Smyrna, from Brusa to Erzerum, or through Konia to the Cilician Gates, were as well known as those of great post-routes in Europe; but five miles to the right or left of the track lay country hardly more explored than Central Africa. Texier alone had proposed to explore the plateau as a whole, but his industry and sobriety were too defective to conduce to fruitful results.

In truth, it is far from easy to explore Asia Minor even at the present day, and it must have been very difficult fifty years ago. The traveller now-a-days has no longer to deal with the contumacious *agha*, nor the independent tribal chieftain, and, if furnished with the Sultan's writ, can count on its running more or less throughout Anatolia. Nevertheless, he cannot but feel (as Leake felt in 1800) that he is "merely tolerated" in Asiatic Turkey, while the land is as desolate as ever, the peasants as reticent and ignorant, the climate as dangerous. It is still almost as true as when Leake wrote it, that "among the countries where the traveller illustrates history and makes important additions to geography none is so difficult to explore as Asia Minor." Ten years ago Europeans were still ignorant what might or might not exist on the plateau; and when Mr. W. M. Ramsay went to Smyrna in 1880, he had virtually a new field of exploration before him. The result of his labours may be summarised in the statement that the map of ancient Asia Minor can now be drawn. By taking for the first time its provinces one with another and bringing to bear on their topography all available evidence of all periods, Mr. Ramsay, using the methods of comparison and exclusion, has fixed, often precisely and always approximately, the position of almost every place-name connected with Asia Minor by literature, coins, or inscriptions. There is no part of the ancient world where we can feel more confident that we know the course of the roads, and consequently how trade has moved and armies marched in all ages. In brief, it is now possible to reconstruct on a sound basis the history of the Roman, Byzantine, and Musulman empires so far as concerns Asia Minor, and to penetrate far into the mists of even earlier days. The "rough" of the work has been done, and we are gathering a harvest of historical results; but nevertheless much still remains in

odd corners, such as the Euphrates valley and the north-west districts, to be found by the explorer armed merely with field-glass and notebook, and more in all parts of the plateau to be upturned by the spade. Most of the problems which arose long ago out of Asia Minor exploration still await definite solution, though the increased precision of our knowledge has reduced them to lower terms.

There is a knot of problems, for example, suggested by the presence in Asia Minor of very early monuments similar to those often found in Northern Syria, and sometimes called "Hittite." The discoveries of Mr. Ramsay and his colleagues during the past decade have determined the lines upon which these monuments are distributed; we now know that they are to be looked for on the roads which radiate south and south-east from the rock-cities of north-western Cappadocia; in the west they are only sporadic, and occur chiefly on the line of the "Royal Road," while to the north and north-east of the rock-cities they do not appear at all. The most remarkable groups at a distance from the centre are found near the heads of two passes through the Taurus, the Cilician Gates, and the defile of the Jihan. Practically speaking, however, nothing further has been established; it has been shown that the total number of symbols in the script is greater than was supposed at first, and that a late "conventionalised" character exists, but little or no progress has been made towards deciphering the hieroglyphs. The holy cities of Tyana and Dastarkon are now known to have been centres of a very early civilisation, but whether that civilisation was of one people or many, native or borrowed, Syrian or Cappadocian, influenced from one source or two, when it arose and when it passed away—all these matters are less soluble in 1893 than they seemed ten years ago.

By comparing style and noting distribution we can do much, but, it appears, not solve the mystery of the hieroglyphs; a bilingual text alone can unlock the secret, and that, if ever found, will be couched most probably in hieroglyph and cuneiform characters. All Orientalists know that such a bilingual text existed on a little silver plate, called the "Boss of Tarkondemus," now unhappily lost again; and that in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford is a Babylonian cylinder inscribed in cuneiform with four hieroglyphs besides. The double legends on these objects are too short to afford a basis for scientific interpretation, but they do assure us that the cuneiform and hieroglyph scripts existed side by side at some period in some part of the East; and we may reasonably hope to find other bilinguals by further exploration. Where must we search? In the valley of the Euphrates near Malatia there is an inscription in "Vannic" cunei-

form cut on a rock ; a "hieroglyphic" text has been found recently near the town. The Malatia district is practically unexplored by archaeological surveyors, and, needless to say, quite untouched by excavators. Again, a large district of Cappadocia lying east and north-east of Kaisariye is still blank on the best maps of Asia Minor ; at one end of it are the rock-cities, at the other the group of monuments at the head of the Jihan pass. These fields must be surveyed first. If they yield nothing, excavation must be undertaken at certain points, notably Eyuk, one of the rock-cities, where the palace walls peep out of loose earth, and Tyana (Ekuzli Hissar). Here the "Semiramis" mound, which Strabo mentions, is still to be seen, piled with debris. It has never been trenched, but at its foot two hieroglyphic monuments were found some years ago. There is much in that mound: there may be a very ancient palace ; there can hardly fail, in any case, to be many memorials of one of the most interesting centres of religion and government in Asia.

Let us pass from the "kings of the Hittites" to the sober realities of the Roman Empire, and advance a further plea for the exploration of the upper valley of the Euphrates. It is well known that the right bank was strongly garrisoned against the "kings of the East," whose possible crossing of the great river was not a mere Apocalyptic vision in the eyes of Roman statesmen. All the resources of a race endowed with the highest strategical genius must have been expended on the fortification of the "Lines" which stemmed the Eastern deluge for five centuries. A small part of this system of defence has been explored ; the great road of communication between Cæsarea and the standing-camp of the Thundering Legion at Melitene has been found to exist in ruinous perfection for seventy miles ; the *agger* can be traced over hill and dale, and numbers of Roman milestones still lie by the side of the track, or, used by the nomad inhabitants as tombstones, proclaim over the heads of nameless Kurds the style and titles of Emperors of Rome. The explorers who followed this road in 1891 were headed back by cholera from Melitene, and the main Lines in the Euphrates valley have yet to be examined for the first time. No student of Roman strategy has visited the station of Legio XII. *Fulminata* at Melitene ; no European has ever consciously set eyes on Satala, the station of Legio XV. *Apollinaris*, nor on any part of the line of forts and roads which connected one with the other, and both with the south and north.

Lastly, to pass to later days again, the history of one stage of the Musulman conquest has yet to be gathered from Arabic records, graven on Seljukian mosques, colleges, tombs, and *khans* in Asia

Minor, or contained in unpublished MSS., Arabic and Armenian. There is a reputation awaiting the man who shall examine the area of the Seljuk kingdom, and spend three months among the churches, monasteries, and castles of Cilicia and Northern Syria. The history of the Seljuk sultans, the most enlightened of Turkish dynasties, is hardly known; that of the kingdom of Cilician Armenia, the last refuge of Christianity in Asia, which naturalised feudal institutions in the Taurus and maintained intimate relations with the courts, spiritual and temporal, of Europe, must be made the object of wider study than hitherto, if it is to be written continuously and certainly.

The completion of the exploration of Asia Minor seems fitly to devolve on the English race, whose soldiers and scholars have done so much already; and to that end another expedition must go to Cappadocia, commissioned to search for early monuments and complete the survey of the Roman Lines in the valley of the Euphrates. Considerable leisure and funds must be at the disposal of the explorers. Cappadocia is largely peopled by nomads, and wherever such is the case, information is scanty and untrustworthy, and progress must be very slow. Even among settled villages all travellers in Asia Minor know with what degree of ignorance, stupidity, and, worse than all, distrust, they must reckon—ignorance on the part of all, distrust mainly on the part of women. Unless an archæologist stays many days in one small district, he cannot be sure of finding one half of the antiquities it contains. In illustration may be quoted a village, Badinlar, on the Mæander River. It was visited first by Frenchmen in 1884, who were told that it contained no antiquities. Mr. Ramsay reached it shortly after, and saw half-a-dozen inscribed stones. In 1887 I passed through it with Mr. Ramsay, and we found a long series of inscriptions of great interest. We did not leave the village till we had questioned almost every owner of a house and been assured that we had seen every "written stone" in the place; but in 1889 Mr. Ramsay chanced once more to take the village on his way eastward, and found half-a-dozen texts still uncopied. I do not believe that the inscriptions of Badinlar are exhausted yet, so long does it take the Anatolian peasant, first, to realise that the stone he has seen in his house-wall all his life is what the traveller wishes to see; secondly, to bring himself to the point of showing it.

Given time and a not very large sum of money, the traveller can still do valuable work in Asia Minor without resorting to excavation. He lives cheaply, his "plant" need not be anything but the simplest,

and he will find no very great difficulty in making his way through the country. Subtle malaria, which hangs about the plateau (elevated though it is), and unruly nomads, constitute the only dangers he will meet. The conventional brigand who holds his captives to ransom is a product of a civilisation more advanced than that which obtains in Cappadocia. Some day he will arrive with the newspaper and the locomotive, but at present the European traveller need fear only ordinary highway robbery, rather of his horses by stealth than his purse openly. In no case is he in as much danger as the native merchant, for his movements are unknown, his power of resistance has not been gauged, and he inspires a certain measure of race-respect.

Excavation is a different matter altogether. Large funds are required, considerable influence must be used with the Porte if the necessary *firman* is to be obtained in these days of Anglophobism at Stambul, and the excavator must insist on his person and his "finds" being safeguarded. The results, however, on many a site in Asia Minor would be well worth much trouble in the surmounting of preliminary difficulties. Everything unearthed would be claimed by the Imperial Museum, but such a consideration ought not to deter any disinterested archæologist working in the cause of science. Almost everywhere the spade would cut virgin soil, and it would be hard to know what to select first among a score of sites. If early monuments are desired, there is no field more promising than that at Eyuk. If historical treasures of all periods, from the earliest to the Roman, are the excavator's object, he has an *embarras de choix*. Tyana, already described, would yield a rich harvest beyond all question. The sites of Zela and Mokissos are promising for very similar reasons; both were ancient seats of worship, which retained their sanctity through many ages. Such were not less the two Comana's. The one, amid whose ruins the little Armenian village of Shahr in Cappadocia is now built, would not be an easy site to dig, for landslips choke the valley, and the explorer would reap little reward among the *débris* of Roman constructions, unless fortune led him to the position of the great temple. Shahr lies, moreover, in a wild mountain district, full of difficulties and dangers to the excavator. The more northerly Comana Pontica lies close to a good road, and a few miles only from Tokat, one of the most civilised towns in Asia Minor. There under a huge mound of loose rubbish is buried without doubt the famous temple seen and described by Strabo, a native of neighbouring Amasia. Lastly, there are sites associated with early Christianity whose exploration would arouse

wide interest and be fruitful in results. Two desolate mounds mark the positions of Lystra and Derbe. Far from any large modern towns, they cannot have been much plundered. Who will provide funds for a search to be made in the *débris* at Kadin Khan for the ruins of that "temple of Jupiter which was before their city," where Barnabas and Paul "scarce restrained the people that they had not done sacrifice?" The site must be somewhere near the foot of that dusty mound which covers the city of Lystra.

Asia Minor is not, like Egypt, thickly sown with the sites of cities old in civilisation and art, but nevertheless there is work enough and to spare for the spade. The interest of its exploration will always be more historical than antiquarian, for it has been at all times the great highway of nations, a bridge for merchants and armies on which the secular struggle of East and West has ebbed and flowed. Many treasures of art will be discovered in its soil some day, but their recovery must not be the only nor the chief object of excavation. In a mart of many civilisations he will explore best who can appreciate best not only artistic beauty, but the not less living interest instinct in the rude creations of men of trade and war.

IV.

SYRIAN RESEARCH SINCE 1886.

BY

THE REV. HASKETT SMITH, M.A.

THE completion of the survey of Western Palestine by the officers of the Palestine Exploration Fund, and the compulsory suspension of a similar survey on the eastern side of the Jordan, have naturally caused a comparative lull in the work of exploration and discovery in the Holy Land. Nevertheless a steady, if unobtrusive, progress has been still taking place in the matter of Syrian research, with results that can be considered neither unimportant nor devoid of interest.

The particular period of 1886 has been selected for the purposes of the present discussion because (1) the Palestine Exploration Fund published in that year a record and summary of their labours in the country up to that date, and (2) because the writer's own personal acquaintance with Palestine commenced in that self-same year.

The subject naturally divides itself into three main parts—(1) exploration and discovery; (2) identification of ancient sites; and (3) investigations into social, historical, and religious questions. These, again, might naturally be considered in turn with regard to the five principal divisions of the country, viz., Judæa, Samaria, Galilee, East of the Jordan, and Phœnicia.

I. EXPLORATION AND DISCOVERY.

1. *Judæa*.—The chief centre of interest in this province is, of course, *Jerusalem*; and here, in a greater or less degree, the work of exploration and discovery was continually going on under the superintendence of Herr Schick, ably seconded by the Rev. J. E. Hanauer and others. The most important question in connection with Jerusalem is, undoubtedly, the direction of the *Second Wall*, for until this knotty point is definitely settled, the true position of Calvary will always remain a matter of controversy and doubt. Since

1886 three separate portions of ancient wall have been discovered, in addition to the piece previously laid bare near the Jaffa gate of the city. The first of these is situated near the north-west corner of the present walls, in the garden belonging to the Latin Patriarch's palace. It was discovered by some workmen in 1888. There is no question as to its being an ancient Jewish wall, and allowing for its direction and the rock-levels, it might very well be a continuation of the portion already identified as the commencement of the Second Wall. The next portion was discovered during the construction of the new carriage-road outside the north wall of the city, to which it is parallel. This, again, is evidently the remnant of an ancient wall of the city, and its position and direction strongly corroborate the theory which makes the Second Wall to have included the north-west portion of the present city, including within its precincts the site of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the whole of the present Christian quarter.

The third fragment of wall, on the other hand, has been discovered to the east of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, but there seems little reason for considering this to have belonged to a city wall. On the whole, therefore, the investigations into the direction of the Second Wall during the last six years may be said to have weakened the claims of the traditional site of Calvary, and to have strengthened those of the "Skull Hill" outside the Damascus Gate.

In connection with this latter site some very significant and important discoveries have been made within the last few years in the grounds of the so-called Church of St. Stephen, to the north-west of the hill. Here remains have been discovered belonging to Jewish, Roman, Byzantine, Crusading, Moslem, and modern epochs, including a Roman bath and a magnificent piece of mosaic pavement. A church anterior in date to the one previously discovered has also been brought to light, and it may possibly be the "Church of the Witness of the Resurrection of Christ," which we know to have been in the neighbourhood of Calvary.

Another interesting point which has had much light thrown upon it is the site of the *Pool of Bethesda*, which has probably been correctly identified at a spot close to the north-west angle of the court in front of the Church of St. Anne. Unfortunately, in the spring of 1891, the vaulted roof over the pool fell suddenly in, and the place has become a heap of *debris*.

Herr Schick has discovered and satisfactorily identified *Herod's Amphitheatre* on a hill to the east of the Hill of Evil Counsel, across the Valley of Hinnom, and almost due south of the Haram esh-

Sherif, or Temple enclosure. The view from this amphitheatre must have been very magnificent in the palmy days of Jerusalem.

The vaulted passages under the Haram area, commonly known as *Solomon's Stables*, have been cleared of the *débris* with which they were encumbered, and the spring of an ancient arch has been brought to light, almost in a line with Robinson's arch, and that in the south end of the east wall of the Haram. It is probably the remnant of a series of arches supporting the Temple area, of a date anterior to those at present in existence.

A most interesting rock-cut cemetery has been examined and explored by Herr Schick on the summit of the Mount of Olives, and has been found to consist partly of Jewish and partly of Christian tombs. To these he has given the name of the "Catacombs of Olivet." They are probably to be identified with the "Peristereon" mentioned by Josephus (Wars, v. 12, 2).

Rock-tombs have also been discovered and examined at Siloam, at Aceldama, at Bethany, and at the "Nicophorieh," a piece of land belonging to the Greek monks on the west of Jerusalem. Of these, the last-named is by far the most important. In it were found two sarcophagi, one of which was plain, and the other beautifully ornamented. The Greeks call it the "Tomb of Annas," but, according to Josephus, the high-priest was buried near the Pool of Siloam; and Herr Schick is perhaps more correct in locating here the "Monument of Herod" spoken of by Josephus in the same passage as the Peristereon mentioned above, though there seems little to justify him when he identifies the decorated sarcophagus as the tomb of "Mariamne, the favourite wife of Herod the Great."

Apart from Jerusalem, little has been done in the way of exploration in the Province of Judæa, with the most important exception of the excavations at Tell el-Hesy, under Messrs. Flinders Petrie and Bliss, which have resulted in the discovery of some Babylonian cylinders and a small clay tablet covered with cuneiform inscriptions. These latter have been deciphered by Professor Sayce, and establish beyond any manner of doubt the identity of Tell el-Hesy with the ancient city of Lachish.

2. *Samaria*.—In comparison with the results already described, the record of discovery in Samaria is but very meagre. Herr Schumacher of Haifu, however, has done some useful work in the neighbourhood of Cæsarea, and has by personal experience proved that crocodiles still exist in the Nahr Zerka, or "Crocodile River."

Mr. Haskett Smith himself has examined the site of the ancient amphitheatre at the foot of the Hill of Samaria, and has also in-

spected the remains of a very magnificent temple or Christian cathedral, which were brought to light in April 1888 at Beisân, the Bethshan of the Old Testament, the Scythopolis of the Decapolis. The property there is owned by the Sultan of Turkey, and the greatest difficulty was experienced in viewing these remains ; but he counted twenty-five pillar bases, each about 5 feet square and $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep, twenty-seven columns, and twenty-three Corinthian capitals, all of the purest white marble and in perfect preservation. No one else has been allowed to see them since Mr. Haskett Smith's visit, as the Sultan has expressly forbidden his officials to allow visitors to enter the enclosure. Beisân and Samaria are most tempting fields for excavation and discovery, but, in the case of the former at least, the difficulties in the way are at present insurmountable.

3. *Galilee*.—The most important result of Herr Schumacher's work in this province has been the tracing of the original walls round the Acropolis of Herod's great city of Tiberias, whilst at Nazareth he has discovered and examined a very large cave in the convent-yard of the Sisters of St. Joseph. A very interesting group of subterranean tombs was unearthed in 1889, on land belonging to a Moslem of Haifa, near the German colony to the west of that town, and close to the shores of the Bay of Acre. The passages were supported by rows of rock-hewn pillars, and the central passage appeared to have been anciently used as a church. Unfortunately, this interesting relic of antiquity has been ruthlessly destroyed by the Moslem proprietor, who has used the materials for building purposes, and all traces of the tombs and pillars have now disappeared.

4. *East of the Jordan*.—Herr Schumacher has examined the remains of the city of Pella, whither the Christians retired for refuge upon the approach of the siege of Jerusalem, and the interesting results of his explorations have been published by him in a book. He has also written a full account of his painstaking and intelligent labours in the Jaulân, the ancient Golan or Gaulanitis. But owing to the obstruction of the Ottoman authorities, little else has been practicable in the way of exploration and discovery in the interesting districts to the east of the Jordan.

5. *Phœnicia*.—At Sidon, the ancient capital of Phœnicia, a discovery was made in February 1887 which far surpasses in historical importance and interest anything which has yet been described. A series of rock-cut tombs was accidentally brought to light by some workmen belonging to a Sidonian Moslem named Mohamed Sherif, and in these tombs were found no fewer than seventeen sarcophagi, of surpassing magnitude, beauty, and grandeur. These have since

been removed to Constantinople, where they are now admirably arranged for exhibition in a new museum on Seraglio Point, which has been expressly built for their accommodation. The discovery of these marvellous treasures of sepulchral art is probably destined to mark an epoch in the history of exploration and research. Apart from the intrinsic merits of many of the sarcophagi, the find will be memorable for generations to come from the fact that the masterpiece, which justly occupies the central position of honour in the new museum, has been identified by many competent judges as the *tomb of Alexander the Great* himself! The historical and internal evidences appear certainly to corroborate this remarkable and most important theory. If it should prove to be correct, it is scarcely too much to say that the discovery at Sidon is one of the most valuable, from an historical and antiquarian point of view, that have been made in the whole course of modern research.

II. IDENTIFICATION OF ANCIENT SITES.

The limits of space admit of only a hasty review of the principal results which have been achieved in this direction since 1886. There have been no new identifications in Judæa, Samaria, or Phœnicia; but across the Jordan, Herr Schumacher has discovered the site of Golan, the city of refuge, at Sahem ej-Jaulân, a large village near the 'Allân, containing many interesting and important remains of antiquity; whilst at Khurbet Susîyeh, between El-Husn and Fik, on the south side of the Sea of Galilee, he has placed Hippos, one of the cities of the Decapolis, and in this he is supported by M. Clermont-Ganneau.

The identifications suggested by Mr. Haskett Smith himself, as the result of very careful personal investigation, have been clearly set forth in Murray's Handbook, where he has also given his reasons for the selections which he has made. These have also been discussed at considerable length in the Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund for October 1892, so that it is unnecessary to enlarge upon them here. The most important are the following: Bethsaida Julias at M'saidîeh; Ramoth Gilead at 'Ajlûn; Mahanaim at Es-Salt; Janoah at Hunîn, and Beten at Tibnîn.

III. SOCIAL, HISTORICAL, AND RELIGIOUS QUESTIONS.

Much might be said upon this point did time and space permit, for the social and religious characteristics of the various Syrian races

must always remain an attractive feature to every student of Syrian research. Here, however, it is sufficient to say, that the questions which have been issued by the Palestine Exploration Fund for the purpose of eliciting methodical and reliable information on these matters have already produced some important results, and one may reasonably expect that, when all the answers have been carefully tabulated and classified, much light will be thrown upon unknown and obscure questions. Meanwhile the publication of Mr. Guy Le Strange's learned and valuable work, "Palestine under the Moslems," has done much to help us to an understanding of the history of the country from an Arab point of view. Dr. Post and Mr. Frederick Bliss are also contributing most important information in the pages of the Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statements concerning the creed, ritual, institutions, and customs of the Maronites and other religions of the Lebanon district. As regards the great rivals of the Maronites, those remarkable people the Druses, Mr. Haskett Smith could claim to speak with a certain amount of authority himself, having lived amongst them for several years in the closest intimacy of daily intercourse. From a great combination of independent circumstances, which he has fully discussed in *Blackwood's Magazine* for December 1890, he is inclined to believe that the Druses are the genuine descendants of the mountaineering and agricultural portion of the Phœnicians of old. He is also of opinion that much still remains to be discovered concerning the more secret and esoteric aspect of their religion, and he thinks that too much has been made of the sacred books which were captured from their Khalwehs, or places of worship, in 1860, and which he considers to contain, after all, but a very superficial portion of their creed. The real records of their mysteries are carefully guarded by the Khateebes, or priests, themselves, and are never deposited in the Khalwehs, and until these have been produced and published, we shall have but little knowledge of their inner faith and religion.

Finally, upon all points connected with the great question of Syrian research, the chief requisite is to preserve an open and candid mind, and, whilst diligently pursuing the path of inquiry, to refrain from dogmatic and self-confident assurance.

V.

THE CAUSES AND EFFECTS OF EGYPTIAN GEOGRAPHY.

BY

W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE.

THE peculiar conditions of Egypt, the absence of any masking by vegetation, and the unchanged state of it for all historic times, owing to its aridity, render it a particularly interesting subject for study. The carving of the surface can be seen uninterruptedly; and the simplicity of its structure, as one great river-bed, renders it easier to examine than more complex regions. Yet perhaps less has been done for it than for any country equally accessible. My present object is to mention one or two fresh facts, and to call attention to some unsolved problems; and for this end it will be desirable to briefly recapitulate the whole of the geographical history of Egypt.

The great beds of Cretaceous and Eocene limestones—estimated at 4000 feet in total thickness—form the geographical basis of the lower 500 miles of Egypt. They were deposited in the Mediterranean area in that great spread of limestone familiar to the traveller from end to end of the Mediterranean, in Gibraltar, Malta, Greece, and Syria. At the close of the Eocene, these limestone deposits of Egypt were all greatly elevated, and formed a wide table-land out of which the present geography has been carved. A large amount of strata have been denuded from what is now the top surface of this table-land. Not only is this probable, but there is certain evidence of it. The highest points of the hills at Tel el Amarna consist of the least soluble parts of the limestone strata, left behind by denudation; and these are masses of crystalline carbonate of lime, piles of Iceland spar, sometimes hundreds of feet across. And this material can only have been formed by solution and crystallisation from a considerable depth of strata which have now disappeared.

The emergence of the table-land from the sea was not entirely a gradual process, proceeding *pari passu* with the wasting of it, but

took place rapidly and fully in the early history of the land. This is shown by a singular feature, which was perhaps only first noticed when I was examining the valleys at Tel el Amarna this year. The limestone strata there are uniformly level, without perceptible dip or disturbance, except in certain isolated spots. But small areas, of only a quarter of a mile or so across, are sharply depressed in the midst of the horizontal strata; the strata rapidly bend down into the hollow, sometimes with faulting and great disturbance. As there is no sign of lateral pressure, and no trace of any flexure upward between these depressions, it seems evident that they result from the collapse of subterranean caverns of large extent. Such hollows might readily have been formed by the filtration of rainfall through the limestone, though perhaps the size of these hollows is only rivalled by some of the largest caverns now known. The areas of depression are usually about a quarter or a third of a mile across, and the depth of fall of the strata is at least 200 feet, actually traceable in the sections exposed by subsequent denudation valleys. Probably the caverns must have been 300 or 400 feet high and half a mile in diameter.

Where then could all the water have passed in order to flow through the caverns to sea-level, some hundreds of miles distant in the Mediterranean? No subterranean river of this length would be possible of such a volume as is implied by the conditions. As, however, the Nile is known to lie along a great fault, we see a ready means of exit for this water; and the presence of these great caverns some 200 feet deep below the present river-bed, suggests that the Nile at first flowed through a deep gorge worn along the line of fault, some 600 or 700 feet deep in the plateau. And as these subsidences into the caverns took place before the lateral valleys were cut, and also the lateral valleys do not appear to descend much, if at all, below the present river-level into the gorge, it is evident that the elevation must have been rapid and complete at first, for the drainage from such deep caverns to take place before much of the surface carving was done. That this gorge has not yet been actually found is but natural, as the few borings that have been made are in the Delta, or in any case far from the river-bed.

The narrow gorge along the fault-line would become partly filled by falls of the sides, and by the boulders and gravel brought down by the stream, and thus the lower level of erosion would be raised before long, the caverns would cease to discharge, and the drainage would pass off the surface by the depressions which would become worn into lateral valleys.

But we can see another stage even earlier than the great fault and gorge. The tops of the hills between the Nile and the Fayum basin I have found to be entirely formed of gravels. As from these gravels there is a steep descent for hundreds of feet into the Fayum basin, they cannot be later in date than that depression; and as that basin contains deposits of the Pliocene subsidence, the gravels must belong to an age at or before, and not after, the Miocene elevation of the land and the formation of the Nile valley, over which they rise about two hundred feet at present. We are, therefore, led to the following sequence in the carving of the geography of Egypt:—

1st. The elevation of the limestone plateau, over which ran a superficial river of great force and volume, by which these thick beds of gravel, containing large rolled blocks some feet in size, were laid down, forming a wide and comparatively shallow river-bed in the limestone plateau. The elevation at this date is unknown; it may have been two hundred feet less than at present, or anything above that. Such was the first stage of the Nile. These gravel-beds have been preserved to us owing to the pebbly mass resisting denudation, and owing also to its lying on what became the watershed between the Nile and the Fayum, and thus not being exposed to wash.

2nd. The great fault occurred probably during the close of the elevation of the plateau; the eastern desert being raised by the protrusion of its core of igneous rocks to a greater height, and finally snapping from the western beds and rising some 250 feet higher, or to a total of 1000 feet above sea-level. The river would at once attack a line of fault, which occurred close to its bed, as shown by the gravels just mentioned. And as the evidences of volcanic action occur in the Miocene period which immediately followed this elevation, it seems very probable that those disturbances—which resulted in the basalt beds seen on the east of the delta, and the silicious springs which produced the silicified sandstone and forests—were immediately due to the river penetrating to deep and highly-heated strata through the great fault.

We cannot suppose the limestone floor of the delta deposits to have been all eroded by the river, as no current could work effectively over so large an area. Probably the deposits of limestone did not extend far beyond the present cliffs and hills around the delta. The limestone beds must have had a limit seawards, as it cannot be supposed that they formed one level sheet with those of Greece and Malta. Rather there was a natural bay, which has been somewhat worn back by denudation, and so formed the present limits of the delta which has been deposited in it.

One point should be remembered in considering the formation of

Egypt. Although we are accustomed to think of the land as rainless, and to look with surprise on rain action there, yet there is no evidence of an arid period until within human times. Every feature of the pre-human ages points to a rainfall quite as large as that of Syria or England at present, probably even larger. The Nile, therefore, was not the shallow sluggish stream that it now is, when it runs without any increase through twenty degrees of tropical evaporation.

3rd. The next period after the formation of the gorge by the great fault must have been the choking of the deeper part by fallen masses and material rolled down by the river, perhaps assisted by a partial sinking of the land, bringing the base of the gorge below sea-level and so checking the current. Certain it seems that the stream through the great caverns ceased, and the rainfall had to force its way from the plateau by cutting lateral valleys. The hollows caused by the falling in of the caverns must have been deep lakes at this time, the overflow of which determined the lines of drainage, which were afterwards cut down through two or three hundred feet of limestone to produce the present valleys. Such erosion must have occupied considerable time; but far less than it would need with only such rain as we are familiar with, for in various ways we see proofs of enormous rainfall. Small catchment basins, of only a square mile or so, on the edge of the plateau, have cuttings a couple of hundred feet deep to drain them, with great waterfalls of about fifty wide. And at Thebes, we see a narrow ridge of rock of only two or three hundred feet thick between the head of a valley and the Nile cliff, which is deeply furrowed into flutings of several feet diameter, side by side all along both of its faces, solely cut by the rain falling on perhaps fifty yards width of ground.

4th. The next change was the submersion of the land subsequent to the whole of the cutting of the valleys as we now see them. That such was the case we learn from the remains of later deposits lying against the valley sides at various parts between the base and top of the valley. These prove that the valleys were already completely cut before the submersion which caused the deposits. This submersion occurred in Pliocene and Pleistocene times, as dated by the remains found in the beds then deposited. The amount of depression has been hitherto stated at only 200-250 feet below present level, or some 500 feet or more from the Miocene level. But I have seen remains of level beds of detritus clinging to the sides of the valleys at Tel el Amarna, near the top of the plateau, and therefore over 500 feet above sea-level. Such bedding of fine-washed detritus in horizontal layers could only occur in nearly still water, and the Nile

valley must therefore have been estuarine up to this level. This estuarine condition has produced a characteristic feature of the Nile scenery, the foot-hills of debris deposited on the lower sides of the mouths of the valleys. In front of each valley may be seen a foot-hill stretching out for some distance, as much as two miles in the bay of the Tel el Amarna cliffs, where the current of the river was not strong. And as the soil of these hills, there at least, is a fine marly earth, they must have been gradually deposited, and are not the result of any sudden torrent. Similar foot-hills, but of less protrusion, lie along the cliffs of Beni Hasan, produced from material washed down the valley south of that, and deposited in the estuary.

5th. The next point of interest to us is the appearance of man. On this question we greatly need further information, and it would be most desirable that some search for evidence should be undertaken. The oldest datum that we have so far is a *hache*, indistinguishable in form from the palæoliths of the French and English gravels. This is greatly river-worn, proving that it belonged to a river deposit; and I picked it up, at perhaps 200 feet above the Nile, on the desert several miles behind Esneh, where there was no trace of human agency, or any probability of its having been brought there in later times. This would show that man of the palæolithic culture was in Egypt when the water-level of river or estuary was about at its maximum in the Pleistocene age. Probably of the same age are some rudely chipped pebbles, extremely weathered, which I found on the top of the plateau at Tel el Amarna. Somewhat later are the flints of a later type which General Pitt-Rivers first found at Thebes. Some adverse opinion has been expressed about these; but I can only say that I removed three flints, which certainly appear artificial, from undisturbed strata at that spot. The fact of tombs having been cut in these strata has been given as an evidence of their age; but the tombs might be merely Roman, being undated, and in any case they are of no importance in the question. The essential fact is that the beds of gravel containing the worked flints cannot have been carried out of their valley and deposited at its mouth, except by a torrential rainfall, such as there is no trace of during the historical and monumental age. Nor can these beds have been thus deposited with any probability except under water and in shallow water, where their transporting stream was in course of being checked by passing into the main river. Hence these beds are probably of the age when the Nile was at a lower level than that of the Esneh flint, but not yet as low as its present level.

6th. We now pass to consider the present conditions of the country,

which have prevailed throughout the historical period. The final raising of the land to the present level cut off the sea from the Libyan Desert and Sahara. Thus Egypt, along with that region, was left fenced on three sides by higher regions, which drain the winds from those quarters of their moisture; and it was thus only open to the sea on the north, which wind becoming warmed in blowing southward, cannot part with its moisture. The aridity thus caused renders the Nile a mere canal, and not a drainage river, for the lower thousand miles of its course; and thus receiving no affluents, parting with water by evaporation, and running slower over flatter gradients, it naturally parts with its suspended mud. Hence, without any general elevation of the strata, the river yet continually rises by the deposit of soil on its bed. The amount, shown by three or four good data, is about four inches a century, and is much the same in Upper and Lower Egypt. During historical times, therefore, the inundated soil has risen about 20 feet. This deposit, and the implied aridity, and drying up of the western deserts, appears to have begun somewhat before the country was elevated to quite its present level, as Nile mud is to be found on desert ground 20 or 30 feet above the present high Nile. The elevation, therefore, has continued for a small amount after the present arid period began. On the coast a very slow depression has since set in, slightly overtaking the rate of Nile deposit, as not only has the 20 feet of historical deposit been submerged, but lakes have been formed over what was, till Arab times, a cultivated district with continuous river deposits formed upon it.

We have now traced the successive causes of the geography of Egypt, the carving of the rocky strata, and the clothing of the valley with its fertile deposits, and we turn to the effects of the geography on the history and character of the inhabitants. The most prominent factor is the north wind of Egypt. Without the prevalent cool breeze there would never have been any such history as we know. To any one who has been actively occupied in that country in the summer, the difference between a south and a north wind is the difference between lassitude and energy. A south wind in the winter is less suitable for work than is a north wind in the height of summer. The very proverb for comfort and blessing in ancient Egypt, piously expressed for the happiness of the dead, was, "May Osiris give him the breath of the north wind." In no other country have we such favourable conditions of climate for a simple civilisation, the sun almost tropical, blazing in a cloudless sky, supplying as much heat and light as any organism can use, and yet an

almost constant cool wind, preventing enervation and favouring a habit of active labour.

Not only is the north wind the promoter of personal activity, but it gives the enormous advantage of a wind-power in constant opposition to the water-power of the river. What this means as favouring intercourse and commerce may be seen most days on the Nile, where boats are crossing in opposite directions up and down the river. A string of grain-boats may be floating down broadside to the current, while sailing-boats may be passing them at six miles an hour with the wind against the current.

The river has had also a powerful effect on the civilisation, as in no other country is it possible to have direct waterways to every town, and no part of the land more than a few miles from boat traffic. Thus the north wind and the narrowness of the Nile valley have most directly fashioned the history of man in Egypt, and promoted the earliest civilisation there. The narrow valley, with unseen deserts on either hand, has also had a great effect on the character, the Egyptian being remarkably timid, especially at night. When you may at any time find a superior force attack you in a few minutes, or at the most half an hour's notice, timidity may well become a characteristic; and the civilised man of Egypt is constantly at the mercy of the savage nomad of the desert, who can advance or change his ground without the least warning. In the most civilised times of ancient Egypt this difficulty was only met by constructing patrol roads on the desert plateau around the town; and from one of the tomb sculptures of a chief of police, it appears that the police-huts or sentry boxes were connected by a stretched rope which was vibrated to send signals equally by day or night—the earliest telegraph on record. This timidity has led to a habit which greatly affects the whole lives of the people. No cattle are left in the fields at night, not a hoof could be found outside of a village from one end of Egypt to the other during the dark. For fear of the night-raiders out of the desert, the long droves of buffaloes, cows, sheep, and goats may be seen trailing into every village at sunset, to be housed inside the homes of their owners. The houses being thus all stables below for half the time, the condition of an Egyptian village is not favourable to health.

The peculiar glory of Egypt—its crowd of historical monuments—is also a direct effect of its geographical conditions. We have noticed that the energy of the people is due to the climate; and when an active race, in a fertile, half-tropical country, is supplied with unlimited stone of excellent and varied qualities, by the side of a

great waterway, and is kept idle for three months of the year from remunerative labour, it would be strange indeed if a taste for monuments did not arise. The inundation plays a large part in this, as the high Nile provides transport to any part of the plain; and as all cultivation is at a pause then, the people are without any employment, and a whole population can be levied on for great works, without reducing its means of subsistence in the least. Thus no land in the world has such geographical facilities for architecture and sculpture.

We have now noticed some of the main effects of the geography of Egypt on the character, civilisation, and works of its inhabitants; but there remains one geographical effect which I much hope may be produced on this assembly, and on the British Government, and that is a desire to take advantage of the facilities for geodetic work in Egypt. That the accurate determination of an arc of latitude would be of service to science is certain, considering that the only countries where these latitudes can be compared are India and America; and India—the nearer—is 50° distant in longitude, and subject to some uncertainties in consequence of the attractions of the great mountain masses at the north. The conditions for such a work in Egypt are ideal. A valley runs north and south, with hills up to a thousand feet high bordering it; there are no trees to hide the sights; triangles of a most advantageous size could be easily arranged across the valley; the air is particularly clear, and with night-signals to observe, there would be no trouble from the flickering; an arc of 10° could be run without any difficulties with the natives, and with the ends in the same longitude; and there are no sharp differences of level to spoil the accuracy, nor any mountain chains to perturb the levelling and observations. A great geodetic arc could be here measured under the most favourable circumstances at a small cost, and would greatly assist the survey of the country itself. It is much to be hoped that such a work may distinguish the English occupation of Egypt.

I should add that in the main outlines of the history of the formation of the country, my own results are in accord with those of Professor Hull and Sir William Dawson; and the fresh facts adduced here are in no way discordant with those already noticed by those authorities.

VI.

SOME NOTES

ON THE

AFRICAN DISCOVERIES OF THE ARABS IN ANTIQUITY.

BY

DR. H. G. SCHLICHTER.

WHAT the Phoenicians were on the Mediterranean and the eastern shores of the Atlantic, the ancient Arabians were on many parts of the Indian Ocean. But the extent of their trade and the geographical explorations connected therewith, although of the utmost importance, are but incompletely known even up to the present day. Fortunately, however, the most important of the still extant writings of antiquity contain valuable information concerning the early enterprises of the Arabs. They show that the inhabitants of the southwestern parts of the Arabian peninsula were the first to open up the southern hemisphere of our globe, penetrating, as they did, into the entirely unknown southern parts of the Indian Ocean.

South-Western Arabia was the centre of the maritime commerce carried on with the countries adjoining the shores of the Indian Ocean; and Muza, Athana, Cane, and other coast-places were the principal emporia for this trade. The "Periplus of the Erythræan Sea," well known as one of the most reliable books upon the commerce and navigation of the ancients in the Indian Ocean, testifies to the great importance of this commerce in the early times of antiquity, by stating that in bygone days, when the merchants from India did not proceed to Egypt, and those from Egypt did not venture to the remote regions beyond Arabia, Arabia Felix, and especially the emporium situated on the site of the present town of Aden, was the centre of the whole commerce, in the same way as Alexandria was the commercial centre of Europe and Asia, at the time when the "Periplus" was written, namely, in the first century of the Christian era.

But Arabian influence in East Africa was not merely of a tem-

porary nature, but an old and permanent institution, as is plainly stated in the "Periplus," where it is said that the whole territory of Azania and Rhapta is governed by the despot of Mopharitis, because the sovereignty over it, *by some right of old standing*, is vested in the kingdom of what is called *Arabia prima*. Sprenger and Fabricius correctly remark that this can only refer to the old Sabæan-Gebanitic period, as the more recent Himyaritic dynasty was much too short a time in power to admit of its being referred to in this way. No other nation or country is mentioned in the classical writings of antiquity that had permanent political or commercial connections with the east coast of Africa. Many Greek merchants, it is true, in the later times of the Ptolemæan dynasty and under the Roman Empire, visited India and East Africa, but we learn from Ptolemy's Geography, as well as from the "Periplus," that such journeys were only commercial enterprises of a purely private character, without any ethnographical or political importance whatever. The coast of Eastern Equatorial Africa was, during the Greek and Roman periods of antiquity, under the sovereignty of South-Western Arabia. But not only was the coast in the hands of the Arabs, but we have good reason to believe that their trade connections and influence extended also over a considerable part of the interior of East Africa.

Mr. Bent, speaking some time ago before the Royal Geographical Society about the ruins of Mashonaland, came to the conclusion that he could throw back these strange buildings to a pre-Mohamedan period, *but that then came the difficulty*. Mr. Bent expressed his opinion that these buildings are of *Arabian origin*—a view which my investigations fully confirm. We are compelled to come to the conclusion that the only nation which might come into consideration during the Greek and Roman times of antiquity is that which held exclusively the trade with Eastern Equatorial Africa, viz., those Arabians who inhabited the south-western parts of the Peninsula.

But nowhere can we discover the slightest trace or hint referring to any colony or emporium to the south of the Zanzibar Coast. Ptolemy's farthest point to the south is Cape Prasum, and the author of the "Periplus" says that the emporia of the Rhapta territory are the last on this coast, and that beyond these parts an ocean hitherto unexplored curves towards sunset, and, stretching along the southern extremities of Ethiopia, Libya, and Africa, meets the western sea. I have, in a previous publication, pointed out the high importance of this passage as compared with the statements made by Ptolemy and other ancient writers. The statement that this southern ocean was regarded as entirely unexplored proves that no Arabian

colonies existed to the south of Rhapta at the time when the "Periplus" was written, and we are therefore obliged to draw the conclusion that no connection whatever can have existed between Arabia and South-Eastern Africa during the period extending from the end of the first century before, to the middle of the second century after, the commencement of our Christian era. *Therefore it is absolutely impossible that the ruins of Mashonaland could have been built, inhabited, and deserted within this period of time.* Ptolemy, the last of the ancient authorities quoted, wrote about the middle of the second century of our era. In the year 634 A.D., South-Western Arabia was absorbed by the Mahometan conquest. It is obvious that the Mashonaland ruins could not possibly have been erected during this time, from 150 to 634 A.D., as the rapid decline of the Himyaritic kingdom soon after the second century of our era is well known, and as this was a period of incessant internal feuds and religious quarrels, during which no colonies like those to which the ruins of Mashonaland belong could have been formed. Mr. Bent threw these ruins back to a pre-Mohamedan period, but from what I have said it follows that we are fully justified in throwing them back to a much earlier date, viz., for more than six hundred years, that is to say, to the time before the commencement of our Christian era. Therefore these most important remnants of a bygone age—which Carl Ritter more than seventy years ago regarded as most important for the comparison between the ancient and modern geography of Africa—point to a still earlier date, and must have been erected *before our Christian era.* Probably they belong to very much earlier times, but prior to Strabo's time classical information about Southern Arabia and Eastern Equatorial Africa is so fragmentary and unconnected that accurate conclusions about the extent of Arabian influence in East Africa are impossible.

I have pointed out in the course of this paper that Eastern Equatorial Africa was, during the classical period of antiquity, a dependency of South-Western Arabia. For a very long time it was almost entirely unknown to Greek and Roman geographers. Even Strabo's information was very limited, and did not extend further than the regions near Cape Guardafui. The reason was that the Arabs had monopolised the maritime trade with the countries beyond the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb. But suddenly a change took place. Was it the growing commercial importance of Alexandria, which would no longer allow Greek and Roman merchants to be excluded from the Indian Ocean? Was it the decline of the ancient kingdom of South-Western Arabia, which was unable to protect the monopoly

of olden times? We are unable to answer these questions at the present time. But we know for certain that in the first and second centuries of our era the Arabs willingly communicated to the Greek merchants and to the scientists of Alexandria their extensive knowledge of the unknown countries to the south, and that, therefore, the ancient African discoveries of the Arabs were not entirely lost to science, but form one of the most interesting and important parts of the historical geography of Africa.

VII.

THE RUINS IN MASHONALAND.

BY

J. THEODORE BENT.

(*Abstract.*)

THE large ruins still standing at Zimbabwe, in Mashonaland, are obviously remains of strong garrisoned towns used by gold-workers in this district in very remote and prehistoric ages. From Portuguese and Arabian sources, their existence, in pretty much the same condition as they are now, can be traced to the early centuries of our era; before this it is difficult to do anything towards arriving at a proper estimate of their age, but the presumptive evidence from the special form of cult, the accuracy with which the buildings are erected and oriented, and various other internal points, argue in favour of a highly advanced race having built them, probably of proto-Arabian origin before the Sabæan form of worship was introduced. The position of all the forts and temples are strategic, and run up the whole country from the Limpopo to the Zambesi, where gold reefs are to be found. In the inmost recesses of the great fortress at Zimbabwe the ancient gold furnace was found with innumerable crucibles for smelting the gold, each with small specks of gold adhering to the glaze; numerous tools for working the gold and an ingot mould of soapstone, of exactly the same size and shape as certain ingot moulds in use among the Phœnicians, and the same as we find depicted in Egyptian pictures of the twelfth dynasty. The most interesting relics found were six birds on pedestals of soapstone decorated with quaint prehistoric patterns; it is somewhat difficult to decide what birds are intended to be represented, but an interesting analogy is afforded us in the Sinaitic mines, where hawks on pedestals dedicated to the goddess Hathor are always found at the mines, to whom all mines were sacred, as we know from the inscription at Denderah, where the king says, "I bestow upon thee the mountains,

to produce for thee the stones to be a delight to see," and it would seem that the same influence has been at work and the same cult observed by the primitive race of gold-seekers who established themselves in South Africa.

The existence of numerous monoliths and round towers through the ruins in Mashonaland would seem to argue that this race was kindred with the primitive rude stone worshippers, and the accuracy with which the buildings are oriented to the rising and setting sun, the elaborate patterns which run round the walls at the points directed to the summer and winter solstices, prove that a study of the course of the sun, and probably a reverence for its generative powers, formed an integral part of their cult.

In the present ruined state of the buildings it is impossible to say for certain, but there is strong evidence to lead us to imagine that these monoliths and round towers were arranged so as to form a species of gnomon, and in the decorations of certain objects found, we have constantly recurring representations of the solar disc, which also point to the existence of a sun-worship amongst the inhabitants.

The strategical arrangements of the buildings prove that the inhabitants existed as a garrison in the midst of a hostile population; everything that it was possible to do was done to protect the fortresses from attack, narrow intricate passages protected with traverses and ambuscades lead up to the fortress, where every position, almost impregnable in itself, is protected with double walls of immense thickness. The temples are all elliptical, with labyrinthine passages leading to the sacred spot where, in one instance, stood a large round tower with a little one by its side. These temples recall those of a similar structure at Mareb in Southern Arabia, described by Professor D. H. Müller in his work, *Die Burgen und Schlösse Südarabiens*. It is impossible to insist too strongly on the wonderful accuracy with which they are built, the evenness of the courses, and the knowledge of mathematics which have been displayed in their construction. The walls are 35 feet high, 17 feet thick, and all built of small untrimmed blocks of granite without mortar, and with an even batter all round; the big temple is 280 feet in diameter, with three entrances, and with its herring-bone pattern running 150 feet along the portion exposed to the sun at the summer solstice.

The fact that the fortress is only built on the shady side of the hill, that exposed to the sun being perfectly bare of ruins, would seem to argue that the inhabitants were a race from a cooler climate, as all negro settlements in this part of the world are built on the sunny side. On one fragment of a soapstone bowl we have a small

portion of a procession depicted, a woman with hair drawn back, and a hand holding a censer; these bowls, all of soapstone, and most of them decorated, were apparently used in temple service, and were all found in and around the smaller temple on the hill. One represents a hunting scene with a small man chasing various native animals—zebras and elephants; another has a procession of bulls round it with very long horns; another has on it a representation of the large round tower. Quantities of refuse quartz were found near the smelting furnace from which the gold had been extracted by smelting, and numerous fragments of a high-class form of pottery, arguing that the race who built these ruins had reached as high a pitch of ceramic art as that attained in Greece and Egypt in classical times.

VIII.

THE DISCOVERY OF KOREA ;

WITH A BRIEF

SKETCH OF KOREAN PHYSIOGRAPHY.

BY

C. W. CAMPBELL,

Of H.M.'s Consular Service in China.

PROBABLY the first notice of Korea appearing in the literature of any nation outside the Chinese Empire is found in "The Book of Routes and Provinces," a work of Ibn Kurdádbah, who lived in Jibal or Ancient Media during the latter half of the ninth century. His information was based on the reports of Arab travellers who traded to the coast of China from Siraf, the port of Bagdad. Ibn Kurdádbah, Abu Zaid Hassan, and Edrisi all make mention of a country called "Sila," or the "Isles of Sila," which lay to the east of China. There are good reasons to believe that the "Sila" of the Arabs was the Korean state of Sil-la (Chinese, *Hsin-lo*, Japanese *Shiraki*), which at this period was the most prominent and civilised portion of ultra-Chinese Asia.

Marco Polo's book contains the earliest mention of Korea in purely European writings, but it was not until the close of the sixteenth century that Korea was, so to speak, discovered. In 1590 Hideyoshi's famous military expedition from Japan drew the attention of the Jesuit missionaries there to the existence of Korea, and on the letters written by them to the General of the Society of Jesus at Rome were founded the descriptions of Korea which were published in the pages of Hakluyt, Gusman, and Du Jarrie at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

Father Gregorio des Cespedes was the first European to set foot in Korea, in 1594. However, he saw little or nothing of the country, and it fell to the Dutchman Hamel to give to Europe the first circumstantial account of the Koreans in 1668. Until very recent

times, Hamel remained the only authority on the interior, but many navigators, notably La Perouse, Broughton, Maxwell, and Basil Hall, helped to delineate the coasts on the chart. Our geography of the interior to this day is based on a map which was drawn up by the Jesuit mathematicians at Peking at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and very little of it has any accurate scientific basis.

[The paper concluded with a short sketch of the main features of Korean physiography.]

SECTION VI.

ARCHAIC GREECE AND THE EAST.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

BY

THE RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P.,

President of the Section for Archaic Greece and the East.

HOWEVER indulgent may be the audience that I have the honour to address, some apology is unquestionably necessary for the association of my name with the work of an Oriental Congress. Ignorant of the languages of the East, I am not cognisant of its races, manners, and institutions, except at a period which must still be termed prehistoric, although some important parts of what belongs to it have, during the present century, gradually acquired the solidity of history. That, however, was the period when, from a central point in Asia, population radiated towards most, if not all, points of the compass: under a kindred impulsion, but with incidents and destinies infinitely various.

The oldest civilisations tolerably known to us are those which appear to have sprung up with a marvellous rapidity in the Babylonian plain and in the valley of the Nile. With one or both of these was ministerially associated a navigating and building race, which touched the Persian Gulf eastwards and the Mediterranean westwards, and probably kept open and active the line of traffic and passage between the two. Through this race seems to have been distributed over the coasts of the great inland sea, and beyond them, a knowledge of the arts. It was this wealth of the East which was, thus gradually and irregularly imparted, to relieve the poverty and develop the social life of the West.

The receptivity, so to speak, of the different countries and races lying within the circle of these visits would appear to have been extremely diversified, and the traces of the process are, for the most part, fragmentary and casual. In one case, and in one only, there is cast upon it the light of a literary record. Of all that was said or sung on the shores of the Mediterranean in those shadowy times, nothing great or weighty has survived, with the solitary, but inestimable and splendid exceptions of the two works known as the

Poems of Homer. They alone (to use the language of a great modern orator) have had buoyancy enough to float upon the sea of time. In them we see the life of those times, such as it was actually lived. We see it as we see in some great exhibition what is termed going machinery. They exhibit to us, as their central object, in the formation stage of its existence, the nation which then inhabited the Greek Peninsula, together with important, though isolated or subordinate, traits of other races and lands.

We have then before us the following group of facts:—First, there is a great treasure of social art and knowledge accumulated, perhaps for the first time, by human labour in the East. Secondly, we have a seafaring people on the Syrian coast, filled with the vivid energy of commerce, who left in different shapes on every accessible shore the marks of imported arts. Next we have obtained, during the present century, a large access of independent knowledge, which exhibits to us the particulars of these Eastern civilisations in their original seats, and which, as we shall see, has found its counterpart or echo in some recent researches of Western archæology. To this we have to add, from the Poems of Homer, a delineation of what may fairly be called contemporary life, which is so copious as to apparently exhaust the whole circle of the simple experience of those times, and to be indeed encyclopædic.

It may seem, then, that we possess in the Poems rare and unrivalled means of interpreting the voiceless treasures supplied from the various sister sources, and of estimating now, somewhat less imperfectly than heretofore, the aggregate of the original debt, which Europe and the West owe to Asia and the East.

And here I reach the point at which, if anywhere, I may find an apology for my intervention in the proceedings of an Oriental Congress. For what I may fairly term a long and patient, though necessarily often intermitted, study of the text of Homer may possibly enable me to offer a small and exotic contribution to the great and many-sided purpose of the present distinguished assembly.

In approaching my immediate subject, I have no other concern with the long and, in the main, unprofitable group of controversies, known as the Homeric question, than this—that I have to treat the Poems as an integral mass of contemporary testimony to the life, experience, and institutions of a particular age and people; to which they add other collateral illustrations. Whatever speculators may have fancied as to their origin and authorship, the general rule has been to treat their contents as an unity for practical purposes. Whether the aim has been to describe the Zeus or the Hermes of

Homer, or the ship, or the house of Homer, the voice of the Poems has been accepted as one authentic voice. The chief exception to that rule has been made in the case of the glimpses of other religions supplied by the *Odyssey*; glimpses which, in my firm opinion, do not impair, but illustrate and confirm belief in that unity of mind which has governed the composition of the Poems. But this is a point on which it is unnecessary to dwell.

In considering the contributions of the East to the life and manners of the Achaians—for that is the designation most properly attaching to the Homeric forefathers of the Greek nation—I shall not begin with religion. We are not now inquiring what elements of religion were carried westwards by those who progressively migrated from the central seat in Asia; but what aggregate of all arts and knowledge, after the first peopling of the Greek Peninsula, was imparted to its inhabitants and their neighbours from the stores of those Eastern civilisations which had been developed during the intervening ages, and through the medium generally of the Phœnicians; that is to say, of that navigating race, who were, to all appearance, the exclusive intermediaries of intercourse by sea between Asia and Europe.

It is recognised as a certainty that this people formed the maritime arm of the great Egyptian Empire. But commerce is comprehensive in its sympathies, and disposes men rather to profit as neutrals by the quarrels of other people than to share in them as parties; so a people like the Phœnicians would, in the natural course of things, and regardless of partisanship, be carriers from Babylon and Assyria, or from any region with which they traded, as well as from Egypt, with which they had a distinct political relation.

But now is the time to make an observation of vital importance with regard to the comprehensive meaning that attaches in Homer to the Phœnician name. Whether the Achaian Greeks themselves devised that name to describe a set of strangers who frequented their coasts, we have no means of knowing. It derives, however, no support or illustration from the *Pentateuch*, or (as I believe) from the monuments. But for Homer it seems to cover everything found in the Achaian Peninsula that was of foreign origin. Not that the poet is fond of tracing the particulars of arts and manners to their Eastern sources. The intense sentiment of nationality, which led some Greek states of later days to covet the title of *Autochthons*, was most of all intense in him; and it is, for the most part, by undesigned coincidences alone, and by the careful

co-ordination of particulars sometimes brought together from afar, that we are able to make out the large catalogue of Achaian obligations to the East. But whether the question be of persons settling in the Peninsula, or of things brought by or learned through maritime visitors who came from the south-eastern corner of the Mediterranean, all of these apparently had but one vehicle, and that vehicle was the Phœnician ship. Consequently all came to carry the Phœnician name, or to run up into Phœnician association, for the contemporary Achaian. Much as to the Turk of later days every European was a Frank, so to the Achaians of Homer all persons and things reaching them over sea were bound up with this Phœnician name. The designation accordingly covers not only the bold mariners of the time, but everything for which they were the purveyors, or supplied the vehicle; in a word, all Syrian, Assyrian, Egyptian, and generally all Eastern meanings. What it indicates is a channel; and all that came through that channel is embraced by it. This extended use of the term would appear then to have a more consistent basis than that which I have quoted as a parallel usage. Europeans were all Franks in Turkey by a metonymy which gave the designation of the majority to the whole. Egyptians or Egyptian subjects were reckoned as Phœnicians (*φοίνικες*), because, all reaching the Achaians in Phœnician ships and Phœnician company, they presented in this particular a real unity of aspect.

Taken in this pervading sense, the first Phœnician gift to the Greek Peninsula would appear to have been one connected with civil institutions. We obtain a view of it through the remarkable phrase *Anax andrôn*. Nothing can be simpler than the meaning of the two words. They signify not king of men, but lord of men; the word *anax* designating a class and not an office.

The phrase is most commonly applied by Homer to Agamemnon. But it is also used for five other persons, and with indications which, though far from complete, are abundantly sufficient to show that it is not a merely ornamental invention of the poet, but a note attaching strictly to particular persons in virtue of some common quality or attribute. It is not royal, and does not indicate supremacy, for the word *anax* is wholly distinct from *basileus* (a king), and only indicates in Homer, as applied to men, the higher class of men, or some notable member of that class. It is heritable, for it is given both to Aineias and his father Anchises. It does not go with powerful and marked individualities; for Agamemnon is only, as a character, one of the second class among the great chieftains, and all the others are lower in Homeric rank. It is not national, for

it is enjoyed by Trojan princes. It is ancient; we find it borne by Augeias two full generations at least before the Trojan War.

Agamemnon was the fourth¹ ruler in his family since, apparently under Pelops, it first became connected with Greece; while the Dardanian line, in which we find it, was the senior of the two royal branches in Troas, and is carried upwards from the time of the war through six generations. Shall we suppose the *Anax andrōn* to have been the Governor or Satrap, sent over sea from Egypt at the climax of its power when it ruled the Greek Peninsula and the neighbouring regions at a period preceding, by an interval we cannot yet define, the age of the Trojan War? We should thus find an explanation consistent with all the facts for a phrase which certainly requires an explanation, and which otherwise cries out for it in vain.

This phrase supplies us with the oldest historic note of settled and regular government in Greece. Not only because we find it associated with kingship, but because we find organised, under Augeias who had borne it, the peaceful institution of the Games,² which we know to have attracted bards as well as horses from neighbouring districts. As we have no trace of any struggle connected with the Egyptian invasion, it may be that the foreign rule, loose in its character, after the manner of Asiatic rule, was easily established over a population living by agriculture, and dwelling village-wise (*komēdon*); and that, under the larger organisations thus created by degrees, may first have grown that consciousness of strength, and that capacity of progress, which led, after a time, even to national reaction against the foreigner.

This reaction took the various forms of the Theban and the Trojan wars, of the Colchian expedition, and probably also of an Achaian share in the now historically known combination of emancipated or struggling neighbour states against Egypt in the time of Merephthah. This remark, however, requires something of detailed exposition. It is not from Homer himself that we are to expect any willing indication of the prevalence at a former time in his already glorious country of a foreign rule. Yet we are not wholly without evidence from extraneous sources of a connection between the title of *Anax andrōn* and the great Egyptian Empire. For example, we learn from the Egyptian monuments that in the fourth year of Rameses II., at the close of the fifteenth century B.C., the Dardanians of Troas fought as allies in the armies of Egypt under Maurnout, King of the Hittites, and that after a series of years they

¹ Il. ii. 104-108.

² Ibid. xi. 698, *sqq.*

returned to their own country. Nothing could be more natural than that, in virtue of this political connection, the ruling Dardanian line, which preserved its separate existence down to the period of the Trojan War, should be invested with an Egyptian title.

In the case of the Pelopids, we find ourselves provided, by the discoveries of Schliemann at Mycenæ, with evidence of a different class, but tending with the highest degree of likelihood to the same result. In the Agora at Mycenæ, Dr. Schliemann discovered four tombs,¹ of which Mr. Newton said that we must rest content with the "reasonable presumption" that they contained royal personages; and as to which I believe that no one now disputes their belonging to the heroic and prehistoric age. If so, they surely also belonged to the house which during that age ruled in Mycenæ, namely, the house of Pelops. In a preface to Dr. Schliemann's² volume on his discoveries there, I have set forth a number of considerations connected with the Poems, which there is not time to notice here, but which tend towards the conclusion that one of these tombs may contain the remains of an historical Agamemnon himself. But it is enough for my present purpose to observe that the title of *Anax andrōn* was descendible from father to son, and that it is accorded in the Poems to personages altogether secondary, viz., Eumelos, Il. xxiii. 288, 354, and Euphetes, xv. 352; who is nowhere else mentioned by Homer—in all likelihood on this especial ground.

We must, therefore, suppose it probably to have been inherited by Agamemnon; and there is no counter evidence to impair the reasonable conclusion that the sovereigns buried in these tombs belonged to a line having the title of *Anax andrōn*.

But, on the other hand, these sepulchres offer us numerous and clear notes of connection with the usages of the Egyptian Empire. Among these are the presence in one of the sepulchres of the scales for weighing the actions of the deceased, which recall the Book of the Dead; the use of gold leaf, which was found as it had been laid over the countenances now long decayed; the position of five bodies stretched in a long but narrow tomb, not along but across it, with inconvenient compression from lack of space, but in the direction of east and west,³ and facing westwards according to the usage of Egyptian burial. Such, in fact, is the strength of Egyptian association as to these tombs, and otherwise established by the Mycenaean remains, as to leave little room for reasonable doubt on its existence. And thus we have the title of *Anax andrōn* once

¹ Mycenæ, Preface, p. xxvii.

² Ibid. pp. xxiv. xxviii. seq.

³ Ibid. p. 295.

more placed in relation with Egypt, since it clearly subsisted in the Pelopid line, and since individuals of that line were in all likelihood the occupants of Mycenian sepulchres. The title itself is of so marked a character that we are led to connect the assumption of it with some great event, and such an event would undoubtedly be the first mission of Pelops, or the first head of the Pelopid house, to bear rule on behalf of Egypt in the Greek Peninsula.

If these conjectures be correct, and if an Eastern Empire imparted in various quarters of the North and West the first germ of a civil society extending beyond the scale of the village community, it is matter of extreme interest to note the differences of mode and of result with which the gift was received by different races and regions. If we judge by the length of the genealogies in Homer, Troas was the seat of States older than any in the Achaian Peninsula, those, namely, of Ilion and Dardania. It is in Dardania only, the older of the two, that we find the *Anax andrōn*. And it is true that we have no detailed account of Dardanian manners and institutions.

We have, however, this detail in the case of Troy, and we have no reason to assume a substantial difference between them. But as between Trojan and Achaian, in the political department, we find marked differences all along the line. The Trojan State has indeed a King and an Assembly, but they do not present so much as the beginnings of free speech, of real deliberation, or of national life. The bribes of Paris appear to supply the main motive power. All is coloured with an Asiatic hue. And so among the Phaiakes, where the colour of the description is not Hellenic but Phœnician. A recent American commentator¹ remarks on the absoluteness of Alcinous in his kingship, there being assemblies, but no debate; only immediate acquiescence in the views of the King. But in the Achaian communities, whether at peace, as in Ithaca, or in the camp before Troy, we recognise the elements of the grand conceptions I have named. They may not indeed be fully and consistently developed, but they are visible everywhere in their outline, and they reach even up to the point where we find that the will of the supreme chieftain is liable to be checked in a regular manner by other judgments; liable, we may almost say, to be out-voted. So that when, at nearly the lowest point in the fluctuating fortunes of the army, Agamemnon has proposed to abandon the expedition, he is resolutely resisted in debate by Diomed, and the general feeling of the soldiery compels him to give way.²

¹ Merriam, Phœnician Episode, on Od. vii. 2.

² Il. ix. 46, seq.

Here we have exhibited in a particular case the essential character of the Achaian receptivity. What the East had the faculty of conceiving, but not of developing, the more elastic and vigorous nature of the Achaian Greek took over as an imparted gift, and then by its own formative genius opened out, enlarged, and consolidated in the form and with the effect of an original endowment. I shall presently endeavour to unfold this proposition in a diversity of particulars.

It will naturally be asked if the Egyptian Empire left upon once subject lands a trace of departed authority in the title *Anaxandrōn*, did it not impress on the traditions of the Achaian race any note of its own conception of kingship, and of the remarkable connection which it had established between royalty and divinity? The oldest dynasty given by Manetho is said to have been of the gods and demigods. The list of Egyptian kings on the Turin papyrus begins with a line of deities, the last of whom is Horus.¹

The divine name Ra, incorporated in the names of kings, carries downward into historic time the memory of this belief; and it is not surprising that we should find a pretty distinct trace of the same belief in the Homeric Poems. I refer to his use of the two phrases *Diotrephe*s, Zeus-nurtured, and *Diogenes*, Zeus-born. The first of these is applied to the race of the Phaiakes, with the distinct intention of representing them as of the kindred of the gods;² and in the *Iliad* we have it used to signify the kings of cities as a class.³ It is nowhere otherwise employed except in a line⁴ where it has been allowed to supplant an old and I believe legitimate reading, and where it is little better than senseless. Once, in the singular, it is applied caressingly by Achilles to his instructor, Phoinix.⁵ But it may be stated generally that both words are confined in Homer to royal personages with a remarkable strictness; and, as if further to impress on them the characters of titles, the favourite usage of them is in the vocative. Conformably with the sense of these remarkable epithets, the ancestries of the Homeric kings often run up to Zeus; sometimes to Poseidon, and this probably in his character as a god supreme in his own proper regions and mythologies. It seems easy here to perceive a real connection with the Egyptian idea and practice.

But again, we have to notice that the transplantation into Achaian Greece of the Asiatic or Egyptian notion did not imply continuing confinement within its bounds. The poet availed himself of the

¹ Rawlinson, Herod, ii. 337.

³ Il. ii. 60.

⁴ Ibid. iv. 480.

² Od. v. 278.

⁵ Ibid. ix. 603.

venerable character thus accorded to the bearers of civil authority, the basis of which he always regards as divine; but this did not lead him into the region of despotic ideas. Nothing can be less like the Eastern despot than an Achaian King, who has to rely upon reason, upon free speech, upon the assembly, as principal governing forces; and who seems to supply an historic basis for the succinct but very remarkable description given by Thucydides of the early Greek rulers as kings upon stipulated conditions.¹

But before proceeding to details, I will describe certain impressions, strictly relevant to the present subject, which have resulted from my long study of the Poems, and which, if they be correct, would prove that Homer himself had an energetic and also a methodical conception of the obligations of his country to the East. It is, I believe, generally admitted that in Achilles, the protagonist of the Iliad, we have a superb projection of the strictly Hellenic character, magnified in its dimensions to the utmost point consistent with the laws of poetical probability. In the epithet Hellenic is conveyed that wonderful receptivity which first accepted and then transmuted the Eastern rudiments of civilisation. But, by the side of this Hellenic form of character, there is another at once its sister, its rival, and its complement; and, as the Iliad is the triumphal procession of the one, so the Odyssey is the deathless monument of the other. It is remarkable that the poet has placed these two, different as they are, in relations of close sympathy and attachment, so that they never clash; while, of the two next Achaian heroes, Diomed has no point of personal contact with Achilles (offering, indeed, to carry on the war without him), and Ajax becomes involved in a deadly feud with Odysseus. The distinctness of the two great dominating characters enables them to fit into, to integrate one another, and jointly to express the entire mental and moral aggregate of the race. There was indeed a third ethnical ingredient, the Pelasgian, which perhaps had to bide its time for its own proper development. For the Homeric and heroic picture, Achilles and Odysseus between them expressed all that was great, signal, and formative in Achaianism. We may perhaps sum up the greatness of Achilles in this, that he expressed a colossal humanity. What was it that he did not express? He did not express, and Odysseus did, the many-sided, the all-accomplished, the all-enduring man: the *polutropos*, the *polumetis*, the *tlemon*, the *poluteles*, the *polumekanos*, the *poikilometis*, the *poluphron*, the *daïphron*, the *talasiphron*—in whom this is perhaps above all remarkable, that the completeness

¹ Thuc. i. 13.

of his structure, the firmness of his tissue, raised his passive even up to the level of his active qualities.

Let us look a little round the circumference of the man. In battle he is never foiled. In counsel he is supreme. His oratory is like the snow-flakes of the winter storm. Victor in the severe strength-contests of the Twenty-third Iliad, he conquers also among the Phaiakes in their game of skill. This is a specimen only; and he tells them he is no bad hand at any of the athletics practised among men.¹ He is the incomparable bowman, who performs a feat otherwise beyond human strength. His is the spirit of boundless patience which enforces silence in the cavity of the horse. But the range of his accomplishments also includes every manual art. In the island of Calūpso he appears as the ship carpenter. As the ploughman he can challenge a haughty suitor to compete with him in harvesting corn all day till nightfall without a meal, or in driving the straight and even furrow with a team of powerful oxen.² In his own palace, he built his chamber after the Phœnician manner, that is, with great hewn stones.³ It was reared over a full-grown olive tree, which he cut at a proper height, and then shaped the stump into his nuptial bed. Into this he wrought inlaying of gold, of silver, and of ivory, and this operation supplies the sole instance in which not merely any Achaian chieftain, but any Achaian whatever is found in the Poems to execute a work of art. That it is such is undeniable, for he applies to it the very term *daidallōn*, from Daidalos, whose name may be said to give the summit level of art for those days. Even the bed-covering expresses the same idea of foreign art, for it is dyed with purple (*phoiniki*) which carries the Phœnician name.⁴ Alone among the Achaian Greeks, he elevates his manual labour into the region of genuine art; as he was also alone among them in presenting to us the character of a daring navigator prepared to face distant voyages with the extremes of climate and adventure.

I have endeavoured elsewhere to show how Ithaca, as well as its head, abounds in the signs of Phœnician association.⁵ Here I will only observe that if the character of Odysseus has been based by Homer upon Phœnician elements, trained by Hellenic contact and experience into a superior development, and set out in the Poems by the side of the purely Hellenic Achilles, there cannot be a more decisive exhibition of a belief in the mind of Homer that the

¹ Od. viii. 190, 214.

² Ibid. xviii. 365-375.

³ Ibid. xxiii. 192.

⁴ Ibid. xxiii. 188-201.

⁵ See Phœnician Affinities of Ithaca, *Nineteenth Century*, Aug. 1889.

institutions and arts of life viewed as an aggregate were imported from the East.

But, over and above this universality of Odysseus in the arts of life, he bears the Phœnician stamp in what may be termed his craft. In the Thirteenth Odyssey, Athenè signifies to him pretty plainly¹ that there can be no use in their endeavouring to impose upon one another, as he is first of all mortals in counsel and in figments, while she has a corresponding precedence among the Immortals. In general, a high prudence is the characteristic of each, sometimes degenerating into cunning. This combination of prudence with cunning is everywhere in the Poems a leading Phœnician characteristic, and it supplies a fresh note of affinity between the Phœnician idea at large and the wonderful and consummate character of Odysseus.

Let me now endeavour to show in some important details how this general idea receives its verification from the Poems. I have spoken of government. In the great chapter of religion the case is different. There is but little in Homer to associate the loftier elements of the Olympian religion with Egypt or Assyria or the race of Phœnician navigators; and the same may be said as to the Nature-worship which was probably the previous religion of the mass of pre-Hellenic inhabitants. The principal contribution from Phœnician sources to the mixed scheme of this Achaian thearchy was the great god Poseidon. But of all the chief deities of the system, Poseidon is the lowest in type. Powerful as an exhibition of force, he is nowhere in touch with such ethical elements as subsist in the Olympian religion, or with its least materialistic elements. But when we turn from the religion to the ethnography of the Poems, the god Poseidon becomes to us a great fountain-head of instruction. First we identify him as at every point associated with the Phœnician name and character. Of the Phaiakes, who are so deeply coloured with their attributes, he is the supreme local deity, and they are indeed his kin. In the conventional triad of Homer he rules the sea, of which they are the earthly masters. Nestor is, next to Odysseus, the chieftain, who exhibits the Phœnician quality of prudence bordering upon craft; but Nestor is his descendant, and there were others of his lineage in the Western Peloponnesos, where we find the *Anax andrôn* in the person of Augeias, who may have been of the same race. Next we note conclusive evidence that Poseidon is a southern deity. His descendants, the race of Kuklopes, have been shown² to be on the Libyan

¹ Od. xiii. 296-299.

² See Mr. R. Brown's Poseidon.

coast. He frequents the Aithiopes of the south to enjoy their sacrifices, even at a time when the Olympian gods are holding a solemn assembly; and he seems to be specially associated with the Solyman mountains. He also carries the sure note of dark colour, and has the word *Κυανοχάυτης* not only for an epithet, but for a title.

Such being his ethnical and such his local associations, let us next inquire what are the special attributions of this deity, and we shall find that they at once supply us with three of the most essential constitutive elements of social existence—the instrument of sea passage, the instrument of land passage, and the means of solid and permanent habitation. In relation to ships, it was his to grant the good voyage or to refuse it. Achilles had no special connection with Poseidon, but when, in the Ninth Iliad, he threatens to sail home, he says it will be accomplished if Poseidon¹ favours him. And so conversely the voyage of Odysseus from Ogugiè, though favoured by the gods at large, is doomed to fail because Poseidon has determined that he shall be wrecked. On the other hand the Phaiakes, who are special worshippers of Poseidon, excel all men in navigation as rowers, with a speed equalling that of the hawk in the air, or of the four-horse chariot on the plain.²

The main instrument of agriculture was the ox, but the main instrument of locomotion, and the grand auxiliary in war, was the horse. The connection of Poseidon with the horse is even more intimate than with the ship. He unyokes and puts up the horses of Zeus on their arriving in Olympus,³ which cannot be a simple note of inferiority, since Horé performed the same office for Athenè. The signification here of the horse attribute is made all the more pointed, because this is the only act performed by Poseidon in Olympus. Peleus was of the lineage of Zeus; yet the deathless horses of Achilles were presented to his father not by Zeus but by Poseidon. Neleus had the distinction of a four-horse team; but Neleus was the child of Poseidon. When Antilochos was to be instructed in horse-craft, Poseidon united with Zeus in imparting it. When Menelaos challenges Antilochos to purge himself in the horse-race, of a suspected fraud, he requires him to lay his hand upon the horses and to swear by Poseidon that he is innocent of this incident. I know but one probable construction.⁴ It is that Poseidon was the god of the particular region, Africa, without doubt, which principally supplied the Achaian Peninsula with its horses.

¹ Il. ix. 362.

³ Il. viii. 440.

² Od. xiii. 81-86.

⁴ Ibid. xxiii. 502-525.

There are still very curious traces of the ancient importation of horses from Africa on the tract of Mediterranean Coast lying between Frejus and Hyères, and bearing the designation of *Pays des maures*.

Not less remarkable is the relation between Poseidon, with the Phœnicians, and the construction of houses with hewn or wrought stone. We trace this connection in the legend of the perjury of Laomedon, who is said to have withheld the pay stipulated to be paid to that divinity for having constructed the walls of Troy. This legend probably had its basis in some transaction with the Phoinikes, his worshippers. For it may be laid down as a general rule that, wherever throughout the Poems we meet a mention of skilled building or ornamentation, or of the use of hewn stone, it is among men who stand in association with the Phœnicians. Thus we have an imposing description of the palace of Alhinoos, and of the buildings of his city; but through Phaiakes, Homer signified Phoinikes.¹ We have a case of inferior but similar magnificence in the palace of Menelaos; but then Menelaos had spent eight years in Eastern travel, and had acquired much substance in the course of it, which would naturally imply knowledge of its arts.² Even Poluphemos, brutal as he was, had the courtyard for his sheep and goats built of quarried stone; but Poluphemos was the son of Poseidon, and thus allied with the great building race. I have assumed all along that the inhabitants of the Peninsula were acquainted with agriculture before the advent of the Phœnicians, or of those whose nationality was covered by their name. This, I think, is sufficiently shown by the etymology of a portion of the names given to Achaian soldiery, which is indicative of pursuit, and is markedly different from those of the chiefs. I know but one place in Homer which associates the East specially with the art of tillage. It is where the cultivation of the Egyptian fields is specially commended. But, speaking generally, it is for advances beyond this stage of civil progress that we have to look to the Phœnician vehicle. And I think that already the debt of the Achaian Peninsula to the East has been shown to be considerable. Let us carry the process somewhat further. In truth the difficulty would be to point to any of the arts of life, as exhibited in the Poems, which was not derived, at least in germ, from Eastern and South-Eastern sources. Nothing has been said of hunting. It may probably have been known in some shape as a defensive incident of rural pursuits before it had grown into a recognised princely pursuit.

¹ Od. vii. 44-46, F. 1, *seq.*

² Ibid. iv. 82-90.

I come next to art. And here it has to be observed that, although the use of the potter's wheel is known in Homer, yet there is nowhere an association of this art with the effort to produce beauty; nowhere, therefore, an indication of the fine arts, except in connection either with metals or with embroidery. To begin with embroidery, which is the smaller of the two subjects. When, in the Sixth Iliad, Hecuba has to select the most precious robe she possesses for a propitiatory offering to Athenè, she chooses the largest and the best adorned with patterns, which glittered, too, like a star.¹ Now it is probable that Troy may have been more advanced in art than Greece, for it was an older settled country, if we judge by the number of generations allowed by Homer from the first ancestors. But this choice robe, and the collection from which it was taken, were not the work of Trojan women. They were wrought by the damsels whom Paris brought with him over sea from Sidon. In this case the word *poikilmata*, which describes the patterns, does not seem to include representations of the human form, which Homer, with his intense sense of form, would hardly have allowed to pass as mere decoration. When Penelope resorts to her famous device in the Odyssey,² we are told only of its size and fineness. It was meant professedly for a shroud to enwrap the body of Laertes; and the mere incident that it was unwoven at night shows that it was not a work of art. The apparatus employed by Helen in the Fourth Odyssey was one for spinning only; and even this was a gift made to her in Egypt.³ In the Third Iliad, however, we find her employed in her chamber upon a web upon which she embroidered (*enepassen* is the word, used upon this occasion only) many combats of the Trojan and Achaian warriors.⁴ Here, and here only in Homer (as we must except works wholly ideal), we have that higher form of art which consists in the representation of the human form. But the foreign derivation is here obvious, for we must suppose Helen to have learned the art either at Sidon, which⁵ Paris had visited in her company, or from the Sidonian attendants of whom mention has been made.

Metallic art holds a more important place in the Poems than embroidery, and it assumes more forms than one. Most commonly it is exhibited in portable articles of war or other use; but it is also an auxiliary of architecture, which nowhere, except in connection with metallic workmanship, approaches to an ornamental character. This art is so entirely Eastern in its associations, that the possession

¹ Il. vi. 289, *seq.*² Od. iii. 104, *seq.* 95.³ Ibid. iv. 125-135.⁴ Il. iii. 125.⁵ Ibid. vi. 292.

of it by Odysseus supplies one of the substantive presumptions that he was modelled upon lines originally Phœnician. Hephaistos and Athenè¹ are the two standing instructors in arts, she for women in textile work, and he for metals. His name appears to fall within the statement of Herodotus as to gods whose designations were derived from Egypt. His divinity was probably established on the coasts of the Ægean as that of a nature power, for the name is more than once used as synonymous with the element of fire.² But this character is in him wholly subordinate to that of the worker in art, and he fights against Troy, which is befriended by the nature powers. His true character is that of the art-worker. He builds the Olympian palaces. He fashions the shield of Achilles. He made the most precious of all the valuables in the palace of Menelaos, a silver bowl, with edges of gold, and this bowl was presented to the Achaian Prince by Phaidimos, the King of Sidon.³ The silver bowl given by Achilles as a prize in the foot-race was of Sidonian manufacture, and was brought to Greece by Phœnician traffickers. The signs of his handiwork abound in the palace of Alkinoos, where he made the golden and the silver dogs.⁴ Throughout the Poems nothing can be clearer than the association of metallic art with the Phœnician coast. Even a superficial view of the Homeric text cannot fail to recognise in this particular respect the debt of the Greek Peninsula to the East.

But, as it was the general rule of the Greek race to improve upon the benefactions they thus acquired, we have a very signal example of such improvement in the case of works in metallic art. With an extraordinary daring, the Achaian poet endows these works with automatic motion, and even with the gift of understanding. The lame Hephaistos, as he proceeded to his anvil and his forge, was propped by female figures in gold, which he had wrought, and which were educated in accomplishments by the Immortals.⁵ So likewise in the palace of Alkinoos, besides the golden youths who hold torches to light the banquet, and who are named without any other express specification, the golden and silver watch-dogs, which have already been named, are endowed with the life which was needful for the performance of their office, and are exempt both from death and from old age.⁶ In the marvellous details of the Shield, the poet seems always to be imparting life to the metallic product. Thus wonderfully was he made at once the recorder of what the

¹ Od. vi. 233; xxiii. 160.

³ Od. iv. 617; xv. 117.

⁵ Il. xviii. 376, 417-420.

² Il. ii. 226; Od. xxiv. 71.

⁴ Ibid. vii. 92.

⁶ Od. vii. 91-94, 100-102.

East had invented, and the prophet by anticipation of those more splendid triumphs which in the aftertime his countrymen were to achieve.

I might show if time permitted the connection between the Phœnician idea and the establishment of the Games, the knowledge of drugs, the use of pork as an article of food, and the supply of slaves to the Achaian region.

But it is time to say a few words on the case of Assyria, to which thus far I have made little or no specific reference. The Assyrians were too distant to be even within the range of the poet's knowledge, as exhibited in his sketch¹ of the travels of Menelaos in the south-east. We are therefore led to the supposition that what the Achaians had obtained from Assyria they had obtained without definite acquaintance with the source whence it came, and that the name and marine of the Phœnicians stood as an opaque curtain between them and the great south-eastern empire. Much, nevertheless, may have come, especially if in a fragmentary form. I have elsewhere² made a collection of particulars from the Homeric text which appear to betray an Assyrian origin. I say advisedly to betray, for we are wholly without direct information, and have only internal evidences to guide us. A portion of these I will briefly set forth:—

1. Homer gives us the great encircling river Okeanos as the origin not only of rivers and fountains, but of gods and men. Compare a citation made by Dr. Driver from the tablets concerning heaven and earth:—

“The august ocean was their generator,
The singing deep was she that bare them all.”

2. Thalassa, the Greek name for the sea, is of Chaldean origin.

3. Poseidon has a marked correspondence with the Hea of the Assyrian Triad or Trinity, in certain respects. Neither of them was an elemental god, but each was ruler of the sea. Poseidon was dark in line; and Hea was the creator of the black race.

4. Deification is found on the tablets in the case of Izdubar. The only instance of absolute and pure deification given by Homer is that of Leucothea, and she belongs to the Phœnician or Eastern circle.

5. Babylonia records the gigantic size and strength of primi-

¹ Od. iv. 83-85.

² “Landmarks of Homeric Study,” pp. 127, *sqq.*, with the authorities which are there cited.

tive man, and so Poseidon has relations with the giants in various forms.

6. The Ishtar of the tablets appears to correspond with the Aphrodite of Homer, the passage of whose worship into Greece we can trace by her association chiefly with Paphos, and next with Cythera or Cerigo.

7. Aïdoneus, the Greek Pluto, has among his other epithets in Homer that of *pulartes*, the gate-fastener. The term receives little or no illustration from the Homeric text. But the Assyrian Under-world has no less than seven gates; and its leading idea is not that of receiving the dead, but of shutting in the dead.

8. The relation of sonship, and of a conformity of will attending it, between the god Merodach and his father is represented in a peculiar and most striking manner by the conformity of will between the Apollo of the Iliad and his father Zeus.

9. The Babylonian Triad of Anu, Bel, and Hea is the possible or probable source of the Homeric Triad of Zeus, Poseidon, and Aïdoneus.

10. Wherever there is any particular notice of stars in Homer it is always in Phœnician association, as if based upon accounts of the Chaldean astrology.

11. Heptaism, or the systematic and significant use of the number seven, is peculiarly Chaldean. The only marked use of this number in Homer is for the seven gates of Thebes. Now Thebes was the only one of the Achaian cities distinctly traceable in Homer to an Eastern origin.

12. Canon Rawlinson gives reasons for supposing the Assyrian gods to have been about nineteen in number; and Homer seems to use twenty as an approximate number for the Olympian gods.

13. The descent of Ishtar to Hades caused great disorders in the Upper World. We may, perhaps, compare the threat of Helios to Zeus, that if his demand was refused he would cease to travel the sky and shine only in the Underworld.¹

14. On the tablet the Flood is the consequence of sin, and the allusion to a flood in an Homeric simile associates it with the sins of rulers.

15. In the Babylonian system the Moongod is the father of the Sungod. In Homer the moon is nowhere personified, but thrice we find the sun invested with the patronymic Hyperion; and in each case the passage is one of strictly Oriental association.

It will be observed that in this enumeration I have not yet

¹ Od. xii. 374-383.

alluded to the great gift of the alphabet, which has been commonly recognised as a gift of the Phœnicians to Greece.¹ To this gift and to its source Homer bears witness in a single passage of the Sixth Iliad. It records the legend of Bellerophon, who is himself a descendant of Clœus or Aiolas, and this name when found in Homer is, I venture to assert, a sure sign of Phœnician association. The other chief actor, who transmits the written or symbolic message, is Proitos, and Proitos is the King of Argolis, an undoubted seat of immigration from the south-east.

Yet one other remark, whatever the East gave to the West, it did not supply Europe with the basis of its social morality in the great article of marriage. Sexual license is, according to the Poems of Homer, traceably wider in the East than in Western regions; and it is remarkable that at that early date we should find the line between polygamy and monogamy already drawn where it may be said generally to have lain ever since, namely, at the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles.

I now, with renewed apologies, bring to a close this very humble contribution to a great cause. To have offered it will give me sincere pleasure if it prove to be in any degree a source of interest or profit to any among the members of the Oriental Congress of 1892.

¹ Rawlinson's Herodotus, ii. 717, 9.

II.

THE CELESTIAL EQUATOR OF ARATOS.

BY

ROBERT BROWN, JUNR., F.S.A.

I. THE PHAINOMENA.

THE history and progress of ancient astronomy supply one of the most interesting and remarkable links between archaic Greece and the non-Aryan East; and as the general opinion of the classical ancients, which specially connected this science with the Euphrates Valley, has now been too completely confirmed by modern research to need any discussion on the subject as a whole, I propose to illustrate the astronomical association between Babylon and Hellas by the examination in detail of that passage of the *Phainomena* of Aratos in which the poet treats of the celestial equator. Aratos, "hominem ignarum astrologiæ," as Cicero¹ well styles him, at the request of Antigonos Gonatas, king of Makedonia, cir. B.C. 270, versified the *Phainomena* of the astronomer Eudoxos; and, in so doing, produced a work which is the foundation of all the uranographic maps and lists of modern science. Cicero, in an interesting passage, states that "Gallus assured us [that the] solid and compact [model] globe was a very ancient invention, and that the first, [Hellenic] model had been originally made by Thales of Miletus," renowned, amongst other things, for having fallen into a well whilst star-gazing.² "That afterwards Eudoxus of Cnidus, a disciple of Plato, had traced on its surface the stars that appear on the sky, and that many years subsequently, borrowing from Eudoxus this beautiful design and representation, Aratos had illustrated it in his verses, not by any science of astronomy, but by the ornament of poetic description."³ We can thus trace the sphere of Aratos to Thalês,⁴ a man "of the family of the Thelidai, who are Phoinikians by descent, among the most noble of all the descendants of Kadmos

¹ *De Oratore*, i. 16.

² *Vide* Platôn, *Theaitétos*, lxxix.

³ *De Republicâ*, i. 14.

⁴ Diog. Laert., *Thalês*, i. As to Agênôr, *vide* R. B., Jr., *The Heavenly Display*, 25.

[= "the Easterner"] and Agênôr [= "the Mighty One," *i.e.*, the god Baal], as Platôn testifies." Thus, the Phœnician-sprung Thalês, who studied the solstices and the equinoxes, eclipses and the movements of the sun, who was spoken of as "the discoverer of the *Lesser Bear*,"¹ and who said the *Hyades* were two in number, a northern and a southern, to quote the words of Delambre, "passe pour le fondateur de l'astronomie grecque."² The reference to Thalês in connection with *Kynosoura* (= *Ursa Minor*) marks his distinctly Phœnician standpoint, as Aratos says of *Helikê* (*i.e.*, "the Twister," = *Ursa Major*):—

"By it on the deep
Achaïans gather where to sail their ships;
Phoinikians to her fellow trust at sea.
Twister is clear and easy to perceive,
Shining with ample light when night begins;
Though small the other, 'tis for sailors better,
For in a smaller orbit all revolves;
By it Sidonians make the straightest course."³

It is to be remembered that classical writers constantly term the introducer of a novelty its discoverer. Thus, according to Diogenês Laertios, "Anaximandros was the first discoverer of the gnomon,"⁴ whereas, as Hêrodotos truly says, "The gnomon with the division of the day into twelve parts was received by the Greeks from the Babylonians."⁵ Aratos, then, had before him the two prose works of Eudoxos—namely, the *Phainomena* ("Heavenly Display") and the *Enoptron* ("Mirror"), which greatly resembled each other; one or several star-maps with constellation figures, and a globe; and from these materials, and not from any observations of his own, he produced the poem. The astronomical knowledge of Eudoxos, despite the praises lavished on him by various classical writers, was evidently of a very rudimentary description; so that it has been remarked, "Eudoxos, as cited by Hipparchos, neither talks like a geometer, nor like a person who had seen the heavens he describes. A bad globe, *constructed some centuries before his time*, might, for anything that appears, have been his sole authority." It is unnecessary to refer to the examination of the works of Eudoxos

¹ Kallimachos, ap. Diog. Laert., *Thalês*, ii.

² *Histoire de l'Astronomie Ancienne*, i. 13.

³ *Phainomena*, 37-44; cf. Schol. *Il.* xviii. 487; Hyginus, *Poeticon Astronomicum*, ii. 2; Ovid, *Tristia*, IV. iii. 1; *Fasti*, iii. 107; Manilius, *Astronomicum*, i. 304-8.

⁴ *Anaximandros*, iii.

⁵ Hêrod., ii. 109.

and Aratos by Hipparchos,¹ because the standpoint of the latter with reference to the investigation was essentially incorrect. Being himself a practical astronomer, he naturally thought that the statements of Eudoxos were intended to apply wholly to that writer's own time, and embodied his own original observations. Hipparchos was consequently much surprised at the apparently obvious and gross mistakes of his predecessor; and, in the interests of science, proceeded to correct them. Aratos, moreover, it would seem, had not improved upon the statements of Eudoxos, but had either blindly followed them, or perhaps had altered them in some cases for the worse.

But although the statements in the *Phainomena* may in some instances be difficult to understand, may even occasionally be very hard to reconcile with any true presentation of the actual facts, may suggest the idea that they are the outcome of the investigations of various observers working in different localities, yet we should not on these accounts cast them aside as being arbitrary or inexplicable, as has frequently been done by scholars. The very fact that they are, as a rule, precise and definite, and form an elaborate whole or general scheme of the heavens, and further, are recorded by an unscientific person, renders the question of their actual origin well worthy of a careful investigation. For, again, these statements are not the inventions of Aratos, Eudoxos, or any one else. Formerly writers were wont to give offhand explanations of this or that by vaguely stating that the first known person or persons who used it had "invented" it. Thus some one was said to have invented the alphabet; somebody else invented the constellation figures. Fortunately we have changed all this, and nothing is more remarkable in the history of progress and discoveries than the small part which mere invention has played in connection with them. Such a mass of astronomical statement as is contained in the *Phainomena* when recorded by the unlearned can only represent a crystallised tradition; and this deduction of refined common-sense is, if possible, rendered more certain when the statements are mainly incorrect if applied to the time when they are committed to writing, but may have been true at some time and in some locality. And the internal evidence of the poem is in exact accordance with this necessity. Aratos always speaks of the constellation figures as of unknown antiquity:—

¹ Vide Delambre, *Histoire de l'Astronomie Ancienne*, cap. x. Hipparque et les autres commentateurs d'Aratos.

“Some man of yore
A nomenclature thought of and devised,
And forms sufficient found.”¹

The assumed wonderful discoverer and inventor stepped in to assist mankind—

“So thought he good to make the stellar groups,
That each by other lying orderly,
They might display their forms, and thus the stars
At once took names and rise familiar now.”²

We find vague traces of the introduction of stellar lore into Hellas preserved in such statements as that Kleostratos of Tenedos, who “lived sometime between B.C. 548 and 432,” placed the Signs in the zodiac, “et prima *Arietis* ac *Sagittarii*.”³ Oinopedês of Chios, a sage of uncertain date, is credited with having discovered the obliquity of the ecliptic; but Plutarch,⁴ while noticing this, ascribes the discovery to Pythagoras of Samos. I add “of Samos,” because it will be noticed that all this astronomical progress is connected with island localities adjoining the Asiatic coast; and it is to Thalês and his successors that Plutarch, in the work above referred to, ascribes the division of the heavenly sphere into zones.⁵

Leaving, therefore, the subject in its broader aspect, I will proceed to consider in detail the passage of the *Phainomena* in which Aratos describes the celestial equator. He says—

“In midst of both,⁶ vast as the *Milky Way*,
A circle trends 'neath earth like one in twain;
And on it twice are equal days and nights,
At summer's close and when the spring begins.
As mark there lies the *Ram*, and the *Bull's* knees;
The *Ram* along the circle stretched at length,
But the *Bull's* crouching legs alone appear.
And on it is the bright *Orion's* belt,⁷
The *Water-serpent's* gleaming bend; the *Bowl*
But small, the *Crow*, some few stars of the *Claws*;

¹ *Phainomena*, 373-5.

² *Ibid.* 379-82.

³ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, ii. 6.

⁴ *Peri tôn Aresxontôn tois Filosofois*, ii. 12.

⁵ Sallimmanuesir II., B.C. 860-27, speaks in the *Black Obelisk Ins.* of “the four zones of the sun” (ap. Sayce, in *Records of the Past*, v. 29), of which he describes himself as “king.” But as he also styles himself “the marcher over the whole world,” it is by no means impossible that in this grandiloquent fashion he, as “the supreme hero, who his heroism over the gods has made good,” claims in some sort to rule even heavenly circles, and may refer to the ecliptic, the equinoctial, and the two tropics.

⁶ *I.e.*, half-way between the Tropics of Cancer and Capricorn.

⁷ Vide *infra*, p. 13.

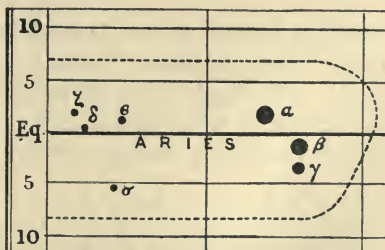
The *Serpent-holder's* knees are in it borne.
 It does not share the *Eagle*, messenger
 Of might, who flies nigh to the throne of Zeus;
 On it the *Horse's* head and neck revolve."¹

II. THE RAM.

In illustration, then, of the archaic character, and of the Euphratean connection of the observations recorded by Aratos in reference to the celestial equator, I will take the constellations named by the poet in order, and compare his statements with star-maps of the principal stars near the equator, compiled for the vernal equinox B.C. 2084, a date when the Euphratean formal scheme or chart of the heavens had been already completed. For the great Babylonian astronomico-astrological work in seventy-two books, called *The Illumination of Bel*, and which Bêrôsos translated into Greek, had been compiled under the auspices of Sargina I., whose epoch at the latest is cir. B.C. 2000; and we may notice that Syncellos places Bêlos, who, he says, "first reigned over the Assyrians," and of whom Pliny remarks, "Inventor hic fuit sideralis scientiæ,"² B.C. 2286. On this comparison it will be observed that in every instance except one—in which the error is almost as gross as it can possibly be, and affords a good illustration of the knowledge or ignorance of Aratos himself—the description *exactly* tallies with the map. Aratos says of the celestial equator—

σῆμα δέ οἱ Κριὸς
 Κριὸς μὲν κατὰ μῆκος ἐληλάμενος διὰ κύκλον.

The stars shown on the map (Fig. 1) are (1) α , *Hamal* ("the Ram"), an excellent instance of how a constellation was formed from a star, like a county from a county-town; (2) β , called with (3) γ , by the Arabian astronomers *El-sche-ratain* ("the Two Signs"), and forming the first of the twenty-eight Moon-stations; (4) δ , "the foremost of the three in the tail;" (5) ϵ , "the one at the root of the tail;" (6) ζ , "the centre one of the three (in the tail); and

FIG. 1.—The *Ram* (B.C. 2084).¹ *Phainomena*, 511-24.² *Hist. Nat.*, vi. 36.

(7) σ , "the one under the bend" (of the hind-leg), to quote their Ptolemaic description. I shall not deem it necessary here to re-marshal the evidence: (1) that the *Ram* was a Euphratean constellation; and (2) that it was not so called from any supposed resemblance between the formation of its stars and the figure of a ram, but received its name in accordance with the law of (in this case solar) reduplication, because I have treated of these matters at length elsewhere,¹ but subjoin a representation (Fig. 2) of the Ptolemaic *Aries* in illustration of the way in which, when a definite idea, e.g., "ram," has become attached to an asterism, its stars are arbitrarily grouped so as to give pictorial expression to the idea.

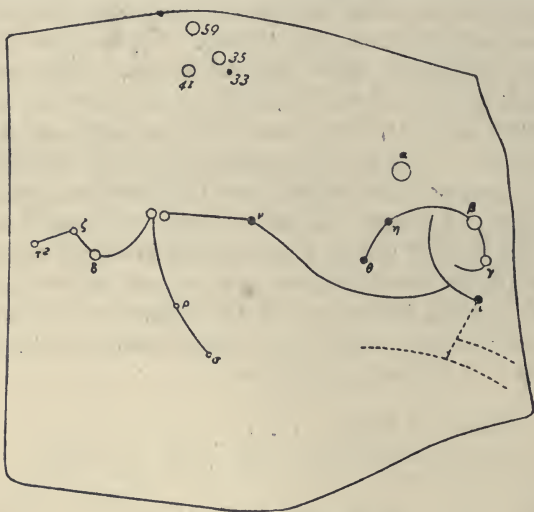


FIG. 2.—The Ptolemaic *Aries*.

Aries, in mythic legend, is most correctly styled "pecus Athamantidos;" and Athamas, "in Ionic Tammaz,"² is, as I have shown,³ merely the Euphratean Sun-god Tammuz-Duwuzi.⁴ This stellar and originally solar *Ram* stands at the head of the ten antediluvian Babylonian kings whose reigns divide the circle of the ecliptic

¹ Vide R. B., Jr. *The Law of Kosmic Order*, Sec. x., *Aries*; *Eridanus: River and Constellation*, Sec. x.; *Remarks on the Euphratean Astronomical Names of the Signs of the Zodiac* (*Proceedings Soc. Bib. Archæol.*, March 1891).

² K. O. Müller, *Orchomenos und die Minyer*, 156.

³ Vide R. B., Jr., *The Great Dionysiak Myth*, i. 246 et seq.

⁴ "Your comparison of the myth of Kirkê with that of the lovers of Istar is as self-convincing as your discovery that Athamas is Tammuz" (Professor Sayce to R. B., Jr., Nov. 9, 1883)

and who are said to have reigned 120 *sars* ($=432,000$ years). In Akkad 60 was the unit, and, according to Bêrôsos, the time-periods were a *sos* (sixty years), a *ner* ($60 \times 10 = 600$), and a *sar* ($600 \times 6 = 3600$); $3600 \times 120 = 432,000$. Two Akkadian modes of division of the circle are into 12 and 120 (12×10 , 60×2) parts; and the fragmentary planisphere (S. 162, Brit. Museum) shows a division into twelve parts of ten degrees each. Various nations have legends of ten (perhaps = "many," probably originally fingers+thumbs) archaic heroes or kings. This number becomes definite, and is ultimately applied in Euphratean regions to a heaven-circle. According to Ptolemy,¹ the Chaldæans divided each sign into ten parts (greater degrees), and each such part containing $60'$ and each minute $60''$, $10 \times 60 \times 60 (= 36,000) = \frac{1}{12}$ of the circle, and $36,000 \times 12 = 432,000$, or the circle divided into seconds. Thus the 120 *sars* $= 360^\circ$, and similarly the Akkadian year, was composed of twelve months of thirty days each.

Whatever the ten kings may have originally represented, we thus find them connected with a heaven-circle, and the most obvious heaven-circle is the ecliptic. The kings, therefore, practically appear in the account of Bêrôsos as stellar reduplications; and it next becomes obvious that the lengths of their reigns, which are clearly not arbitrary, must correspond with the distances separating certain stars, probably near the ecliptic. So regarded the list appears thus:—

King.	Reign in De- Sars. grees.	Point in Ecliptic.	Degrees.
Alôros . . .	. 10 = 30	<i>Hamal</i> . . .	. 31
Alaparos . . .	. 3 = 9	<i>Alcyone</i> . . .	. 10
3rd king . . .	. 13 = 39	<i>Aldebaran</i> . . .	. 43
4th „ . . .	. 12 = 36	<i>Pollux</i> . . .	. 36
5th „ . . .	. 18 = 54	<i>Regulus</i> . . .	. 53
6th „ . . .	. 10 = 30	<i>Spica</i> . . .	. 44
7th „ . . .	. 18 = 54	<i>Antares</i> . . .	. 53
8th „ . . .	. 10 = 30	<i>Algedi</i> . . .	. 20
9th „ . . .	. 8 = 24	<i>Deneb Algedi</i> . . .	. 16
10th „ . . .	. 18 = 54	<i>Skat</i> . . .	. 54
	<hr/> 120 360		<hr/> 360

Several of the periods show a considerable difference, as, making allowance for all the circumstances of the case, is not unnatural; but the result on the whole is remarkable, and certainly seems to indicate the method by which to approach the problem. We have

¹ *Tetrabiblos*, i. 22.

to take the numbers as we find them, and we know that some of the figures of Bêrôsos were reported differently by Apollodôros and Abydênos. The kings, then, probably represent (1) certain obvious natural phenomena, and (2) such phenomena reduplicated in stars at a period prior to formal astronomy of any kind, and to any regular division of the ecliptic. The Gk. form *Alôros* = the As. *Ailuv*, Heb. *Ayil*, and is a translation of the Ak. *Iu-nit* ("Male-sheep"). In *W. A. I.*, II. vi. 9, the Ak. *Ši-mal* ("Horn-star") appears as the equivalent of the As. *Ai-luv* ("Ram"). Thus the original Ram-sun, which we meet with alike in Babylonia, Egypt, India, and Greece, is reduplicated in the Ram-star, *Hamal*, a *Arietis*, called in Assyrian *Iku*, or by abbreviation *Ku*, "the Front" or "Leading-star," the Ram who led the heavenly flock, which he did from B.C. 2540; and, as we learn from Ptolemy, Hipparchos appropriately placed *Hamal* "at the muzzle" of *Aries*.¹

The Indian system of the Yugas or ages of the world presents many features which forcibly remind us of the Euphratean scheme. The age-cycle is formed by the numbers 48, 36, 24, and 12 = 120 = the number of Sars of the Babylonian kings, whilst $4 \times 3 \times 2 \times 1 = 10$. The numbers 10 and 12 thus form the basis of the cycle, 10 kings, 12 lunations, or other divisions of the year. To make up the divine year, the product of these, 120, is multiplied by 100, *i.e.*, by 10 intensified, and thus = 12,000 years, which is also the duration of the Iranian divine year, and which gives 1000 years for each month and for each sign of the zodiac.² But a divine day = a human year, and hence a divine year = 360 ordinary years, whence we obtain the figures:—

$$4,800 \times 360 = 1,728,000$$

$$3,600 \times 360 = 1,296,000$$

$$2,400 \times 360 = 864,000$$

$$1,200 \times 360 = 432,000$$

$$4,320,000 = 432,000 \times 10$$

Hipparchos, in his Commentary,³ specially notices and corrects the statement of Aratos with reference to *Aries* and the celestial equator, which was utterly erroneous when applied to the age of the poet.

¹ Ὁ ὑπὲρ τὴν κεφαλὴν, ὃν Ἱππαρχος ἐπὶ τοῦ τραχήλου. Vide Baily, *The Catalogues of Ptolemy, etc.*, in the *Memoirs of the Royal Astronomical Society*, xii. 28.

² *Bundahis*, xxxiv.

³ Τὸν Αῤατοῦ καὶ Εὐδοξοῦ φαινόμενα ἐξηγήσειν βιβλία γ, xxv.

III. THE BULL.

Of the *Bull* in this connection Aratos says:—

Ταύροιό τε γούνατα κείται,
Ταύρου δὲ σκελέων ὄσση περιφαίνεται ὀκλάξ.

The stars shown on the map (Fig. 3) are (1) α , the red *Aldebaran* ("the Follower"—of the *Pleiades*), also called *Ain-el-Taur* ("The

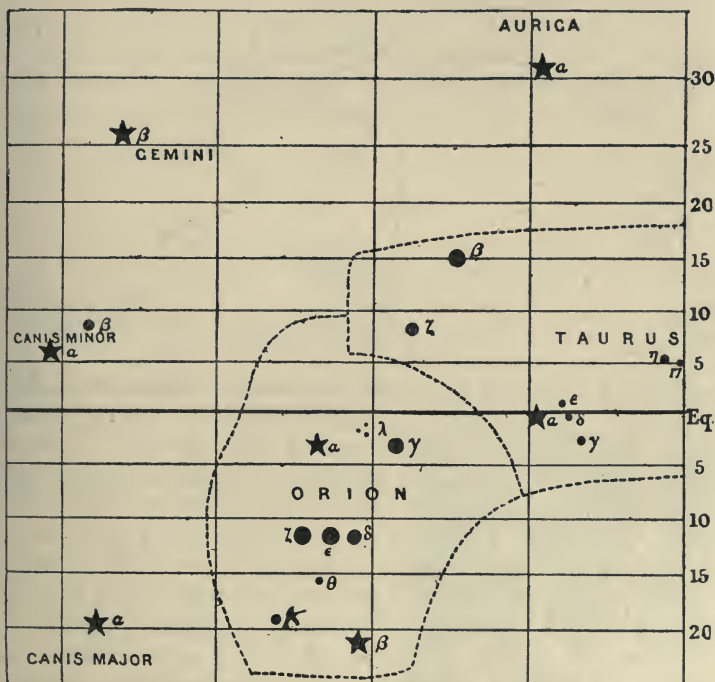


FIG. 3.—The *Bull* and *Orion* (B.C. 2084).

Eye-of-the-Bull"); (2) β , *Nath* ("Horn-push"), ὁ ἐπ' ἄκρου τοῦ βορείου κέρατος (Ptolemy); (3) γ , δ , and ϵ (*Hyades*); (4) ζ , ὁ ἐπ' ἄκρου τοῦ νοτίου κέρατος. (5) η , *Alcyone*; and (6) 17, another of the *Pleiades*.

I next give a representation of the Ptolemaic *Taurus* (Fig. 4), and a figure of the *Bull* from a Euphratean boundary-stone (Fig. 5).¹

¹ Ap. W. A. I., v. 57.

Amongst other interesting points in connection with the origin of



FIG. 4.—The Ptolemaic *Taurus*.

the zodiacal *Bull* may be noticed the hump. The cattle depicted in the sculptures "have a hump more or less developed" on the shoulder, recalling the humped zebu (*Bos Indicus*) of India.¹ This feature is well shown in Fig. 5, and is faithfully preserved in the Ptolemaic *Taurus*, where the hump is formed by stars, χ , ϕ , and ψ , and the *Pleiades*. We next observe, alike in the Euphratean and Ptolemaic types, the bent and crouching legs of the *Bull*, as described by Aratos. The Ptolemaic *Taurus* is evidently a long-horned bull, and Aratos refers to the *Bull* as κεράων Ταῦρον, and in all probability this animal in his



FIG. 5.—The *Bull*. (From a Euphratean Boundary-Stone.)

zodiac represented the Urus (*Bos primigenius*), the Assyrian *Rimu*, Heb. *Rēm*, and Akkadian *Am-ši* ("Horned-bull"), i.e., the Bull

¹ Vide Rev. W. Houghton in *Trans. Soc. Bib. Archæol.*, v. 42.

with huge horns, which latter name is thus exactly reproduced by Aratos. But there are both a short-horned and a long-horned variety of cattle represented on the monuments, and the bull in Fig. 5 is one of the short-horned type.

Of the very close connection between the Bull, the Moon, the lunar goddess Istar, afterwards reduplicated in the zodiacal *Virgo*, and the *Taurus* of the zodiac, I have written elsewhere;¹ but I may add the following illustrations from the monuments. Fig. 6 shows the lunar bull from Hamath. Fig. 7, which I owe to the kindness of Professor Hommel, and which, I understand, is taken from an unpublished Tablet in the Berlin Museum, shows the Bull with a symbol which combines a representation of his horns and of the ear of corn held by Istar-*Virgo*; this latter emblem reappears in the stellar array as Gk. *Στάχυς*, Lat. *Spica*, a *Virginis*. Fig.



FIG. 6.—The Lunar Bull
(Hamath Ins., No. V.).



FIG. 7.—The Bull with the
Istar Symbol.



FIG. 8.—The Bull
with the Istar
Symbol.

8² shows the Bull with the taurine and Istar symbol. The combination of two zodiacal Signs in a single figure, so familiar to us in the classical *gryllus*, is Euphratean in origin, e.g., the Scorpion-*Sagittarius*.³

The connection between the Moon-bull, *Taurus*, and the Istar symbol, which is a fleur-de-lys,⁴ and is naturally connected with the Love goddess, just as the Gk. *Στάχυς* also equals the Lat. *Pubes*, etc., further appears in the myth of "the primeval ox" of Iranian religious mythology, from every limb of which the "vegetable prin-

¹ Vide R. B., Jr., *Remarks on the Zodiacal Virgo* (*Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, Pt. xxxvi., 1886). Istar reappears in the Homeric lunar goddess Kirkê (vide R. B., Jr., *The Myth of Kirkê*, 1883).

² Cullimore, *Oriental Cylinders*, No. 106.

³ Vide W. A. I., v. 57.

⁴ Vide R. B., Jr., *The Zodiacal Virgo*.

ciple" proceeded, developing into "fifty-and-five species of grain, and twelve species of medicinal plants, and their splendour and strength were the energy of the ox."¹ Similarly, Caylus² gives a gem which shows the Mithraic Bull with its tail ending in three ears of wheat, at once *Spica* and the fleur-de-lys.

As the first antediluvian king, Alôros, is connected with *Aries*, so is the second, Alaparos = Ak. *alap*, "divine bull" + *ur*, "foundation," with *Taurus*. "The Bull-of-the-foundation" = *Taurus*, as the head of the zodiacal Signs, i.e., *Taurus* between B.C. 4698 and B.C. 2540, when it introduced the year; for at the time of the first arrangement of the zodiacal scheme the vernal equinox fell in *Taurus*, in accordance with which the eighth month, originally the seventh, appears in Akkadian as *Apin-dûa* ("Foundation-in-front"), i.e., the month "opposite-to-the-foundation." But, as the Ak. *ur* also means "light," we have in Alaparos the pre-stellar "Bull-of-light," the Moon, the prolific and light-burning power which marks the seasons and kosmic order, and is reduplicated in *Aldebaran* and



FIG. 9.—Bull-Car of the Crescent-Moon.
(From an Oriental MS.)

Taurus, as the Ram-sun is in *Hamal* and *Aries*. It is probable that in rudimentary astronomy the ecliptic was first regarded as the path of the Moon-bull; and ultimately the increasing and the diminishing crescent were each symbolically imagined as a bull (*vide* Fig. 9). So Olympiodôros, the Neo-Platonist, says, "The ancient mythologists say that the Moon is drawn by two Bulls; by two, on account of her increase and diminution."³

It will be observed that in this instance (*vide* Fig. 4), as in the case of *Scorpio*, stellar arrangement strongly suggests the idea of the constellation figure. So Aratos—

"The horned *Bull* fallen near the *Driver's* feet
Behold. And very like him lie the stars;
Thus is his head distinguished; other mark
Is needless to discern the head, since stars
On both sides shape it as they roll along."⁴

¹ *Bundahis*, x., ap. West, in *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. v.

² *Recueil d'Antiquités*, vol. vi. Pl. lxxiv. Fig. 1.

³ MS. Comment. on the *Georgias*. Vide R. B., Jr., *The Zodiacal Virgo*, sec. ix.

⁴ *Phainomena*, 167-71.

Most naturally, therefore, was the lunar Bull reduplicated in taurine stars; but the circumstance is quite exceptional, and the *Bull* and *Scorpion* are the only two zodiacal Signs in which the selection of a constellation-figure has been influenced by the aspect of a star group. This "crouching" or "fallen" stellar *Bull* also frequently appears on the cylinders.¹

IV. ORION.

Of *Orion* in this connection Aratos says—

ἐν δέ τέ οἱ ζώνη εὐφεγγέος Ὠρίωνος.

The stars shown on the map (Fig. 3) are: (1.) α , *Betelgeuse*, i.e., *Ibt-al-Jauza* ("Armpit-of-the-Giant"); (2.) β , *Rigel* ("Foot" of the giant), the Toe of Orwandil, the Norse Orion; (3.) γ , *Bellatrix*, the Amazon, ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀριστεροῦ ὤμου; (4.) the *Belt*-stars, δ , ϵ , and ζ , which were parallel with the equator of B.C. 2084; (5.) θ , "the centre one of the three at the point of the sword;" (6.) λ , ὁ ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ νεφελοειδῆς, which, it will be observed, is nearly on the equator; and (7.) κ , *Saiph* ("the Sword").

In B.C. 2084 the *Belt*-stars were not on the equator, but about 12° below it; and at the present time δ , *Mintaka* ("the Girdle") is immediately below it. Hence, at the era of Eudoxos these stars were more than 6° below the equator. Supposing Aratos to have written ζώνη, which he almost certainly did, it must be concluded that we have here an attempt on the part of Eudoxos to correct the ancient statement, and so to bring it up to date, for it is almost impossible that the original account should be so exactly accurate in every other instance and so glaringly incorrect in this. But even this correction on the part of Eudoxos, an unskilled astronomer, still left his account very inaccurate. Nor is it difficult to see how the error might arise, for, whilst any one would know the *Belt of Orion*, λ , the "cloud-like" star or stars in the Giant's head might well escape attention, and consequently the revised version would speak about ζώνη, whilst the archaic account would mention κεφαλή—not, be it observed, "the bright head of *Orion*," for the head is comparatively dim, but "the (dim) head of bright Orion." In restoring the archaic account we may therefore read—

ἐν δέ τέ οἱ ΚΕΦΑΛΗ εὐφεγγέος Ὠρίωνος

In Euphratean uranographic maps our Orion-figure was known

¹ Vide Fig. 8; Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, Pl. xvi. Fig. 2; Pl. xviii. Figs. 1, 2.

as Duwuzi¹ (= Tammuz), "the Only-son," a stellar reduplication of the original, solitary solar hunter; whilst the original "divine dogs" who accompany Maruduku ("the Brilliance-of-the-sun"—



FIG. 10.—The Dog. (From a Euphratean Boundary-Stone.)

Μαίρωδᾶχ) reappear in stars adjacent as *Canis Major* and *Canis Minor*. That Orion, a personage specially connected with Boiôtia, a region filled with Phœnician influence, was originally solar and Euphratean, I have shown elsewhere at length.² His name, Urion — Aoriôn — Oariôn³ — Oriôn would = an original Akkadian *Uru-anna*⁴ ("Light-of-heaven," i.e., the sun), as the moon is *Uru-ki* ("Light-of-the-Earth"). He is slain by the Scorpion of darkness, reduplicated in the zodiacal *Scorpio*.⁵ His principal hound, *Canis Major*, who endlessly pursues *Lepus* (the Hare-moon), is represented on a Euphratean

boundary-stone in the exact position described by Aratos, i.e., *salient*, "standing on both hind-feet,"⁶ an attitude which has ever since been preserved in good delineations of this constellation figure.

¹ Vide Planisphere in Collection K., British Museum; Bosanquet and Sayce, *The Babylonian Astronomy*, No. 2 (*Monthly Notices of the Royal Astronomical Society*, vol. xl. No. 3).

² Vide R. B., Jr., *The Great Dionysiak Myth*, ii. 270 et seq.; *Eridanus: River and Constellation*, 9 et seq.; *The Myth of Kirkê*, 146 et seq.; *Euphratean Stellar Researches*, Pt. i. (in *Proceedings Soc. Bib. Archæol.*, April 1892).

³ Korinna, *Fragment* ii. With this poetess Oriôn is a noble civiliser of the barbarous country, a usual rôle of the Sun-god. Pindar speaks of the φύσιν Ὀρίωνος (*Isth.*, iii. 67), and the idea of gigantic stature, sun as against stars, is conspicuous throughout the myth.

⁴ So the Pole-star is Ak. Tir-anna ("Judge-of-heaven"), and the *Great Bear* appears in Akkadian as Ak-anna (vide *infra*, p. 35). So Orchamus, "septimus a prisco numeratur origine Belo" (Ovid, *Metam.* iv. 212-3) = Ur-kamu ("Burning-light").

⁵ Vide R. B., Jr., *Tablet of the Thirty Stars*, 35 et seq. (in *Proceedings Soc. Bib. Archæol.*, Feb. 1890).

V. THE WATER-SNAKE.

Of the water-snake in this connection Aratos says—

καμπή τ' ἀιθομένης "Υδρης.

The stars shown on the map (Fig. 11) are—(1) π , "the one at the end of the tail;" (2) γ , "the one after the *Crow*, in the root of the tail;" (3), μ ; (4) α , *Alphard* ("the Solitary"), otherwise *Cor Hydræ*; and (5) ζ , ϵ and δ , stars in the head.

The *Great Serpent* shown on the two circular uranographic stones figured in *W. A. I.*, iii. 45, represents the Milky Way.¹ Thus, in No. 1 this *Great Serpent* stretches across the centre of the circle, its tail hanging down like a cord over the edge; whilst in No. 2 it stretches along the circumference of half the circle. This seems

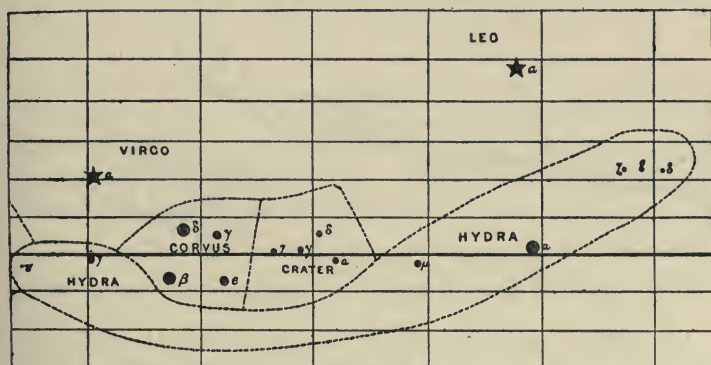


FIG. 11.—The Water-Snake, Bowl, and Crow (B.C. 2084).

contradictory, but if we look at the sky or at a star-map, we shall see that the first position very fairly represents the *Γαλαξίας* in November, when it stretches overhead between *Gemini* and *Auriga* on one side, and *Orion* and *Taurus* on the other, through *Perseus*, *Cassiopeia*, and *Cygnus* above us, descending westwards through *Aquila*; while the second position exactly shows the *Γαλαξίας* at the other end of the year, in May, when it nearly skirts the horizon from east *viâ* north to west, disappearing in the west below *Canis Minor*. But, in addition to this *Great Serpent*, the Euphratean constellation scheme also contained *Hydra* (*vide* Fig. 12), and, as I have shown,² the zodiacal *Cancer* and *Scorpio* are variants, each

¹ *Vide* R. B., Jr., *The Milky Way in Euphratean Stellar Mythology* (*The Academy*, Jan. 9, 1892).

² *Vide* R. B., Jr., *Remarks, &c.*, p. 8 *et seq.*

being an archaic emblem of darkness. Hence we see that the *Scorpion*, as an equivalent of the *Crab*, is placed near the *Water-snake*. In illustration of this part of the heavens I may refer to the remarkable myth of the Hêraklês-opposing crab. Whilst Hêraklês, the Sun-god, was in the midst of his contest with the *Hydra*, "an enormous crab came to the assistance of *Hydra* and bit his foot,"¹ the specially vulnerable part of a solar hero. The Crab that bites Hêraklês in the foot (δάκνων τὸν πόδα) is merely a variant reduplication of the Scorpion that stings Oriôn, and of the Boar that wounds Adônîs. And it is next to be observed that our authority for this very singular incident of Hêraklês and the Crab—one evidently of an archaic character, inasmuch as it is apparently so excessively bizarre—is Panyasis of Halikarnassos, who, in his *Hêrakteia*, written in the fifth century B.C., chiefly devoted himself to an account of the exploits of the hero in Asia and Libya. But



FIG. 12.—The *Water-Snake* and *Scorpion*. (From a Euphratean Boundary-Stone.)

in Asia Minor Hêraklês and the Kilikian sun-god Sandon meet, and, to some extent, become identified in mythic incident, and the Lion is at once a solar symbol and a creature overcome by the West Asiatic sun-god;² so that in the adjoining constellations, *Leo*, *Cancer*, and the mighty *Hydra*, is preserved a representation of the archaic legend related by Panyasis,³ itself a reduplication of a Merôdax-Tiâmat contest. On a cylinder⁴ the solar hero Gilgames, the Γίλγαμος of Ælian,⁵ and whose name has been provisionally read as Gisdhubar, appears triumphantly bearing a crab (*Cancer*) at the end of a stick over his right shoulder, whilst his left hand holds two fishes (*Pisces*). Such designs are not arbitrary and merely fanciful, but symbolical;

¹ Apollodôrus, IV. v. 2.

² Vide R. B., Jr., *Eridanus*, p. 80.

³ Vide Hyginus, *Fabulae*, ii. 23; *Katasterismoi*, xi.; Schol. in Germanicus, Cod. B. P., p. 70, 6.

⁴ Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, Pl. xxxv. Fig. 7.

⁵ *Peri Zôôn*, xii. 21.

Gilgames is the Euphratean analogue and counterpart of the Aryan Hêrâklês, and an interesting illustration of this fact is furnished by the sphere. For the constellation the *Kneeler*, *Engonasin* (Aratos), *Nixus* (Cicero), *Genunixus* (Ovid, Germanicus), "*Nixa genu species*" (Manilius), *Ingeniculatus* (Vitruvius), *Ingeniculus* (Firmicus), was called Hêrâklês (Hercules). This kneeling figure had descended for centuries to the days of Eudoxos and Aratos, when his history and derivation had long been forgotten, so that the poet describes him thus:—

"Like a toiling man revolves
A form. Of it can no one clearly speak,
Nor to what toil he is attached; but simply
Kneeler they call him."¹

He is "the unknown form,"² a "stranger of the heavenly forms;"³ but acquaintance with the Euphratean monuments at once revealed the fact that this "unknown form," identified with the solar Hêrâklês,⁴ and often represented, *e.g.*, on the Farnese Globe, as kneeling upon one knee, is indeed the Euphratean hero Gilgames, in his familiar attitude when in conflict with the lion, which is at once the symbol and the servant of the Sun-god, and which naturally reappears in the Hêrâklês myth. Thus Gilgames appears on a cylinder-seal dated by Mr. Pinches *cir.* B.C. 3000 or 3500.⁵

The *Water-Snake* is a stellar reduplication of the original Euphratean Mummû Tiamtu ("the Chaos-of-the-deep"), representative of chaos, darkness, and evil, described as "the serpent of darkness," "the mightily-strong serpent," etc., and at times as "the huge serpent of seven heads, that beats the sea," and which is overcome by Merôdâḫ with the same sickle or scimitar, the *harpê-khereb*, with which Perseus slays the sea-monster of Joppa,⁶ a legend of Euphratean origin reappearing constellationally in *Perseus*, *Andromeda*, and *Cetus*,

¹ *Phainomena*, 63-6.

² *Ibid.*, 270.

³ *Ibid.*, 616.

⁴ By Panyasis in his *Hêrâkleia*, *cir.* B.C. 470. Cf. Athenaios, xi. pp. 469 d, 498 c.

⁵ Vide Pinches, *The Babylonian and Assyrian Cylinder-Seals of the British Museum*, Pl. i. Fig. 1; cf. Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, Pl. xiii. Fig. 5; Pl. xxv. Fig. 3, where the kneeling Gilgames holds the lion above his head. The figure exactly corresponds with the description in the *Phainomena*, 67-9:—

"From both his shoulders
His arms are raised, each stretching on its side
About a full arm's length."

"Hunc Eratosthenes Herculem dicit" (Hyginus, *Poet. Astron.* In voc. *Engonasin*).

⁶ Vide Tumpel, *Die Aithiopenländer des Andromedamythos*; Gruppe, *Der phoinikische Urtext der Kassiopeialegende*.

which latter is a variant phase of *Hydra*,¹ whose heads, by the time it reached the swamp of Lernê in its westward wanderings, amounted to nine, or even, according to some, to a hundred.

VI. THE BOWL.

Of the *Bowl* in this connection Aratos says—

ἐνὶ οἱ καὶ ἐλαφρὸς
Κρητήρ.

The stars shown on the map (Fig. 11) are (1) α, "the one at the bottom of the *Bowl*;" (2) γ and δ, "the two in the midst of the *Bowl*;" and (3) ζ, "the one at the southern part of the circumference of the mouth" (of the *Bowl*). It is to be observed that the star list of Ptolemy, from which the above descriptions of particular stars are taken, being almost to all intents and purposes that of Hipparchos, the critic of Eudoxos and Aratos, we can see, to a very considerable extent, from a reconstruction of any Ptolemaic constellation-figure what was the outline of the Aratean sign, which had itself descended to his day probably but slightly altered in the course of many centuries.

The *Bowl*, *Jar*, or *Amphora*, which is connected with the *Urn* of Ramânu (= *Aquarius*), frequently appears upon the monuments.² The most noteworthy Greek legends connect this *Mixing-Bowl* with the wine-cup of Dionysos, a non-Aryan and Oriental divinity;³ or with the *pithos* or huge jar (*dolium*) in which Arês is said to have been confined by Ôtos and Ephialtês.⁴ This *dolium* would seem, at all events in one phase, to represent the vault of heaven, wherein at times storm-wind, clouds, and rain are chaotically mixed, and whence, as from the *Urn* of Ramânu-*Aquarius*, they are outpoured. Another legend, located in Asia Minor,⁵ connected *Crater* with the mixing of human blood with wine in a bowl, a tale which recalls the Euphratean kosmogonic legend related by Bêrôsos, how Bêlos terminated the primeval chaos by cutting asunder the female power who presided over it, and next cut off his own head, or com-

¹ As to the Euphratean origin and character of the family group of constellations (*Cepheus*, *Cassiopeia*, *Andromeda*, and *Perseus*), vide R. B., Jr., *The Unicorn*, sec. vii.; *Eridanus*, p. 69; *The Heavenly Display*, p. 90.

² Vide Cylinder, ap. Rev. Geo. Rawlinson, *Ancient Monarchies*, iii. 18; R. B., Jr., *The Law of Kosmic Order*, 84; Hommel, *Die Astronomie der alten Chaldäer*, Pt. i. p. 1.

³ Vide R. B., Jr., *Euphratean Stellar Researches*, Pt. i. p. 21.

⁴ Vide R. B., Jr., *Eridanus*, 19. The late artificial story, how Apollo sent the *Raven* to fetch water in a *Bowl*, and it having wasted much time, at length brought back a *Water-snake*, is of no interest in an archaic point of view.

⁵ Vide Hyginus, in voc. *Hydra*.

manded one of the gods to cut off his head, and the flowing blood having been mixed with earth, men and beasts were formed therefrom. The astronomical position of the *Mixing-Bowl* upon the back of the great serpent of chaos (*Hydra*) should also be carefully noticed in this connection. The location of the whole of the ancient constellations is not arbitrary, but systematic, and for particular reasons. This *Mixing-Bowl*, again, is a prominent feature in the myth of the Euphratean Istar-Kirkê; nor can we here forget the striking words of the Hebrew prophet, "Babylon hath been a golden cup [compare the *κυκεῶ χρυσέῳ δέπα* of Kirkê] that made all the earth drunken: the nations have drunken of her wine; therefore the nations are mad."¹

VII. THE CROW.

Of the *Crow* in this connection Aratos says—

ἐν δὲ Κόραξ.

The stars shown on the map (Fig. 11) are (1) β , "the one at the end of the foot," common (also) to the *Water-Snake*; (2) γ , "the first in the foremost wing;" (3) δ , "the first of the two in the hinder wing;" and (4) ϵ , "the one in the neck near the head," for the "*Crow's* form . . . seems to peck the fold"² of *Hydra*. *Kakanu*, "the Crow," and *Khakhar*, "the Raven," are found portrayed on the monuments, and one of them amongst the pictorial representations of constellations. Thus the bird, which I will call by the more inclusive name of "crow," is shown on the stone of Merôdax-Baladan I., and on each of the circular uranographic stones figured in *W. A. I.*, III. xlv. In these representations, as in Fig. 13, which is taken from *W. A. I.*, v. 57, the *Crow* stands upon a perch, formed in the two former instances by a kind of two-pronged stick. The general arrangement of the constellation figures on these stones is artificial and arbitrary, and affords no clue, so far as location is concerned, to what a practical Euphratean star-map must have been. Thus, on the square stone of Merôdax-Baladan, the Crescent-moon

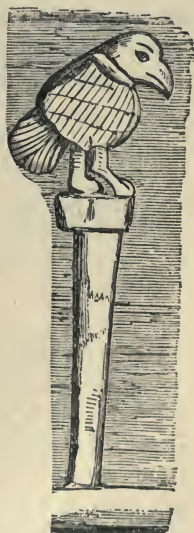


FIG. 13.—The *Crow*.
(From a Euphratean Boundary-Stone.)

¹ Jeremiah li. 7.

² *Phainomena*, 449.

and Sun are placed at the head of the list; whilst in the circular stones they are placed side by side in the middle, and the Moon is shown as at once in crescent and full. The stones, therefore, are quite consistent with the supposition that a practical Babylonian stellar map may have shown the *Crow* on the *Water-Snake's* back much as Aratos describes it. For the appropriateness of the location is very evident when we read in the Cutha version of the Babylonian legend of the creation—

- “ 11. Warriors (with) the bodies of birds of the desert, men
 12. (With) the faces of ravens,
 13. These the great gods created;
 15. Tiâmat [= *Hydra*] gave them suck.”¹

Here the Monster ravens draw their sustenance from the Great serpent of chaos, just as the *Crow* of Aratos “pecks the fold” of *Hydra*; and, similarly, in Aryan mythology we find the *Crow* “the representative of the gloomy night or cloud.”² I shall have further to refer to the storm-bird when subsequently speaking of the *Eagle*.³ The *Crow* or *Raven*, like many other constellation figures, reappears in the Mithraic mysteries, where the ministrants were called “Ravens” (κόρακας⁴), and the rites *Coracica*. The equator, it will be observed, passes right through the middle of the constellation.

VIII. THE CLAWS.

Of the *Claws* in this connection Aratos says—

ἐνὶ δ' ἀστέρες οὐ μάλα πολλοὶ.
 Χηλάων.

The stars shown on the map (Fig. 14) are (1) α, *Zuben-el-Genubi* (= *Janib*, “the Southern Claw”); (2) β, *Zuben-el-Chamali* (“the Northern Claw”); (3) γ, “the one in the midst of the Northern Claw;” (4) ζ, a star not given in Ptolemy’s list; and (5) 20 and 51, which in his list are given as ἀμόρφωτοι. Achilles Tatius, cir. A.D. 475, in a Fragment on the *Phainomena*, speaks of τὰς Χηλὰς, τὰς καλουμένας ὑπ’ Ἀιγυπτίων Ζυγόν.⁵ The zodiacal *Balance* (*Zu-*

¹ Ap. Sayce, in *Records of the Past*, xi. 109.

² Gubernatis, *Zoological Mythology*, ii. 250. Vide the numerous illustrations cited.

³ Vide *infra*, p. 33.

⁴ Porphyry, *Peri Apoxés Empsyχόν*, iv. 16.

⁵ Ap. Petavius, *Uranologion*, 168.

gon-Jugum, i.e., anything which joins two bodies together), the only Sign of the twelve which is not Euphratean in origin, and which has been said to mark "the equality of the days and nights at the equinoxes," is a reduplication of the Balance of the horizon-sun, as described in the Egyptian *Funeral Ritual*; ¹ and is found, as of

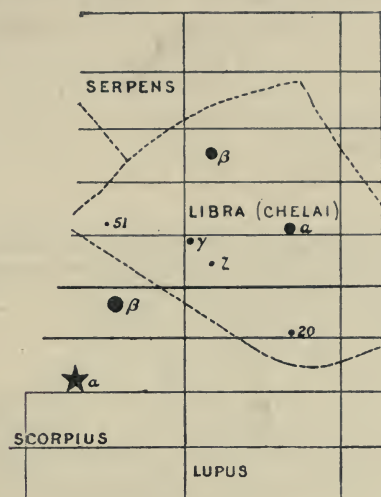


FIG. 14.—The *Claws* (B.C. 2084).

course, on the late Egyptian zodiacs. There was also a Euphratean constellation of the *Yoke (Niru)*, but it was not *Libra*, but the *Goat-fish (Capricorn)*.²

Having thus disposed of the *Balance*, we are left with the *Claws* (of the *Scorpion*, that "monster huge"),³ for—

“ Est locus, in geminos ubi brachia concavat arcus
Scorpius, et caudâ flexioque utrimque lacertis
Porrigit in spatium signorum membra duorum ; ” ⁴

so we can understand the intelligent mistake of Servius, the com-

¹ Vide R. B., Jr., *The Myth of Kirkê*, 143-4.

² In. *W. A. I.*, III. lviii. No. 7, sec. iv, 8a, a line kindly supplied me by Mr. T. G. Pinches, and which does not appear in the published edition, we read: "the constellation of the *Yoke*=the *Goat-fish*" (vide R. B., Jr., *Tablet of the Thirty Stars*, 10). The *Yoke* is probably a popular name for the constellation of the *Goat-fish*, arising from its appearance, thus, $\delta \text{---} \begin{array}{c} \circ^a \\ | \\ \circ_\beta \end{array}$ just as the *Bears* are "called *Wains*" (*Phainomena*, 27), became "wainlike" (*Ibid.* 93), though not bearlike.

³ *Phainomena*, 84.

⁴ Ovid, *Metam.*, ii. 195-7.

mentator on Vergil, that the Chaldean zodiac consisted of but eleven constellations,¹ the *Scorpion* thus occupying two signs. Of course we are now aware that the Euphratean zodiac—which is our own—consisted of twelve constellations, and the next question for inquiry is, what was the twelfth? It will be observed how exactly the map verifies the statement of Aratos that “some few stars of the *Claws*,” and not the most important of them, are on the equator. Jensen gives *Zibanitu* as the Euphratean name of *Libræ* α and β , and connects the word with the Arabic *El-zubénâ*. In support of this view he translates Tablet K. 2894, l. 7, *Bibbu ina libbi Zibaniti izzaz*, by “Mars stand in *Zibanitu*.”² But I think we should read the passage *Lubat ina libbi kakkabi Zi-ba-ni-tu nazuz*, and

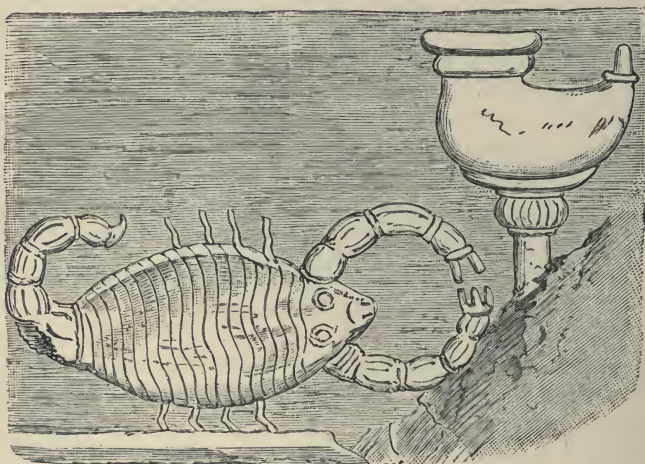


FIG. 15.—The *Scorpion* and the *Lamp*. (From a Euphratean Boundary-Stone.)

render it “*Jupiter in the-place-of-the-star Zib-anna* [= ‘Boundary-of-heaven,’³ i.e., *Saturn*⁴] is fixed.” Further objections to Jensen’s view are that *Zibanna* is a Sumero-Akkadian name, and therefore unconnected with the Arabic *El-zubénâ*, and that in no known original zodiac is one figure made into two Signs, to suppose which is to repeat the pardonable mistake of Servius.

On the British Museum Tablets, Sp. 128 and Sp. 129, dated respectively B.C. 1111 and 123, amongst the technical names of the Signs of the zodiac we find the Ak. *bir* applied to the seventh Sign ;

¹ In *Georgica*, i. 33.

² *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, 68

³ Vide R. B., Jr., *Remarks*, &c., 24.

⁴ Vide Sayce in *Trans. Soc. Bib. Archæol.*, iii. 169.

upon which Strassmaier observes that *bir* (die alte Form für *ud*) = *nûru* (Licht"),¹ and that in fitting the Babylonian constellation figures on the monuments to the Signs of the zodiac, we have "die *Lampe* als *Nûru*."² In the *Lamp*, then, we have one variant form of the original seventh Sign; we see it in Fig. 15,³ just beyond the *Claws* of the *Scorpion*, which are extended to grasp it. This *Lamp* is also shown on the stone of Merôdaḫ Baladan I., and there also is immediately above the *Scorpion*, whilst near it is a bird, as in this case it is next to the *Raven*. It also appears in each of the circular uranographic stones,⁴ which Professor Hommel regards as zodiacs, and in one of these, too, is next the claws of the *Scorpion*. Now the Akkadian name of the seventh month is *Tul-ku* ("The Illustrious-mound,") an allusion to the building of the famous Tower, which traditionally took place at the autumnal equinox;⁵ and on the summit of the great tower of Babylon was the shrine of the Sun-god,⁶ who was the presiding divinity of the month. Similarly, on the summit of the various Euphratean *zigguratu* ("temple-towers") was placed the altar of the divinity to whom the temple was dedicated; and hence the temple-tower was itself a huge altar. Now I have shown elsewhere⁷ that the sky is the original altar upon which is offered the daily sacrifice of the solar photosphere, Tammuz-Duwuzi, "the Only-son" of the diurnal heaven, who in Phœnician myth appears as Yedud ("the Only-begotten"), sacrificed on an altar by his father, El-Kronos; and the daily course of the sun is reduplicated in his annual course, in the seventh month of which his waning strength begins to yield under the attacks of the *Scorpion* (= Darkness) that grips him more and more.⁸



FIG. 16.—*Scorpion and Lamp.*
(From a Euphratean Seal.)

We will next notice the solar circle or *Lamp* in the actual grasp

¹ *Astronomisches aus Babylon*, 171.

² *Ibid.* 150. I may observe that I had given my view on "the lost Sign" in *The Law of Kosmic Order*, 1882, sec. xvi., seven years prior to the appearance of the work of MM. Epping and Strassmaier.

³ From the stone of Nebuchadnezzar I., figured in *W. A. I.*, v. 57.

⁴ Figured in *W. A. I.*, III. xlv.

⁵ *Vide* R. B., Jr., *Eridanus*, 23.

⁶ *Cf.* Herodotos, i. 184.

⁷ *Vide Eridanus*, 21 *et seq.*

⁸ I have elsewhere treated at length of the *Scorpion* as an archaic type of darkness (*vide The Law of Kosmic Order*, sec. xvii.; *Tablet of the Thirty Stars*, 35 *et seq.*).

of the *Scorpion* (*vide* Fig. 16);¹ and be it particularly observed, that this representation is "sur un contrat daté du 8 *Tisri* [*i.e.*, of this very seventh month, the month of the *Claws* and solar *Altar-Lamp*] de l'année de Bin-takkil-ani, 690 or 645 avant J. C."² But the sun-slaying Scorpion is equally, when kosmic harmony has been recognised, the sun-guarding Scorpion; and thus the wandering hero Gilgames meets with gigantic solar guardians of this type—

"Who all day long guard the rising (sun);
 Their crown was at the lattice of heaven,
 Below Hades was their footing;
 At the rising of the sun and the setting of the sun, they
 guard the sun."³

The gigantic size of the Scorpions, *i.e.*, of Darkness, eastern and western, as opposed to the Sun, is strongly insisted on, and is repro-



FIG. 17.—*Scorpion-Man*. (From a Euphratean Boundary-Stone.)

duced in stellar arrangement by the gigantic size of the zodiacal *Scorpion*, who also appears on the monuments without his *Circle*,

¹ Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, Pl. xlv. Fig. 14.

² Menant, *Empreintes de Cachets Assyro-Chaldéens*, 9.

³ *Gilgames Cycle*, Tablet IX. ii. 3-5, 9, ap. Sayce.

Circular Altar, or *Lamp* (vide Fig. 18); and hence we can well understand how the *Circle*, or other representation of an *Altar*, not unnaturally disappeared as the use of the Sign advanced westward, whether by sea or across Asia Minor, or both, and the *Claws* alone remained when the shores of the Aegean were reached.

The *Scorpion-Sagittary* (Fig. 19), who appears on the stone of Nebuchadnezzar I., is the prototype of the familiar classical combinations of two or more zodiacal Signs in one figure, which thus, in idea, combines their potency and protective powers.

In archaic uranography, when a pre-stellar idea has been associated with a particular part of the zodiacal cincture, it appears on investigation that there is a certain

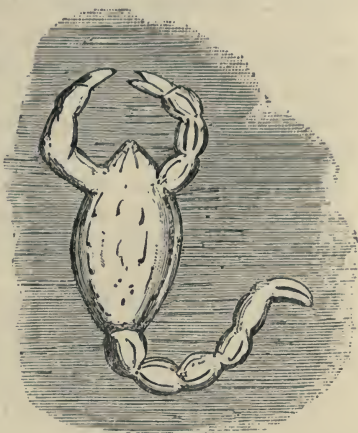


FIG. 18.—The *Scorpion*. (From a Euphratean Boundary-Stone.)



FIG. 19.—The *Scorpion-Sagittary*. (From a Euphratean Boundary-Stone.)

special harmony between the idea and the portion of the zodiac to which it is applied. Thus, as the seventh Sign is formed by the

waning solar circle grasped by the *Claws* of darkness, so "the mighty *Claws* . . . are scant of light and nothing fair,"¹ and "faint;"² whilst the stars α , μ , ξ , δ , β , 37, γ , ζ , and ι form a "faint" (solar) circle.³ But this famous *Altar Circle* has not been altogether lost in the transit of constellation-figures from Euphratean to Hellenic regions. In strict accordance with the principle of reduplication, it reappears still adjoining the *Scorpion*, but on the southern side; and it is also to be remarked that the *Altar* of Aratos was circular,⁴ a form it preserves on the Farnese Globe, which is notable for the accuracy with which the constellation-figures are drawn. Says Aratos—

"Now 'neath the glowing sting of that huge sign
The *Scorpion*, near the south, the *Altar* hangs.
And this you note but little time aloft;
For opposite *Bear-Watcher*⁵ doth it rise.
And whilst his course is wholly high in air,
It quickly speeds beneath the western sea."⁶

The poet devotes special attention to the *Altar*, though in itself

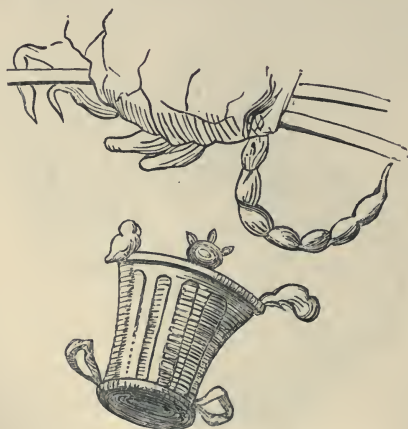


FIG. 20.—The *Scorpion* and the *Altar*. (From the Farnese Globe.)

it would seem to be a comparatively small and unimportant constellation. He calls it "a mighty Sign," specially placed by "ancient

¹ *Phainomena*, 89-90.

² *Ibid.* 607.

³ *Vide* R. B., Jr., *Remarks*, &c., 16, Fig. 12.

⁴ $\Delta\iota\omega\rho\alpha\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \Theta\upsilon\rho\eta\pi\iota\omicron\upsilon$ (*Phainomena*, 440).

⁵ *I.e.*, *Arcturus*.

⁶ *Phainomena*, 402-7.

Night, in pity for man's woes;" and again refers to "the *Altar's* sacred seat."¹ Manilius styles *Ara* "mundi templum:"²

"*Ara ferens turis, stellis imitantibus, ignem,
In qua devoti quondam occidere gigantes;*"³

and Hyginus says, "In hac primum dii existimantur sacra et coniurationem fecisse, cum Titanas oppugnare conarentur."⁴ What is the meaning of these curious statements? Euphratean research alone can answer the question.

Ideler, having observed that the Arabs call *Ara El-midschmara* ("the *Censer*"), remarks: "The ancients were not agreed on the form of this figure. The *Θυτήριον* of Aratos and the *Ara* of Cicero, Manilius, Hyginus, and Avienus is a sacrificial table; the *Θυμιατήριον* and *Thuribulum* of Ptolemy, Geminus, Vitruvius, and Germanicus is a censer. The former is on the Borgian Globe; the latter is represented on the Dresden."⁵ Now, Euphratean altars, like classical altars, were of different shapes, square, pyramidal, and pillar-shaped;⁶ and some of these latter were evidently small altars of incense with circular covers—in fact, lofty censers. A cylinder (Fig. 21)⁷ shows one of these altar-censers guarded by two Scorpion-men, one on either side, *i.e.*, Darkness, morning and evening, guarding the Sun; and it is the original connection in Euphratean idea between the Scorpion-darkness and the solar Altar, which latter is reduplicated in the zodiacal *Altar*, and again in the extra-zodiacal *Ara*—the primeval contest between light and darkness—which forms the basis of the myth connecting *Ara* with giants, Titans, or demons, who in turn assail or guard it. Ideler continues: "In Eratosthenês (*i.e.*, in the *Katasterismoi*, erroneously ascribed to Eratosthenês) this constellation is called Νέκταρ ἢ Θυτήριον. What Νέκταρ means here I know not."⁸ *Nektar*, according to the late usage of the word, means "fragrance," and here simply = *Thuribulum*. The constellation is indifferently called *Censer* or *Altar*, and we can now see why. But this connection, originally Euphratean, between the

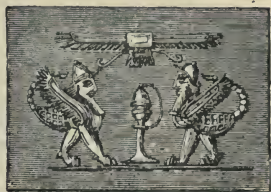


FIG. 21.—Altar-Censer.

¹ *Phainomena*, 692.

² *Ibid.*, v. 340-1.

³ *Sternnamen*, 280-1.

⁴ Apparently round (*vide* Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, Pl. xxxii. Fig. 11; Pl. I. Fig. 3; Pl. lii. Fig. 4.

⁵ *Astronomicon*, i. 427.

⁶ *Poet. Astron.*, ii. In voc. *Ara*.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Pl. xlix. Fig. 2.

⁸ *Sternnamen*, 281.

solar flame of the heaven-altar and divers opposing forces, personified in monstrous forms, continues through the classical, and far into the mediæval, or even modern period. Thus, in a unique German astronomical MS. of the fifteenth century in my possession, *Ara* (Fig. 22), which flames fiercely, has on either side a demon who is about to subject a little demon to a fiery baptism, a variance of the original idea on its entering the sphere of Christianity, whilst a



FIG. 22.—The *Altar*. (From a German MS. of the Fifteenth Century.)

brace of weir-wolves appear in the field above. The last illustration of the myth which I offer (Fig. 23) is from the *Hyginus* of Micyllus, A.D. 1535, and very fairly reproduces in all respects the original Euphratean idea, except that the altar is a square one. Such is the force and persistence of a striking and original idea, which is imitated long after it has ceased to be understood, and is supplied with a new meaning when the old one has been forgotten. And in the same way, to take another instance, did the original symbolical Euphratean group of a divinity grasping an ostrich by the neck

ultimately reappear in Greek sculpture as "the Boy and Goose," the Greek artist being quite ignorant both of the meaning and of the original forms of the combination.¹

One last point remains for notice, namely, the Sun regarded as a kind of *Censer*. In the fine Hymn to *Amen-Ra* we find the Sun-god described as—

"The Ancient of heaven, the One in his works"

= the lonely Bellerophôn, the unattended Oriôn, Melqarth who hunts by himself, Duwuzi "the Only-son."

"Sailing in heaven in tranquillity :

Whose fragrance the gods love :

He who hath created the soil ;

Spices and incense various for the peoples."²

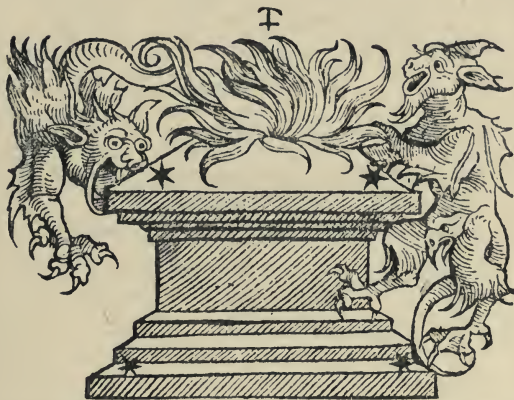


FIG. 23.—The Altar. (From the Hyginus of Micyllus, A.D. 1535.)

Here, to the Egyptian poet, the creating Sun-god by his might arouses and respires the sweet odours and perfumes of the world, as he advances to his "Holy Land" of Egypt on his luminous path from Arabia the balmy. He is a *Censer* waved across the heaven, "and girt," as our Laureate describes him—

"With song and flame and fragrance."³

The sun is the floating island-*Φάρος* of heaven, and the *Altar* was similarly named "*Sacrarius qui et Pharum dicitur.*"⁴ The

¹ Vide R. B., Jr., *Tablet of the Thirty Stars*, 20.

² Ap. Goodwin, *Records of the Past*, ii. 129 *et seq.*

³ Tennyson, *Lucretius*.

⁴ Germanicus, in *Arat.*, cap. xxxviii.

original Tower of Babylon, it may reasonably be supposed, had, or was intended to have, its altar and summit-fire, like the other towers of the country.

IX. THE SERPENT-HOLDER.

Of the *Serpent-Holder* in this connection Aratos says—

ἐν τῷ δ' Ὀφιοῦχα γούνα φορεῖται.

The stars shown on the map are (1) α , *Ras-alhague* (i.e., *Ras-al-hawwa*, "The-Head-of-the-Serpent-charmer"); (2) β , *Chelb* or *Cheleb*

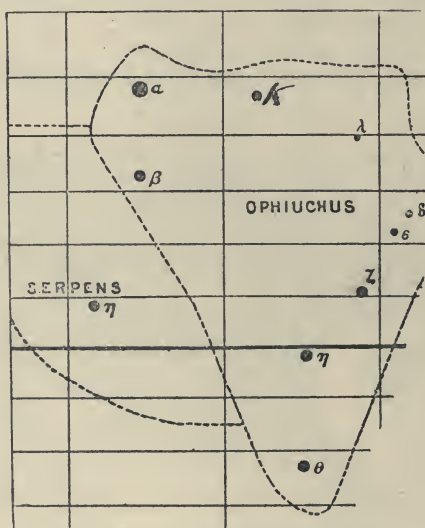


FIG. 24.—The *Serpent-Holder* (B.C. 2084).

(i.e., *Kalb*, "the Heart"), otherwise *Celabrai* ("The-Heart-of-the-Shepherd"), described by Ptolemy as being in "the right shoulder;" (3) δ , *Jed* (i.e., *Yad*, "the Hand"); (4) ϵ , "the second of these in the left hand;" (5) ζ , "the one in the left knee;" (6) η , "the one at the right knee;" (7) θ , "the one at the left leg;" (8) κ , "the second of those in the left shoulder;" and (9) λ , *Marfik*, ("the Elbow"). Also η *Serpentis*, a star in the *Snake's* tail. The star η *Ophiuchi* almost touches the equator, and affords an excellent instance of the correctness of the description. No. 24 in the list of the Thirty Stars is called *Kakkab* [which means both "star" and "star-group"] *Nitax-bat*, "the Star-group of the Man-of-death," and corresponds (as I understand the scheme) with ϵ

and ξ *Ophiuchi*; whilst No. 25 is *Kakkab Tsir*, "the Star of the Snake," and corresponds with η *Ophiuchi*, where in our star-maps the body of the *Serpent* passes over the right leg of the *Serpent-holder*.¹ The Light-god who fights with the dark monster, dragon, serpent, appears in most mythologies; and as the Euphratean Sun-god grapples with the lunar Bull and with his own Lion, so does he seize the Serpent or Dragon of darkness and chaos.² And he does this daily, and especially when he becomes "the Man-of-death," *i.e.*, when he descends into the Underworld, as is excellently shown by a Phœnician design (Fig. 25) from Sardinia,³ entirely untouched by Greek influence. In this we see the winged and blinded Sun-god, as *Hêlios-Ophiouchos*, grasping the snake of darkness in the same manner, and with its head in a corresponding position to that of *Serpens* on our globes. The god is guided by a kabeiric dwarf, and the student of Hellenic mythology will remember that the myth reappears there in the persons of the blinded *Oriôn* and his dwarf guide *Kêdaliôn* of Lemnos, whose name signifies one who takes charge of the dead,⁴ and who is, therefore, a fitting guide for the man devoted to death.⁵



FIG. 25.—*Hêlios-Ophiouchos*. (Phœnician Design from Sardinia.)

Serpens is the only constellation which on our star-maps is divided into two separate parts; it is not a separate constellation in Aratos, but, in exact accordance with its practically divided figure, the upper portion of the *Serpent* (Fig. 26) appears by itself on a Euphratean boundary-stone, together with other constellation-figures. Aratos speaking of the *Kneeler*, says—

"By his head
Seek the *Snake-Holder's* head;"⁶

¹ Vide R. B., Jr., *Tablet of the Thirty Stars*, 36-7.

² Vide Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, Pl. li. 8; liv. B. 6; Smith, *Chaldean Account of Genesis* (by Sayce), Fig. 11, p. 109.

³ Given by Canon Spano in his very interesting work, *Mnemosine Sarda ossia Ricordi e memorie di varii Monumenti Antiche con altre rarità dell'isola de Sardegna* (Cagliari, 1864).

⁴ Vide Eustathios, in *Il.* xiv. 294.

⁵ Vide R. B., Jr., *The Great Dionysiak Myth*, ii. 276 et seq. ⁶ *Phainomena*, 74-75.

the two heads still appear close together on a modern uranographic globe, and this remarkable position of two human forms, with their heads adjoining, and one necessarily upside-down, is found on several cylinders representing constellation-figures (*vide* Fig. 27).¹ A very interesting cylinder,² apparently Hittite, or at least showing strong Hittite influence, portrays the god Tarkus,³ whose name appears from the goat-head in front of him, winged and eagle-headed, like the familiar Euphratean figure, and with the left knee bent in the attitude of *Engonasin*. Before him stand

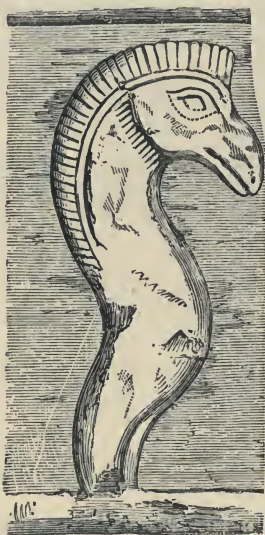


FIG. 26.—The *Serpent*. (From a Euphratean Boundary-Stone.)

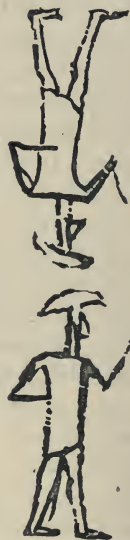


FIG. 27.—Constellation Figures, with Heads adjoining. (From a Cylinder.)

three personages, the third of whom holds in his left hand a long *Snake*. Over the head and by the cap of each is)(, which, according to Professor Sayce, is the Hittite determinative affix of plurality. Behind the *Serpent-holder* is a crouching Bull (*Taurus*),

¹ *Vide* Cullimore, *Oriental Cylinders*, Nos. 70, 95. I have elsewhere treated of these figures in connection with the sign *Gemini* (*Vide* R. B., Jr., *Remarks, &c.*, pp. 7-8).

² Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, Pl. lviii. Fig. 6.

³ It would seem that *Tar-Kus* = "Son-of-Tar," and Sanda-Kos, "Son-of-Sandon," the Kilikian Sun-god (*vide* Sayce, in Wright's *Empire of the Hittites*, 186, note 1). Perhaps *Tar*, the Hittite Goat-god (*vide Ibid.* 182) may be a variant phase of the Akkadian Êa, who is *Dar-a*, "the Antelope," and styled "the Antelope the creator," "the divine Antelope of the Deep," etc. (*vide* Sayce, *Rel. Anct. Babylonians*, 280).

below whom are two human figures joining hands (*Gemini*), and next to these an animal, apparently a dog (*Canis Minor*), after which follow two Lions—representatives of *Leo respectant*. I do not, of course, assert that the figures have only these constellational meanings, but it is interesting to find an *Ophiouchos* with other signs in this connection.

X. THE EAGLE.

Of the *Eagle* in this connection Aratos says—

οὐ μὲν Αἰήτοῦ ἀπομείρεται.

The implication here is that this constellation almost touches the equator, and, as usual, the description is absolutely correct. The stars shown on the map are: (1) α , *Altair* (i.e., *El-tair*, “the

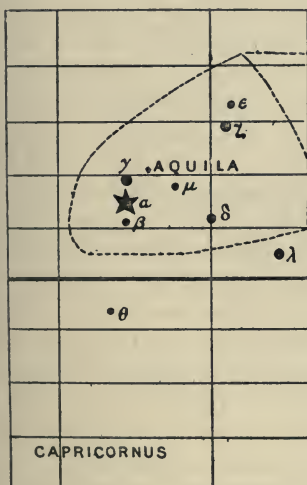


FIG. 28.—The *Eagle* (B.C. 2084).

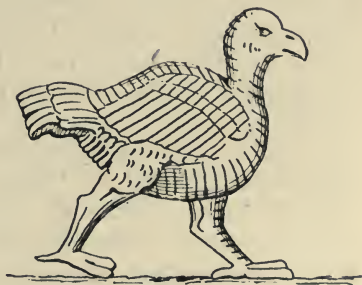


FIG. 29.—The *Eagle*. (From a Euphratean Boundary-Stone.)

Bird”), the star which was the nucleus of the constellation; (2) β , *Alshain* (i.e., *El-schahin*, “the Falcon”); (3) γ , *Tarazed* (“the Robbing-one”); (4) δ , θ , and λ . These stars, even in Ptolemy’s list, belong to *Antinoös*, and not to the *Eagle*, thus illustrating the correctness of the traditional descriptions of Aratos; (5) ζ , “the one under the tail of the *Eagle*”; (6) ϵ , which is not in Ptolemy’s list; and (7) μ , “the first of the two in the right wing.”

The *Eagle* appears alike on the stone of Merôdax Baladan I. and

on each of the circular uranographic stones figured in *W. A. I.*, III. xlv. The constellational birds *Eagle* and *Raven* are stellar reduplications of the tempest, the Akkadian "divine Storm-bird," Lugal-tudda ("the Lusty-king"), called by the Semitic Babylonians Zu, a word meaning both "stormy wind" and a kind of vulture.¹ These storm-birds are particularly noticed as flesh-eating, and are warred against by Merôdax. Thus, on a cylinder² he is shown successfully attacking three large and evidently ferocious birds; he seizes one by the neck, another by the leg, and tramples on the third. When the Semitic Sun-god became identified, on account of the local proximity of their votaries, with the Aryan solar hero Hêrâklês, the exploits of the former were transferred to the latter. I have already referred to Panyasis of Halikarnassos as a labourer in this field, and another was Peisandros the Rhodian, of Kameiros, cir. B.C. 648, who, in his *Hêrâkleia*, gave an account of a contest between Hêrâklês and the great flesh-eating birds, which were afterwards connected with the region of Stympthalos in Arkadia.³ Later Greek art represented Hêrâklês, armed with bow and arrow, shooting at three Stympthalian birds, the same number as are shown on the cylinder; but Pausanias specially notices that Peisandros does not say that Hêrâklês slew the birds, but that he drove them away by the sound of "rattles" (κροτάλων), a word applied to the "castanets" used in the Kybelê cult. This is evidently an earlier phase of the story; Pausanias, who connects the Stympthalian birds with Arabia, i.e., with the East, notices also the usual story of their destruction by the arrows of the hero. No bow or arrows are shown on the cylinder, nor does it appear from the design that the birds are being actually killed. "Pisander," says K. O. Müller, "was, as far as we know, the first who represented in detail the combats of Hêrâklês with wild beasts;"⁴ legends which he obtained from the Semitic East. Thus, on a Kypriot-cylinder,⁵ "manifestly a rude imitation of a Babylonian gem," is represented "the battle between Merodach and the demon-birds."⁶ The Stympthalian birds are said by Mnaseas,⁷ the learned Alexandrian grammarian, to have been daughters of Ornis, i.e., the constellational *Bird* of Aratos, known as Kyknos, the *Swan*; and *Kyknos* is also represented as a son of Arês, and is said to have been killed in single combat by Hêrâklês,⁸ just as Hyginus tells us that Hêrâklês slew the Stympthalian birds

¹ Vide R. B., Jr., *Tablet of the Thirty Stars*, 31.

² Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, Pl. lxi. Fig. 7.

³ Ap. Pausanias, VIII. xxii. 4.

⁴ *Doric Race*, i. 457.

⁵ Cesnola, *Salamina*, Fig. 114.

⁶ *Ibid.* 120.

⁷ Ap. Schol. ad Apollon. Rhod., ii. 1054.

⁸ Apollod., II. vii. 7.

"in insulâ Martis."¹ The Aryan Arês-Mars is the analogue of the Euphratean Storm-god, and so the Storm-bird-clouds, children of the latter, become connected with the former.

I have endeavoured by a careful study of the Tablets in which the star *Idχu* ("the *Eagle*"), otherwise read *Erigu* ("the Powerful-bird"), occurs, to show that this star was actually *Altair* (*a Aquilæ*).² Of course it by no means follows that a star called by a particular name, *e.g.*, *Lion*, in one country, is identical with a star called by the same name in another country. Thus, to take an instance, it is not in the least probable that the Euphratean "Star of the Bear" was either *Helikê*³ or *Kynosoura*.⁴ But a variety of circumstances combine to show the identity of *Idχu* with *Altair*. *E.g.*, in *W. A. I.*, III. lii. 2, we read—

17. Kakkab Id-χu ina libbi Sini nazuz :
The-star the-Eagle over the-place of-the-Moon is-fixed :
18. Kakkab Id-χu ina karni amuti Sini nazuz :
The-star the-Eagle over the-horn right of-the-Moon is-fixed :
19. Kakkab Id-χu ina karni sumeli Sini nazuz
The-star the-Eagle over the-horn left of-the-Moon is-fixed.

This relative position of *Idχu* and Sin is exactly that of *Altair* with the Moon during her last quarter (vide Fig. 30).



FIG. 30.—The Star of the Eagle and the Moon.

XI. THE HORSE.

Of the *Horse* in this connection Aratos says—

ἡ δὲ κατ' αὐτὸν
'Ιππεΐη κεφαλὴ καὶ ὑπαύχενον εἰλίσσονται.

The stars shown on the map are : (1) α, *Markab* ("the Saddle"); (2) β, *Scheat* or *Skat* ("the Leg"); (3) γ, *Algenib* (*i.e.*, *El-dschenâh*,

¹ *Fabulae*, xxx.

² Vide R. B., Jr., *Euphratean Stellar Researches*, Pt. i. (in *Proceedings Soc. Bib. Archæol.*, April 1892).

³ I have endeavoured to show that *Ak-ana* ("Lord-of-Heaven") was an Akkadian name of the *Arktos Megalê*, and that this title is preserved in the "Αγαννα. ἀμαξα [the Wain]. καὶ ἡ ἐν οὐρανῷ Ἀρκτος of Hêsyehios. (Vide R. B., Jr., *On Euphratean Names of the Constellation Ursa Major* (in *Proceedings Soc. Bib. Archæol.*, March 1887).

⁴ Ἐν τῇ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων σφαίρᾳ οὕτε ὁ Δράκων ἐστὶν νομιζόμενος ἢ ὀνομαζόμενος οὕτε Ἀρκτοι. ἀλλ' ἕτερα σχήματα εἰδῶλων. οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ τῶν Χαλδαίων (Achilles Tatius, *Eisagôgê*, xxxix.)

"the Wing"); (4) ϵ , *Enif* (i.e., *Emp*, "the Nose"); (5) ζ , "the foremost of the two near together in the throat;" (6) η , "the more northerly of the two in the right knee;" (7) ι , "the one at the left knee;" and (8) θ , "the more northerly of the two near together in the head." The adjoining star, α *Andromedae*, *Alpharatz* (i.e., *Al Feras*, "the Horse"), is, according to Aratos, common ($\xi\nu\nu\omicron\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\rho$) to both constellations.

The creature described by Aratos is a winged demi-horse, "A demi-form the sacred Horse revolves,"¹ such as is exactly shown on coins of Lampsakos and Skepsis,² where the wings exhibit Phoiniko-Euphratean treatment. The horse Pégasos, who sprang from the "springs" ($\pi\eta\gamma\alpha\acute{\iota}$) of ocean, is specially connected with Asia Minor; and on a Hittite terra-cotta seal³ is shown the winged-horse *courant*,

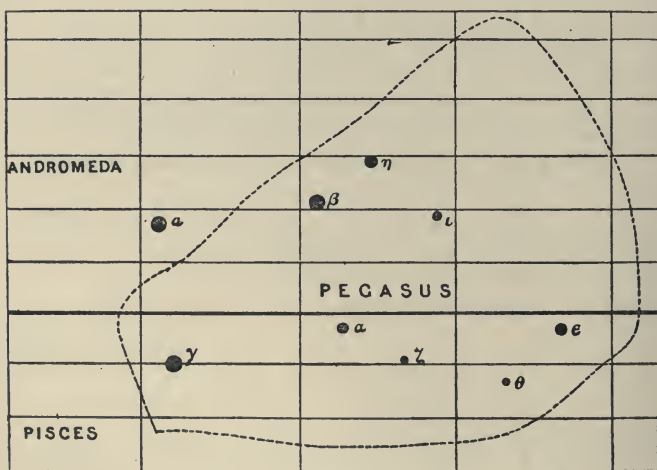


FIG. 31.—The Horse (B.C. 2084).

in the field a bull's head (a lunar emblem), a crescent, and three stars. The wings are extended from the body, one above and one below it; and there seems to be little doubt that the Horse, styled in Akkadian "the Animal from the East," is here, as so frequently in Aryan mythology, a solar emblem.⁴ Demi-forms are not unsuitable to represent originals which either actually appear or can naturally be thought of as divided, e.g., the moon, the sun (half

¹ *Phainomena*, 225.

² Vide Lajard, *Culte de Venus*, Pl. xxiv. Fig. 18.

³ Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, Pl. xlv. Fig. 3a; vide *Proceedings Soc. Bib. Archæol.*, Feb. 1884.

⁴ Vide D'Alviella, *La Migration des Symboles*, 75-6.

above the horizon), darkness (eastern and western), etc. The *Horse* appears on a Euphratean boundary-stone (Fig. 32) next the *Crow* (Fig. 13), as in the heavens it adjoins *Ornis*; and it is noticeable that in *The Tablet of the Thirty Stars*, Star No. 17, *Kakkab D. P. Ansu*) *Kur-ra*, "The-Star of-the-Animal-from-the-East," has as its patron divinity the Storm-god Ramânu, whose title in Akkadian reads *Im-dugud-Khu* ("the Great Storm-bird"). On the boundary-stone the head, neck, and part of the body of the *Horse* are represented in an upright position on a kind of altar, and apparently in a sort of shrine, a suitable environment for "the sacred *Horse*."



FIG. 32.—The Horse. (From a Euphratean Boundary-Stone.)

The *Horse* is closely connected with the *Archer* (*Sagittarius*) and the *Centaur*. *Sagitta*, the *Arrow*, shot between the two *Birds*, is just in front of him. MM. Perrot and Chipiez, after describing a Euphratean Centaur (British Museum), represented as a combination of the *Winged-horse* and *Archer* with a *Scorpion's* tail, remark, "We have wished to show that the first idea of the Centaur—like that of Pegasus, the Griffin, and the Sphinx—may have been suggested to Greek artists by things of Eastern origin."¹ Under the body of this Centaur is a *Scorpion* in a position similar to that which it occupies in Mithraic art. "At the back of the human head" is "a

¹ *Hist. of Art in Phœnicia and Cyprus*, ii. 204.

second, apparently that of a kind of griffin-unicorn ;” but the object of the artist was not to make “ his monster terrific,” but to show combined potentialities. According to Bêrôsos, “ hippocentaurs ” were portrayed in the temple of Bêlos at Babylon ;¹ and *Sagittarius*, the Kentaur, appears on boundary-stones of Sippara (Fig. 33). Thus the whole of the figures of the equatorial constellations of Aratos,

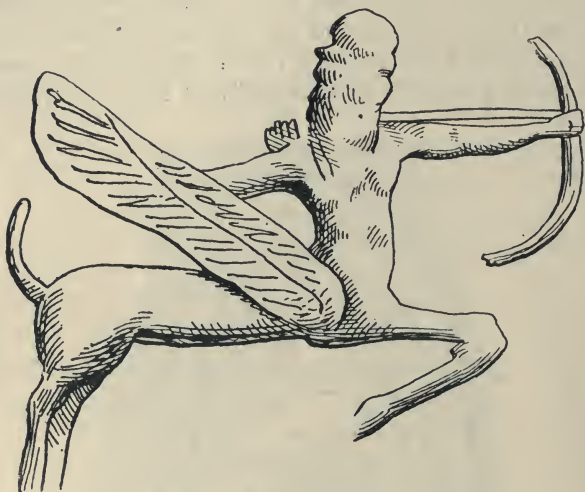


FIG. 33.—The Archer. (From a Euphratean Boundary-Stone.)

Ram, Bull, Oriôn, Water-Snake, Bowl, Crow, Claws, Serpent-Holder, Serpent, Horse, and also the *Eagle*, appear in Euphratean art and mythology, and their celestial location is that of cir. B.C. 2000, so that astronomy supports and absolutely confirms the conclusions arrived at on the lines of history and archæology.

XII. SOME GENERAL PRINCIPLES.

From the claw we may reconstruct the lion ; and from the foregoing facts it follows that the bulk of the constellation-figures, and the lore and observations connected with them, are Euphratean in origin. Many of the archaic links intermediate between Babylon and Hellas are still misty or altogether obscured, but the general fact cannot be doubted. Scattered through the Greek writers occur references to famous Chaldæan astronomical sages, such as Kidênas, Sudinas, and Naburianos ;² and Clement of Alexandria says that

¹ *Chaldaïka*, i. 4.

² Strabo, XVI. i. 6.

"Alexander [the famous commentator on Aristotle], in his book *On the Pythagorean Symbols*, relates that Pythagoras¹ was a pupil of Nazaratos the Assyrian."² But with early Greek astronomy as a whole this paper is not concerned; and I will conclude with one or two general principles which may be of service in future investigations, and which also have a bearing on archaic psychology. The importance of stellar investigation in the elucidation of history has received a fresh illustration from the recent papers by Mr. T. Norman Lockyer, F.R.S.,³ and by Mr. F. C. Penrose,⁴ respecting the dates of Egyptian and Greek temples as deduced from their orientation, solar or stellar. Thus, according to the table provisionally drawn up by Mr. Penrose, *Alcyone* (η *Tauri*) was the patron-star of three temples of Athêna, two at Athens and one at Sounion; *Sirius* was the patron-star of the midnight mysteries, and *Fomalhaut* the patron-star of the sunrise-cult of the temple of Dêmêtêr at Eleusis; *Hamal* was the patron-star of the temples of Zeus at Athens and Olympia; and *Spica* the patron-star of the temples of Hêra at Olympia, Argos, and Girgenti in Sicily. When we arrive at certitude with respect to the facts, it will doubtless appear that the patron-star in each case is one specially connected with the particular Euphratean divinity of which the particular Greek divinity is regarded as the equivalent. Thus, as Hêra, a great goddess-mother, is often equated with the great goddess-mother of Asia Minor, who is a reduplication of the Euphratean Istar,⁵ who appears in our zodiac under the inappropriate name of *Virgo*; ⁶ so *Spica* (α *Virginis*), the special star of Istar-*Virgo*, will become the patron-star of an archaic temple of Hêra. Mr. Penrose observes that " α *Arietis*, the brightest star of the first sign of the zodiac," is "therefore particularly appropriate to Jupiter [Zeus]." But there is no force in the "therefore." *Hamal* (α *Arietis*) will be found to be connected with the temple of the chief Greek god, because it had been already connected with the chief Euphratean god; and, agreeably with this view, we read in *W. A. I.*, liii. No. 1, Rev. l. 30, *Kakkab Anuv Kakkab Lu-lim*, i.e., "the Star of Anu" [the analogue of Zeus] = "the Star of the Ram" = *Hamal*. I do not doubt that fresh and most important results will be obtained in this highly interesting field. Another principle which a careful investigation of the constellation-figures reveals is, that like, e.g., the letters of

¹ Vide *supra*, p. 4.

² *Stromata*, I. xv. 70.

³ Vide *Proceedings* of the Soc. of Antiquaries of London, 2nd Series, xiii. 341.

⁴ *Ibid.* xiv. 59.

⁵ I.e., "Heaven-daughter" (vide R. B., Jr., *Tablet of the Thirty Stars*, 24).

⁶ Vide R. B., Jr., *The Zodiacal Virgo*.

the alphabet, they are not "inventions," for, indeed, under analysis, the supposed sphere of invention is continually contracting—but reduplications of simpler ideas connected with natural phenomena. Thus, to take the twelve Signs of the zodiac: astrologers for centuries, without knowing why, have termed these alternately "diurnal" and "nocturnal;" and this is quite correct, inasmuch as they were in origin simply diurnal and nocturnal phases familiar to what I may style the mythological imagination, neither arbitrary inventions, nor products of that state of mental confusion with which a class of anthropologists have kindly endowed archaic man, but ideas which arose naturally and spontaneously in the mind. On such a careful analysis the twelve signs appear thus:—

I. *Diurnal Signs.*

1. The Ram-Sun, afterwards reduplicated as		<i>Aries.</i>
2. Sun and Moon, ,, ,,		<i>Gemini.</i>
3. The Lion-Sun, ,, ,,		<i>Leo.</i>
4. The Daily-sacrificed-Sun, ,,		<i>Ara.</i> ¹
5. The Archer-Sun, ,,		<i>Sagittarius.</i>
6. The Rain-giving-Sun, ,,		<i>Aquarius.</i>

II. *Nocturnal Signs.*

1. The Moon-Bull, afterwards reduplicated as		<i>Taurus.</i>
2. Darkness, ,, ,,		<i>Cancer.</i>
3. The Moon-Goddess, ,, ,,		<i>Virgo.</i>
4. Darkness, ,, ,,		<i>Scorpio.</i>
5. The Sea-Sun, ,, ,,		<i>Capricornus.</i>
6. The Nocturnal-Sun, ,, ,,		<i>Piscis.</i> ²

Thus, as might naturally be expected, we find that every ancient and widely-spread myth or legend rests upon a solid basis of fact, which, however, may or may not be historical; and that archaic ideas connected with natural phenomena, although often exceedingly obscure to us on account of our ignorance of the particular standpoint of early thinkers, are, notwithstanding their frequently bizarre presentation, invariably distinguished by a really great simplicity, being natural impressions drawn by an analogy, often indeed erroneous, but nevertheless to primitive men obvious, from still simpler and more immediate experiences.

The last canon which I will venture to lay down is this,—When—

¹ Vide *supra*, sec. viii.

² Afterwards *Pisces*. "The double month Adar and Ve-Adar would be the origin of the double Pisces" (Sayce, in *Trans. Soc. Bib. Archæol.*, iii. 166).

ever Greek art or mythology exhibit something apparently meaningless, and incapable of explanation from internal sources,¹ such representations are not to be treated as the senseless fancies of an (imaginary) irrational savage, but are to be patiently investigated in the remains of earlier civilisations.

To conclude: we are encouraged in these researches, however difficult and obscure they may be, by remembering that we have to deal with the same human mind looking forth upon the same external world; and it is interesting and suggestive to find how closely and deeply we are linked with our brethren of the earlier time, their thought, their science, and their aspirations, by the constant and unwandering stars, "the ever-burning lights that clip us round."

¹ *E.g.*, the constellation-figure *Auriga*, a man styled a "charioteer," but often without a chariot, and carrying a goat on his arm (vide R. B., Jr., *Euphratean Stellar Researches*, Pt. i. 21 *et seq.*).

III.

THE ORIGIN OF THE CLASSIC CIVILISATIONS.

BY

J. S. STUART-GLENNIE, M.A.

CERTAIN more recent results of research appear so conclusively to verify the theory of this paper as to make a detailed abstract of it less necessary, perhaps, for commending it to consideration than might otherwise have been the case. Referring, therefore, only generally to the author's statement of the various observations made by him during an eighteen months' exploration of Northern Greece in 1880-81, it may suffice here to state the theory founded on these observations as developed by subsequent study. This theory may be summed up in the following propositions:—

I.

The Hellenic and Aryan civilisation of Greece was founded on a non-Hellenic and non-Aryan civilisation; and a similar statement may be made with reference to the Roman and Aryan civilisation of Italy.

II.

The pre-Aryan and non-Aryan civilisation of Greece may be identified with the "Pelasgian" civilisation, and had its sources chiefly in the civilisation of Chaldea, though also partly in that of Egypt.

III.

This Pelasgian civilisation, though founded by a non-Aryan race, was yet, like the civilisations of Chaldea and Egypt, from which it was derived, founded by a White Race, which, as pre-Semitic and pre-Aryan, may be conveniently termed the "Archaian" White Race.

IV.

The chief seat of this Pelasgian and non-Aryan civilisation was Southern Greece (Tiryns, Mykenai, &c.), but it probably extended more or less over the whole region described by Æschylos (*Supp.*, 246 *sq.*); it was in the northern part of this region that the Western Aryans, migrating from their probable South Russian cradle-land, first came into contact with the Pelasgian civilisation; and hence it was Northern Greece, as is, indeed, testified to both by Homer and Aristotle, that was the true Ancient Hellas.

V.

But if the Hellenic was founded on a high earlier civilisation, with arts, traditions, and gods derived from the still more ancient empire of Chaldea, as also of that of Egypt, then we should expect to find, as we do in fact find, that the *earlier* Greek or Homeric poems present the picture of a *less rude* civilisation than the *later* Greek or Hesiodic poems—the earlier poems presenting the Pelasgian civilisation modified only by aristocratic Aryan immigrants, while the later poems present the results of the overthrowal of that earlier civilisation by the barbarian hordes led by the Dorians.

The more recent results of research referred to in the opening paragraph, as, with the various facts which originally suggested the theory in 1880–81, almost conclusively verifying the above theory, are those of Mr. Penrose on the orientation of the older Greek temples, on the foundations of which it appears that the later temples were built—considered, as these results must be, in relation to Professor Norman Lockyer's on the orientation of Egyptian and Chaldean temples, and the very remote period to which the construction of these astronomically designed temples must be carried back.

SECTION VII.

PERSIA AND TURKEY.

I.

ON TRANSLATIONS FROM AND INTO PERSIAN.

BY

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR F. J. GOLDSMID, C.B., K.C.S.I.,
President.

TRANSLATION, as we understand the word in respect of languages, may be considered the outcome of genius as well as original composition: that is to say, the Genius of Translation is as correct an expression as the Genius of Prose or Poetry. When we offer to a reader a book in his own language, originally written in a foreign tongue, we are not offering him an actual exotic received from other lands, but an artificial reproduction, and the less perceptible the counterfeit the better. Such a book should have attraction independently even of excellent translation. It should be commendable to the reader for its merits also in its own literary style. Some works, especially characteristic of the country and people whose language is that in which they are first written, would seem to be without the range of the translator's powers; and yet instances may be given of artistic success in re-clothing them in the garb of the stranger, who has no other means of becoming acquainted with them than when thus attired. My astonishment was great on being told at Astrakhan in 1865 that not only Morier, the author of the evergreen "Haji Bábá," was known and appreciated at the mouths of the Volga, but that Dickens and Thackeray were in the same category; moreover, that "Pickwick" and "Vanity Fair" were admirable in Russian! I can myself bear testimony to the excellence of a French version by an Englishman of one of Thackeray's books, apparently less translatable than "Vanity Fair." In the *Mémoires d'un Valet de Pied* will be found not merely readable, but reproduced with exceptional cleverness, the "Yellowplush Correspondence," which some few of us may still recall on its original appearance in *Frazer's Magazine*. To describe Jeames's sayings and doings in French, so as to be welcome and intelligible reading,

must assuredly be reckoned a feat in its way not unallied to genius.

If these remarks be admitted correct in respect of the languages of Western civilisation, how much more must they be held to apply to those which are expressive of Eastern thought. In Persia, where the music of the national language adds so greatly to the general effect of the written text, the difficulty of translation is strongly accentuated. It is not the case of an opera, the words of which may be translated and the music retained. Here the music is rejected in its entirety, and the songs and versification have no accompaniment of melody whatever, unless indeed the translator be sufficiently a poet to substitute an imitative or appropriate word-music of his own. Next to the music is the mysticism or hidden sense; for what poor justice do we render to a foreign writer, of whatever nationality he be, by substituting English words for his, without providing that, as a main essential, the literary drift of the author, as well as his form of speech, shall be duly conveyed to the mind of the reader! Then, again, we may not lose sight of the axiom that any translation from the Persian, as indeed from all other poets, should be in harmony with the poetic taste of the day. There is a fashion in poetry as in other matters, and the monotonous beauty and evenness of Pope's "Homer" and Dryden's "Virgil" would not suit the *fin-de-siècle* humour for which authors and publishers have now to cater.

Within the last year I had the honour of submitting, in the form of a lecture for the School of Modern Oriental Studies, established by the Imperial Institute, a few plain and almost elementary remarks on the language and literature of Persia; and I will venture to repeat one or two passages as a basis for further comment. Speaking of Fitzgerald's four editions of "U'mar Khayyám," each of which has its merits as a variation on the Persian original, I said:—

"It is not the fanciful idea, the intricate imagery, or the latent doctrine which renders translation not only difficult, but also unjust in its result; it is the language in which these curiosities of idiosyncrasy are conveyed—the untranslatable word-music which carries its own untransferable charm. There have been many and excellent renderings of Persian poems into English and other European tongues, and about a century ago the scholarship of Sir William Jones made these interesting and readable to our not fastidiously critical forefathers. If they have become old-fashioned at the present day, the cause is attributable quite as much to the obsolete

costume in which they have been introduced to the home-reader as to the original matter. The language used was that of poems that have now passed out of date as specimens of metre and expression. If the Persian poets are translatable at all, the task is not so much that of the Persian scholar as of the English poet, who, grasping the original ideas, can make them attractive, as Fitzgerald has made 'U'mar Khaiyám' by his own versification. He must clothe his Eastern moralist in a garb which admits him to the literary *salons* of the West."

As regards Háfiz, I could not admit that any English translations we possessed had been satisfactory. Sir William Jones, with all his great accomplishments, had failed to exhibit the true Shirázi as he lived and sang. Pleasantly rendering an ode here and there, in his now old-fashioned, but always refined and elegant style, he never succeeded in investing the translation with the mysticism which, real or fictitious, is the characteristic of the original. His cup-bearer is Horatian rather than Súfi-istic: the eyes, brows, and eyebrows which he extols, the cheeks and chins, lips and teeth, moon-like faces and cypress-like forms, are all those of an Anacreontic versifier; his mistresses are Lalāges, though dwelling in Shiráz. In one instance, which illustrates a common practice, not contented with his Persian bard's mere allusion to "Yúsuf and Zulaikha," he retraces the circumstances of the lovers' meeting, together with the youth's nationality, and supplies of his own accord a background of scenery on the banks of the Nile, to localise and, as it were, materialise the story. To make my meaning clearer, I give the original couplet, its literal rendering, and the pretty English costume in which it has been clothed:—

من از آن حسن روز افزون که یوسف داشت دانستم
که عشق از پرده عصمت بیرون آرد زلجیا را

Literal English.—"From that daily-increasing beauty which Joseph possessed, I knew that love would draw out Zulaikha from the screen of chastity."

Poeticised.—"Beauty has such resistless power,
That even the chaste Egyptian dame
Sighed for the blooming Hebrew boy;
For her how fatal was the hour
When to the banks of Nilus came
A youth so lovely and so coy!"

Practically this is not the picture that we are contemplating, but the painter's exposition of it that we read or hear. Had Sir William Jones added to his delightful Essays on "Eastern Poetry" and "The Imitative Arts" one on "Translation," he would probably have justified his method, or have traced a better procedure to be followed by succeeding generations.

A great many wise rules have been laid down on the subject of translation, some of which it may be useful now to recall in their application to Eastern (as well as European) languages, without necessarily reverting to a definition of the word itself, which has been well explained in cyclopædias. It has been said with justice that "a translation is not commendable because it is literal, but because it is true." On this principle we may suppose the translator to commence with a fairly strict word-for-word rendering, and later on to submit it to such an analysis that, if its truth be not established, the sacrifice of even well-chosen correspondent words must be made to attain the desired end. If, on the other hand, the literal translation stand the test of analysis, then must it remain intact; but such concordance of the literal with the true interpretation should be regarded as accidental, for the aim is not so much to be literal as to be true.

Another object of a translator has been declared to be the preservation, as much as possible, of the style and manner of the original. How difficult this is in translating from the Persian poets, or even from the prose writers, many of whom adopt a seemingly unconscious but unmistakably intended rhyme in the commencement of chapters or other prominent passages in their books, will be apparent to even young students of Persian, or those who have taken up the works used in Indian examinations, such as the "Anwâri-Suhaili." Not only do the native poems, or segments of poems, own distinctive names, such as *ghazal*, *kaşidah*, *kitâ*, *rubâi*, *dûbâiti*, and *maşnavi*, each of which implies speciality of construction, but they involve intricacies of rhyming and prosody which, if unattended to, any translation of them is necessarily imperfect. I will not enter into any detailed notice of these at present. For those who care to examine them, they are well and simply explained in the "Notes on Persian Prosody and Rhyme" by Mr. Nasarwanji Kawasji Kángá, published at the Bombay Education Society's Press in 1886. Colonel Clarke, in the preface to his most laborious translation of Háfiz, to which I shall presently refer, recommends for the student's use in a similar sense Blochmann's "Prosody of the Persians," Dr. Ranking's "Elements of Persian Prosody," and "A Grammar of the

Persian Tongue," by Mr. Pistanji Kuvaji Taskar.¹ I may mention that one peculiarity to be mastered by students and translators is the *radîf*, a rhyme preceding the last monosyllable or dissyllable, or even a longer word or combination of words, which is repeated at the end of every line containing a rhyme at all.

A third *sine quâ non* rule for translators is that the translation should have all the ease of original composition. This is manifestly a condition which can only be fulfilled by one who, like Fitzgerald, is a born poet as well as a Persian scholar. Sir W. Jones, and in recent days Professor Palmer and others, might be cited as having achieved a certain success on the same lines; but whether it is that the writers were known to indulge in linguistic *tours de force*—intermingling school classics with Oriental tongues—or that there was a something stilted about the performances they put forth, it is doubtful whether the result could be confounded by literary experts with original work.

One more rule may be worthy of inclusion for the consideration or guidance of those concerned—that is, that the translator should have a correct estimate of his own powers, both in choosing a subject with which he is competent to deal, and in his method of treating it when chosen. To repeat, in summary, what appear to me essential principles of translation, applicable to the works of Eastern as of Western authors, my recommendation would be:—

- I. That literal interpretation be held secondary to truth.
- II. That style and manner be preserved, when possible, without sacrifice of truth.
- III. That, as much as possible, the semblance of original composition be maintained.
- IV. That the translator feel competent for his task, subject to the above conditions.

By "truth" I need hardly explain that the true signification of the original is implied, without full apprehension of which no translation can fitly be attempted. And now let me endeavour to illustrate the argument propounded by the example of success or failure in already made translations, and by the character of now suggested translations. Unfortunately, the little time available for the preparation of the present paper has prevented many references I should have wished to make in treating so wide a subject.

¹ Gladwin's "Dissertation on the Rhetoric, Prosody, and Rhyme of the Persians," with all its old-fashionedness, may also be referred to with profit.

But however restricted the sphere, the purpose will, it is hoped, be answered. The authors to whom I turn are those whom I find immediately at hand. They are Firdausi of the tenth, Abu Saïd and U'mar Khaiyám of the eleventh, Háfiz of the fourteenth, and Jámi of the fifteenth century.

Atkinson's translation of that great epic of Firdausi, which alone raises the literature of Persia to a high standard of excellence, is meritorious but incomplete; so incomplete, indeed, that it cannot be judged under the conditions specified, though it may not run counter to any, and gives, so far as it goes, a very fair idea of the original poem both in style and matter. But it is an exposition of Firdausi, and not Firdausi himself. "I have paid," says the translator in a brief retrospect of his work, "more attention to sentiments than words, to ideas than expressions, avoiding all the repetitions and redundancies which could not be preserved with any degree of success; for it was incumbent upon me to keep in mind that I was writing a poem in English, and that English-Persian will no more do than English-Greek." In this procedure, he does not appear to have gone far astray from true interpretation. The break to the monotony of the original poem by alternations of prose and verse (blank or rhymed), and the occasional change of measure in the latter, if allowable at all, are certainly so in an *epopœa* resulting in more than 50,000 couplets. Still, with every wish to acknowledge the merits of Dr. Atkinson's performance, I cannot but feel that such a book as the Persian "Book of Kings" should have its counterpart in English as a complete poem, wholly in even rhyme such as Pope, or in blank verse such as Lord Derby gave to the *Iliad*.

In French it is different. M. Jules Mohl has produced a "Book of Kings" which will live as long as Oriental literature has any place in the world's estimation. But it is a prose translation, and wants the ring of rhyme to liken it to the original. One might almost regret that the author of the "Cid" and the "Festin de Pierre" had not had M. Mohl's manuscript before him to have clothed it for the publisher in his stately verse. Two or three centuries ago such a work might have had a *grand succès*, though incompatible with the prevalent taste and void of all realism. The verbal alterations that would have been requisite need not seriously have affected the truth of the poem. I have endeavoured to compare Atkinson with Mohl in their episodes or more striking passages, but the two translations seem to run very little together, and the Persian texts which the respective translators have used must have

differed in many respects—a contingency by no means improbable in the case of Shah Námeḥ manuscripts.

When Rustam appeals to the Akwan Div not to cast him into the sea, with the intention that the responsive action should be directly opposite to the ostensible object of his prayer, he says, with profound diplomacy, “‘Un savant de la Chine m’a dit une chose qui s’applique ici, c’est que l’âme de ceux qui périssent dans l’eau ne verra pas le Serosch dans le paradis; qu’elle errera misérablement sur la terre, et ne trouvera pas de repos dans l’autre monde. Jette moi donc sur la montagne pour que les tigres et les lions voient comment sont faites les mains d’un brave.’ A ces paroles de Rustem, le Div Akwan mugit comme la mer *en fureur*, et lui dit, ‘Je veux te jeter dans un lieu où tu resteras caché entre les deux mondes, où tu erreras misérablement sur la terre et ne trouveras pas de repos dans le ciel.’ Il le précipita dans la mer profonde pour que les intestins des poissons lui servissent de linceul.”

Atkinson renders the extract thus:—

“‘O plunge me not in the roaring sea,
The maw of a fish is no home for me;
But cast me forth on the mountains; there
Is the lion’s haunt and the tiger’s lair,
And for them I shall be a morsel of food,
They will eat my flesh and drink my blood,
But my bones will be left to show the place
Where this form was devoured by the feline race;
Yes, something will then remain of me,
Whilst nothing escapes from the roaring sea.’

“Akwan Div having heard this particular desire of Rustem, determined at once to thwart him, and for this purpose he raised him up with his hands and flung him from his lofty position headlong into the deep and roaring ocean.”

In comparing these passages with the Persian, I find that Macan’s Persian text adds a line to Mohl’s version of Rustam’s entreaty, and is somewhat at variance with the last part of it. Dr. Atkinson has clearly indulged in a poetical license of expansion.

For our knowledge of Abu Saïd, we in England have to thank Dr. Ethé for ninety-two of his *rubáiyât*, to which he has appended able and elegant German translations. Of these, fifty-four have been Anglicised by Mr. Pickering, one of which I select as a specimen of the *radîf* or inner rhyme, to which allusion has already been made. I will not presume to substitute an amended version,

but cannot avoid remarking that, good as it is, it would have been truer to the original had the rhyming word been followed by three syllables only, instead of four (in the German, six) :—

“For the days of Time fast fled we never grieve—and we are well :
 We reck not if morn’s bread suffice to eve—and we are well :
 Tho’ oven-dried be all the grapes that come to us, desire
 For clusters fresh instead we ne’er conceive—and we are well.”

In one specimen wanting the *radîf* I have endeavoured to illustrate its presence :—

“Skill’d in the knowledge of Thy mind, we come not :
 Yet to Thy rose-clad gardens, blind we come not :
 As comments on the margin of a book are we ;
 Useless—(Thy work tho’ far behind)—we come not.”

Fitzgerald’s four editions of U’mar Khaiyám have so popularised the quatrains of this writer that it is doubtful whether a literally closer and actually truer version would have the effect of enhancing his reputation in the mind of the English reader. In any case, if an attempt were made to substitute for his poetical rendering of the Tent-maker’s dreamy reflections a new translation in verse, Fitzgerald’s lines should be utilised in the cause to the fullest possible extent. He may fail to fulfil all the conditions attached to the translator’s office, but he has certainly shown in a marked manner his high capacity to do the work undertaken with the fluency and facility of an original composer. A word should be said in favour of other interpreters of U’mar Khaiyám, notably the late M. Nicolas, whose French version of the Rubâiyât bears strong testimony to his ability and industry ; Mr. Justin MacCarthy, whose plain prose rendering is generally sound and accurate ; and Mr. Whinfield, who has achieved a translation of more than average merit.

As a rule, we need take no account of translations from Persian, made for students, and not intended for the ordinary reader ; but it is impossible to omit mention of Colonel Wilberforce Clarke’s Háfiz, a work quite exceptional in its scope and fulness. If “caviare to the general,” and practically unreadable save as a medium for conveying special instruction, it contains a mass of bricks from which a scholar of poetical taste and Oriental tendencies might build an English temple in honour of the poet of Shiráz. The two quarto volumes printed last year at the Government printing-office in Calcutta contain a literal translation of the celebrated odes, and

other lyrical effusions of Muhammad Shamsu'd-dîn (Háfiz), with long and detailed explanations of the hidden meaning and Sufi-ism of certain prominent words, a careful rendering, in fact, of the whole visible text, together with the non-apparent but actual signification between the lines.

Colonel Clarke himself is avowedly an advocate for prose translation. As his reasons are those of a well-grounded scholar and one delighting in Oriental literature, and as the question raised is one of general principles, I quote the passage in which he states his opinion:—

“To render Háfiz in verse, one should be a poet at least equal in power to the author. Even then it would be well-nigh impossible to clothe Persian verse with such an English dress as would truly convey its beauties; and if such a translation could be made, it would be of little value to the student.”

In support of his theory he puts forward views expressed by Sale, Palmer, and Sir William Jones. But the two first are referring to the Kurán, and the last confines his observations to a particular poem of Hátifi and a batch of tales by Nizámi of Ganja, neither of which necessarily involve the application of any general rule. Having made extracts from a laudatory notice in the *Times* of Fitzgerald's version of U'mar Khaiyám, he writes:—

“Doubtless this is intended for praise, but it appears to be exceeding dispraise. Mr. Fitzgerald's poem is a fine one, and occupies an independent place in English literature; but in no sense or way is it a translation. He has shown as a poet his capacity, and his incapacity as a translator. The people of England being ignorant of Persian, and caught by the beauty of the English verse, give it laud, but the work should be criticised, not as a poem, but as a translation. For it professes to be a translation—the verse is but an accident of decoration.”

Had Fitzgerald, then, retained the ideas of his original poet in his work, and translated as well as he composed, we may presume that Colonel Clarke would have admitted him into the category of those who perform the “well-nigh impossible” task. May we not hope that, in future generations, there will be born poets capable of this achievement, whose tastes and inclinations will lead them in the required direction? As to the “little value to the student” which the able and industrious translator and commentator of Háfiz anticipates would accrue from a poetical rendering of his author in our language, I confess to feeling no concern. My object is to initiate the English, or rather the European mind, into the love of

Persian poetry, which is, to my thinking, the true type of the national genius, not to inflict upon readers who are not Persian scholars the drudgery inseparable from the student's career. Those who would learn the language and literature by a process of serious schooling, must always be in small proportion compared to those who, in this respect, are at best amateurs.

As my own acquaintance with the Persian poets is incidental rather than professional, and may be attributed to the fascination exercised upon me in earlier days by the marvellous music of the language, I can only speak with diffidence, and subject to the correction of more proficient critics, on a possible translation of Háfiz such as would satisfy Colonel Clarke in accuracy, as well as convey some idea of the native genius which inspired the bard. But in order to be practical and economise time, I propose now to take the first of the *ghazals*, according to the order in which it is usually placed in the Diwan, and deal with it as an ordinary translation, with preservation of metre and rhyme. The form in which I present it may be considered to exemplify the initiatory process, like the first stage in a sculptured figure, before the sculptor himself has begun to work with a will.

But a difficulty at once arises. There are, roughly speaking, seven couplets of sixteen syllables to each line before us. In the first of these the two lines rhyme together; the remaining six couplets continue the same rhyme in the second line only. The last dissyllable of the first line then strikes the rhyming note for the 2nd, 4th, 6th, 8th, 10th, 12th, and 14th lines which follow—that is, for the repetition of the rhyme six times after its inception in the first couplet. This, in English, would not always be easily provided for; but the perplexity is heightened by the fact that the accent of the rhyming dissyllable—*il-há*—falls on the second syllable, *há*, the vivid effect of which, in the original, gives a character to the whole ode. I have, alas! no remedy in the matter but to content myself with a monosyllable only, and that broader, clumsier, and of a less sonorous kind than its prototype:—

- i. Ho, thou that art the Sáki, hail! offer the bowl and pass it round:
Easy was love at first; but now, its hard perplexities abound.
- ii. By perfume of the musk-pod, zephyr-borne at eve from off thy locks,
By lustre of that fragrant curl, how many hearts in blood are drown'd!
- iii. Colour with wine the mat of prayer, if thus the Magian sage direct;
For well the treader of the Path should know the stages and the ground.
- iv. In love's abode no peace, no joy can I possess, when every hour
The warning bell proclaims aloud "'Tis time thy camel-loads were bound."

- v. The night of gloom, the fear of waves, the whirlpool in its deadliness,
What can they know of these, the men who, e'er at ease, on shore are
found?
- vi. My work, in wilfulness pursued, has drawn on me an ill repute;
How can that secret lie conceal'd with which the meeting-halls
resound?
- vii. Háfiz, would'st *thou* the presence gain, do not absent thyself from Him:
Once thy Belov'd attain'd, cast off the worldly chains about thee
wound.

Colonel Clarke's argument that the translation of the Bible proves that poetry in one language may be rendered into prose in another, does not warrant his contention in respect of the Persian lyrist. Independently of the grandeur of the theme, no principle of general versification could be deduced from the treatment of the Hebrew text in this case. As it is, the poetical portions of the sacred volume are, in the revised edition, arranged in lines; the prophetic books being regarded for the greater part "rather of the nature of lofty and impassioned prose."

That M. Reynard's Dante in French prose is a better equivalent for the original than English rhyme as illustrated by English translators, and that M. Sainte-Beuve's Greek lyrics, rendered in the same form, are superior to any versified renderings in other tongues, may be due to the genius of the French language. A like reason may account for the favour shown by the French authors cited by Colonel Clarke to this method of conveying poetical ideas. The successful translation of the "*Shah Náme*" by Mohl, to which reference has been made, is another and very remarkable instance which he might have brought forward in support of his views. But I may here casually remark that French scholarship, so distinguished in Orientalism, may have purposely withheld its powers in matters such as these, confining attention in the first instance to a prose which savours more of poetry than can be claimed for the Anglo-Saxon language in its simplicity. M. Defremery, for instance, in his careful version of the "*Gulistan*," has the following passage:—

"Le temps de la stabilité (c'est à dire de la vie) s'est écoulé comme le vent du désert. L'amertume et la douceur, le laid et le beau ont passé. L'homme injuste a pensé avoir commis une injustice envers nous. Elle est restée attachée sur ses épaules (comme un fardeau) et a passé au-dessus de nous."

One printed English translation¹ has:—

¹ Published at Benares, 1888, for private subscribers.

"The period of life has passed away like the desert wind,
 Bitter and sweet, ugliness and beauty, have passed away,
 The tyrant fancied he had done injury to us;
 It remained on his neck, and passed away from us."

These are fair literal renderings. But why may we not attempt the Persian metre and rhyme? Such form of reproduction in English is to be found in a weekly paper of comparatively recent date,¹ and thus serves to illustrate the Persian tetrastich:—

"Life's pleasures and *pains*, like winds o'er the *plains*, pass away;
 Distress and success, world losses and *gains*, pass away;
 Yon tyrant believes he has crush'd us by rigour;
 His harm will from us—while on him it remains—pass away."

Had the attempt been made in French, a slight modification, as in the English, might have been allowable, resulting in something of this kind:—

"La joie, le plaisir—haleine du zéphyr—ont passé:
 Malheur et bonheur—le calme, le délire—ont passé:
 Le tyran pensa qu'il nous portait injure:
 Sur lui restent les torts qui pour nous, sans nous nuire—ont passé."

I have no reason to suppose that there has ever been a better version of Jâmi's most celebrated, and certainly exquisite, poem of "Yusuf and Zulaikha" than that in German by Rosenzweig. It would be impertinence on my part to criticise this performance, which has met with the high approval of competent judges. It must rest with those who are both German and Persian scholars, and notably Germans themselves, to determine how far it meets all the requirements of a thorough translation. In the preface to the English rendering of the same poem by Mr. Robinson, made twenty years ago, this gentleman frankly admits his obligations to Professor Rosenzweig; so that this can hardly be regarded as an independent work. It is in prose, arranged in distinct lines, and adapted for students rather than ordinary readers. Within the last year a rhyming translation has been accomplished by Mr. Rogers, who has certainly, so far as could be expected in continuous uniform metre, adhered with praiseworthy conscientiousness to his Persian text; but I am inclined to think that blank verse is better adapted to bring out the æsthetic sense and general beauties of the original in our own language than any other form of rendering. In support of this view I will not quote, but refer my hearers to the specimens

¹ *National Observer*, March 19, 1892.

given by Mr. Browne, the secretary of our Section and Persian reader at Cambridge, in some papers contributed to the "Religious Systems of the World." One of these, which treats of Sufi-ism, illustrates the doctrine by extracts from the writings of Jâmi; and the poem of "Yusuf and Zulaikha," interpreted in Mr. Browne's eloquent blank verse, supplies the necessary passages.

Upon the whole, I believe that, for the English language, the "Shah Náme" of Firdausi might be appropriately clothed in the classical verse of Pope and Dryden; the odes of Háfiz, with all quatrains, whether of Háfiz, U'mar Khaiyám, Abu Saïd, or others, might be rendered into English poetry which would retain as closely as possible the measure and rhyme of the original; and Jâmi's charming imagery might be transferred to blank verse. Moreover, rules of translation such as before laid down might be adhered to without unconformity. The few poets named are more or less typical, so that if the arrangement suggested were approved, the disposal of others might not present any material difficulty.

As to Persian prose, I do not see why the rules above suggested should not, if approved at all, apply equally well here as to poetry. But the question is one into which I do not propose now to enter, confining my few concluding remarks to a brief consideration of the translation of European languages into Persian.

When we seek to clothe in Eastern language the substance of a popular English or Continental book, our object, in nine cases out of ten, may well be to convey instruction of some kind. In such case the translator must put himself in the position of a teacher and talk to his reader, as it were, *ex cathedra*. For any other purposes, I see no course but plain and almost literal translation, with a certain attention to idiom; and this should be done, if possible, by educated natives. If we wanted, for instance, to render some work of fiction intelligible and interesting to the Persian mind, the whole object would, I apprehend, be defeated by any attempt to create a native standpoint from which to write. The book as it existed in the original should be rendered as in the original, and the result left to the intelligence of the reader, otherwise confusion must be anticipated. About twenty-five years ago Sir John Malcolm's "History of Persia" was put into the hands of a clever Persian Munshi in Bombay for translation into his own language, and he performed his task with such skill and judgment that the work has now become a recognised text-book for the examination of officers in India. Suppose, however, for the sake of illustration, that a narrative such as that of Hajji Baba of Ispahan was put into plain

intelligible Persian for an ordinarily educated Ispaháni, he would probably see but little or nothing in it savouring of the marvellous, and practically nothing of the ludicrous. The story would thus be pointless, according to the appreciation of it by Europeans.

But satire, if, like mercury, a dangerous medicine, may by discriminate application be made of immense utility, and there are many ways of administering it with profit to Asiatics as well as ourselves. That it has been understood in a general or elementary sense by many generations of Persians is proved by Firdausi's brilliant apostrophe to Sultan Mahmud. Its uses in the veiled or allegorical form are by no means incompatible with the native character and genius.

My own impression is that if a Persian could only be educated to see the weak points of his character in their true light, he would have advanced half way towards Western civilisation. For the accomplishment of the full end, I see no better Western instrument than a healthy local press and drama. Much has been said of the darker side of the latter in European countries, but much might also be said of the good it has unconsciously done in the cause of morality. The Persians are devoted to the *ta'ziya* and religious drama, and this fondness has been considered a hopeful sign of national regeneration, as supplying, according to Professor Montet, a "point de départ d'un mouvement patriotique, d'un relèvement national, d'une rénovation sociale."¹ Having had occasion in late years to read one or more plays of a secular kind by Mirza Fath 'Ali of Derbend,² I have been led to reflect whether some improvement upon these could not be made available in the same cause.

¹ *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, April 1890.

² Translated by Mirza Jiafir of Ađarbaijan from the local Turkish in which they were written.

II.

LES CROYANCES MAZDÉENNES DANS LA RELIGION CHIÏTE.

PAR

AHMED-BEY AGAEFF.

LA question d'où vient le Chiïsme n'a pas été jusqu'à présent touchée d'une manière directe. Quelques savants, comme M. Stanislas Guyard, dans un article publié dans le *Journal Asiatique* de 1871, et M. T. Darmesteter, le savant professeur du Pehlevi au Collège de France, dans sa remarquable brochure sur le Mahdi, paraissent avoir deviné son importance ; mais l'un et l'autre ne nous ont expliqué que quelques unes des formes que revêt le Chiïsme dont l'origine reste entièrement inexplorée. Pourtant rien ne saurait être plus féconde en conséquences, ni plus intéressant au point de vue psychologique, comme un phénomène rare et unique dans l'Islam. Plusieurs autres questions incidentes et secondaires, comme, par exemple, l'origine de la secte Smaélienne, Nasirienne, des Karmaths, des Drantes, des Souphis, des Sheïkhis, des Babis . . . ne trouveront leur résolution que le jour où on aura fixé le point de départ du Chiïsme ; car toutes ces croyances, philosophiques, religieuses, mystiques, se sont poussées sur le sol Chiïte et tant que celui-ci restera inexploré, celles-là ne seront connues qu'imparfaitement, au moins quant à leur essence.

Dans les langues Européennes, par le mot Chiïte est entendu "sectataire d'Ali," "partisan d'Ali." Rien de plus impropre pour caractériser le Chiïsme : celui-ci n'exprime point la tendance d'un simple parti politique cherchant à faire triompher une forme préférée quelconque de gouvernement ou à faire prévaloir les droits méconnus de certaines personnes. Au commencement, il est vrai, il avait revêtu une couleur politique ; mais les personnes qui la représentaient ont disparu depuis des siècles de la scène politique, et le Chiïte se débatterait étrangement dans le vide s'il ne faisait que continuer à lutter pour leurs droits. De plus le Chiïsme prétend au gouvernement des âmes, à la réglementation de vos actes domestiques et publics, à la définition de vos manières de penser et sentir

—en un mot, il vous prescrit des règles de morale, ce qui n'est point du domaine de la politique.

D'autre part, le Chiïsme n'est pas une religion au sens strict du mot, c'est-à-dire un simple code définissant les rapports de l'être inférieur à l'être supérieur, de la créature à son Créateur, rapports qui, par leur essence, doivent être universels, ne porter aucun cachet local et n'avoir pour l'objet que le présent et l'avenir. Tel n'est pas le Chiïsme : sur une espace du globe bien limitée il vous impose, outre le présent et l'avenir, encore le passé. Tout Chiïte est Persan ; il n'est pas Chiïte qui ne croît à l'origine supernaturelle de Rustam, à ses prouesses miraculeuses ; il n'est pas Chiïte qui ne croît qu'un jour le monde sera sauvé par un personnage miraculeux qui sortira d'un puits près d'Ispahan accompagné de Rustam et de Kava ; il n'est pas Chiïte qui ne voit en Perse le pays par excellence de lumière, de science et de pureté, le centre d'où dépend la destinée de l'univers. En un mot, devenir Chiïte c'est devenir persan, accepter en bloc son passé, s'y plonger, se réjouir de sa gloire, s'attrister sur ses malheurs et espérer de son espoir.

Ainsi le Chiïsme n'est ni une religion au sens propre de ce mot, ni la simple aspiration d'un parti politique, mais le synthèse de l'âme nationale persane, une quintessence de plusieurs milliers de siècles apparue sous la forme d'un compromis entre le passé et le présent, du Mazdéisme avec l'Islam.

Des compromis pareils ont eu lieu dans d'autres endroits sans d'autres formes. Revenant à l'histoire du Christianisme, on n'a qu'à se souvenir des étranges transformations qu'il a subi en passant par Egypte, Grèce, Rome, et les différents peuples de l'Europe moderne. En général, toutes les fois qu'un peuple civilisé, ayant un passé traditionnel, une histoire datant de longs siècles, une religion et une littérature, s'est mis en contact avec un autre peuple, et a du subir leur influence soit matérielle soit spirituelle, une lutte acharnée s'engage entre les vieilles traditions, les anciennes croyances, et celles qu'on veut lui imposer, et comme résultat final de cette lutte d'idées et de traditions, on a quelque chose de moyenne entre le passé et le présent, une sorte d'alliage de deux croyances où le présent s'efforce à s'adapter au passé en lui empruntant tout ce qui est susceptible d'être adapté, sans compromettre les apparences. Celui qui connaît les états respectifs des deux pays de la Perse et de l'Arabie, au moment de l'apparition de l'Islam, peut affirmer *à priori* sans même connaître l'histoire subséquente de la Perse Chiïte, que cette loi historique devait trouver son application pour ce pays aussi. D'une part la Perse, à l'apogée de sa gloire et de sa civilisation, dont la puissance s'étendait jusqu'à une bonne moitié de l'Arabie au

nord et au sud; d'autre part un pays de déserts désolés, où des tribus nomades ou sédentaires sans passé ni tradition commune s'entre-déchirant dans des guerres fratricides éternelles, et qui, perdu dans un coin éloigné du monde, demeurait obstinément blotti sur lui-même, et enfermé à toutes les civilisations des peuples voisins. Pour un Persan d'alors, l'Arabe n'était qu'un être grossier, un chame-lier de désert nu-pied, traînant sa vie désolée à travers les sables brûlants, rebelle à toute culture et à tous progrès; enfin, l'être indiqué dans la réponse caractéristique et méprisante de Khosroès à l'envoyé de Dieu, trop connue pour être citée. Et quand cette même Arabie, réveillée de sa longue torpeur par le souffle d'un patriote ardent, et animée par la foi prophétique d'un révélateur puissant, vint prouver à la Perse surprise et étonnée que la vraie grandeur était bien de consister dans le resplendissement des richesses et les raffinements des mœurs, et que dans ce pays de déserts si méprisé par elle sifflait toujours le serpent de Zohak, elle s'inclina avec résignation comme du temps de Djamchid. Mais l'esprit de Kava n'était pas encore mort, et la résignation de la Perse était une de ces résignations forcées qui n'impliquent ni l'engloutissement ni la renonciation à lui-même. Il n'était guère possible de renoncer tout d'un coup à un passé de plusieurs milliers de siècles plein de gloire, à une religion et à une mythologie des plus riches et des plus savantes pour les remplacer par ce qu'importe un étranger jusqu'alors méprisé, et tenu pour un être inférieur. Un ancien quatrain populaire, d'origine inconnue, sortie probablement des entrailles du peuple, exprime si bien, dans une langue pure et mâle, le caractère ironique et moqueur de cette résignation de l'âme persane, anxieuse et hésitante sur le seuil entre le passé et le présent, au caprice de la destinée cruelle et inconstante—que je n'ai pas pu résister à la tentation de vous la rapporter en texte:—

Za shîr-i-shutur khwurdan wa susmâr	ز شیر شتر خوردن و سوسمار
'Arab râ bajâi rasidah ast kâr	عرب را بجای رسیده است کار
Gar bar takht-i-Kayyân kunad arzu	گر بر تخت کیان کند آرزو
Tûf bar to ây charkh-i-gardûn, tûf.	تف بر تو ای چرخ گردون تف

LITERAL ENGLISH.

From drinking camel's milk and (eating) lizards,
The Arab now attains his end,
Even tho' he aspire to the throne of the Kayyânîs :
Out on thee, wheel of Fortune—out !

“Malediction sur toi, ô destinée inconstante; tu as tant favorisé l'Arabe, qu'il a oublié sa boisson de lait du chameau et sa nourriture de lézard, et aspire à rien moins qu'au trône des Kayans.”

Mais dans cette douloureuse situation la Perse eut recours au moyen en usage dans les pareils cas; elle se mit à élaborer, sous les auspices de l'Islam, une nouvelle religion, qui, pour ne pas choquer le maître, porterait bien le cachet arabe, mais qui en même temps lui rappellerait son passé et son ancienne mythologie. Cette nouvelle religion était le Chiïsme.

Comment la Perse s'est-elle prise pour formuler cette religion; comment celle-ci a-t-elle pris corps et âme; quel est son point de départ; quels sont les personnages qui y ont joué un rôle actif, et par conséquent lui ont communiqué la couleur particulière de leur génie: ce sont là des questions intéressantes auxquelles malheureusement on ne peut répondre que par des conjectures; nul écrivain mussulman n'a traité le problème au point de vue de son développement historique, et aujourd'hui on est bien forcé de deviner plutôt que d'affirmer la solution; je vais vous proposer une de ces conjectures qui me paraît la plus décisive et la plus approchante de vérité, et qu'on peut tenir pour telle jusqu'à nouvel ordre.

Dès l'origine même de l'Islam, un Persan apparaît sur la scène mussulmane et y joue un rôle plus ou moins honorable; l'ascendant immense que son nom exerce encore aujourd'hui sur l'esprit persan et sur les croyances religieuses doit naturellement porter notre attention sur lui, et nous inspirer l'idée qu'il ait contribué à la formation de la religion Chiïte. Ce personnage est le fameux Salmán-i-Farci.

D'après la biographie que rapportent de lui les écrivains mussulmans il semble avoir été le fils d'un riche Dehkan de la province de Fars. Le mot Dehkan signifie aujourd'hui un jardinier ou un campagnard; mais sous les Sassanides il signifiait une vieille famille nobilière et sacerdotale de campagne, qui passait pour être le dépositaire et la conservatrice des traditions de l'Iran. Âme inquiète et troublée, en quête des idées nouvelles et des vérités inédites, Salmán, après avoir traîné dans les églises nestoriennes et les temples juifs, échoue finalement à Medine auprès du nouveau régénérateur du monde, et devient un des plus fidèles et des plus intimes *Ashabes* de Mahomet. Après la mort de celui-ci, il s'attache à Ali, devient son intime confident et serviteur, et lui rend des services signalés. Ainsi on raconte qu'il sauva une fois la vie d'Ali par un subterfuge qui nous révèle l'esprit d'invention de ce personnage extraordinaire. Les habitants de Koufa ayant comploté

contre la vie d'Ali, étaient sur le point de mettre à exécution leur dessin meurtrier : déjà les ennemis avaient entamé la maison du Khalife. Le fidèle serviteur, sans se laisser troubler, met son maître dans un sac, le pose sur son dos et sort tranquillement de la ville ; les ennemis le questionnent sur le contenu du sac, il répond que c'est Ali : incrédules, ils rient, ne veulent pas le croire, et laissent passer Salmán. Je ne sais ce qu'il y a de vrai dans cette anecdote, mais du credit qu'elle trouve auprès des Chiïtes nous pouvons conclure que Salmán jouissait de l'amitié particulière d'Ali, et exerçait un ascendant marqué sur son esprit. Il est très naturel que Salmán conçut l'idée de mettre au profit de la Perse l'influence que nous venons de signaler. Ce fils de Mobed parsi, provenant d'une famille de Dehkan, qui avait la réputation de dépositaire et de conservatrice des traditions Iraniennes, parmi lesquelles la plus ancienne et la plus profondément enracinée dans l'esprit persan était le droit divin, pouvait difficilement s'habituer à l'origine populaire du pouvoir institué par le Prophète. Il est donc probable que, considérant Ali, cousin et gendre de Mahomet, l'héritier incontestable de celui-ci, au point de vue persan, il conçut le projet de le mettre sur le trône persan et entretenait à ce sujet des intelligences avec les hommes influents de son pays. Autrement, comment s'expliquer qu'Ali, un homme d'action très médiocre, et absolument inconnu jusqu'alors en Perse, ait pu trouver dans cette région tant de partisans et voulait toujours y transporter le théâtre de la guerre avec ses ennemis. De plus, on sait qu'Ali avait marié un de ses fils, Houssein, avec une des filles de Iezdegarde Chahrabanou, tombée captive entre les mains des Arabes. Ne pourrait-on pas supposer que ce mariage politique eut lieu uniquement pour faire passer les droits de la famille Sassanide sur la tête de la famille d'Ali ; supposition d'autant plus probable que l'Imamat, au lieu de passer par Houssein, le fils-aîné d'Ali, à ses descendants, passa à Houssein et reste entre les mains des descendants de celui-ci du côté de Chahrabanou.¹ Le plus grand nombre des Ravayats et des Hadis attribués à Salmán sont consacrés aux louanges de Houssein, à ses vertus et à ses mérites, comme cherchant à le rendre populaire. Après les massacres de Kerbela, quand tous les hommes valides qui entamaient l'Imam tombèrent assassinés, c'est Chahrabanou qui devient, d'après les croyances Chiïtes, gardienne du drapeau des Beni-Hachim (famille d'Ali). Aussitôt après la mort de son malheureux époux, elle va chercher son corps au milieu des ennemis, se vêtit de son dépouille ensanglanté, met sur sa tête le

¹ Zeine-ol-Abdine, quatrième Imam, est le fils de Chahrabanou.

burnous du prophète, devenu l'héritage symbolique des Beni-Hachim, relève le drapeau d'Abbas (frère et porte drapeau de Houssein) et, montée sur le cheval Zoldjenah, autre héritage symbolique, c'est elle encore qui va traiter avec les ennemis les conditions de la captivité ; tel rôle n'est joué en Orient que par des chefs incontestés ; certes Chahrabanou l'exerce au nom de son fils Zeine-ol-Abdine, quatrième Imam et héritier des Sassanides et des Beni-Hachim, dans ces jours malade et invalide. A côté d'elle se trouvaient les deux sœurs de Houssein, Zeinab et Koulsum, filles d'Ali et petites-filles de Mahomet, qui auraient du, d'après la constitution patriarcale de la famille arabe, faire ce que, selon la tradition persane, à fait Chahrabanou, qui, somme toute, n'était qu'une étrangère et une intruse ; mais le droit divin n'entend pas de cette manière l'autorité, et dans cette insignifiante et courte intermède de Chahrabanou entre le 3^{ème} et le 4^{ème} Imam, on sent mieux que partout ailleurs les efforts suprêmes de l'esprit persan de confondre le passé avec le présent et d'en faire une continuité sans solution.

Les premiers Chiïtes paraissent avoir compris le rôle joué par Salmán dans la formation de leur religion. Dans un manuscrit publié par M. Stanislas Guyard, un des chefs célèbres des Ismaïliens (qui n'étaient à l'origine qu'une des branches du Chiïsme), Râchid-ad-Dine Sînan dit en parlant du cycle de Mahomet :

ثم ظهرت بعلي الزمان و سترت بمحمد وكان متكلم

عن معرفتي سلمان

“ En suite, je me suis manifesté sous la forme d'Ali, chef de l'époque, et je me suis voilé sous la forme de Mahomet ; et celui qui a disserté sur ma haute nature a été Salmán.”

Aujourd'hui encore, son autorité dans les questions religieuses est si considérable que son nom suffit pour accréditer les Raváyats ou les Hadis les plus absurdes ou les plus contradictoires. Une femme dévote n'a que rêver Salmán, et que celui-ci lui raconte un Hadis de la bouche de Mahomet, pour que la chose trouve crédit dans des ouvrages aussi sérieux que le Rozat-i-Chohada (Jardin des Martyres) de Fazil-i-Darbandi. Cette popularité extraordinaire ne serait-elle pas l'écho lointain d'un souvenir réel de l'importance religio-politique de Salmán.

De son côté, Houssein, l'époux de Chahrabanou et gendre de Iezdegard, jouit d'une faveur particulière du peuple persan ; il est le plus préféré et le plus adoré parmi les Imams ; ses souffrances

ont donné lieu à un théâtre original en Perse, à une littérature riche et varié. En lui apparaît le vrai caractère national de l'Imamat, un trait d'union entre la Perse ancienne et moderne. Sa personne, qui résumait aux yeux des Persans le droit, la légalité, la vertu et le mérite, est incessamment opposée à celle des trois premiers Khalifs sous lesquels la Perse fut conquise et ravagée.

Si, maintenant, on prend en considération ce qui précède, et l'on admet que la Perse ne s'attacha à la famille d'Ali qu'en sa qualité de la seule et véritable héritière des Sassanides, l'explication de l'origine du Chiïsme devient possible. En effet, la couronne des Sassanides devait naturellement transporter sur la tête de Beni-Hachim les attributs de l'ancienne royauté Mazdéenne. Or, parmi ces attributs, il y en avait un le plus essentiel, et qui constitue aujourd'hui le fond même du Chiïsme—je veux dire la croyance dans la participation de l'homme en la nature divine, une croyance si contraire à l'esprit de l'Islam orthodoxe. On sait que dans l'ancien Mazdéisme, la royauté était représentée par une divinité Kchatra-Veria ou Shahrivar d'aujourd'hui; les rois étaient l'incarnation de ce Kchatra-Veria et d'après les croyances mazdéennes, "ils étaient dieux parmi les hommes et hommes parmi les dieux." Aux yeux des Chiïtes orthodoxes, "Mutecherris," le mot Imam ne veut pas dire autre chose: l'Imam représente ici bas la divinité, la raison supérieure, et en cette qualité a seul droit de diriger spirituellement et temporairement le monde. Naturellement les premiers Imams furent Ali et ses descendants; la Perse suivit scrupuleusement leurs décisions en matières religieuses; quant à leurs droits à la royauté la Perse lutta désespérément pour les leur rendre, mais en vain; une seule fois elle parut réussir; ce fut sous Al-Mamoun. Ce Khalife perfide, dont l'aïeul Abbas n'avait acquis le trône du Khalifat que grâce à sa parenté avec Ali et aux efforts de la Perse, s'était engagé, vis-à-vis de la Perse, de marier sa fille avec le huitième Imam, Riza, et de l'instituer en même temps son héritier; mais quand le moment fut venu à mettre à exécution son engagement, il déchira le pact et fit empoisonner Riza. La lutte recommença, et dura jusqu'à la fin du 3^{ème} siècle de l'hégire, quand disparut le dernier rejeton de la famille Beni-Hachim, le douzième Imam Aboul-Kaçim, le Mahdi de l'avenir. Avec lui s'est envolé de la terre tout principe légal du pouvoir et de la royauté, car aux yeux du Persan-Chiïte la royauté de fait ne présente plus qu'une usurpation qu'il désigne sous le nom de ظلم et les rois ne sont que des usurpateurs ou ظالم. Toutefois que les violences d'usurpation se débordent,

le principe de la royauté qui dans l'ancienne mythologie avait si souvent sauvé la Perse, apparaîtra de nouveau sous la forme de Mahdi. Quand les Safavys, qui firent un si habile usage de leur qualité de *Saydes*, s'affirmèrent sur le trône, la clameur courut dans toute la Perse que Rustam—qui attend, dit-on, dans une grotte près d'Ispahan, tout vêtu d'armures et prêt à partir—l'apparition du Mahdi pour le seconder dans son entreprise de rétablissement de l'ordre et de la justice—sortit de sa demeure, croyant que le moment d'agir était venu ; mais trompé dans ses espérances il revint dans sa grotte attendre le maître du monde. Mais en attendant que ce régulateur du monde apparaisse et, secondé par Rustam, balaie de la surface de la terre les éléments de l'injustice et de violence, il faut bien qu'il y est dans le monde des personnes qui dirigent les fidèles dans la voie droite, au moins spirituellement. Ces personnes sont les Mouchtahides affermis par une délégation spéciale des Imams en qui résident les pouvoirs spirituels et temporels. Ils seuls ont droit à la direction spirituelle des fidèles, et dirigés par les Imams, ils ont la qualité de donner une interprétation originale et absolument indépendante à la religion. Pour mériter cette délégation, il faut se rapprocher autant que possible de l'idéal, c'est-à-dire de l'Imam même, ce qui implique le perfectionnement infini dans la justice, dans la science, dans les dévotions, en un mot dans toutes les vertus spirituelles et morales. Quand l'Imam juge que le stationnaire est assez perfectionné, son esprit vient s'incarner en lui, et tous ses actes et paroles sont attribués à l'Imam ; obéir à lui, c'est obéir à l'Imam ; désobéir, c'est aussi désobéir à l'Imam.

Je m'arrête ici ; je voulais relever dans le Chiïsme les trois ponts, Imamat, Madhi et Mouchtahidat, projetés à travers l'immense espace existant pour le Sunnite entre Dieu et l'homme, et qui sont les traits essentiels du Chiïsme. Vous savez qu'avec l'acquisition des nouvelles idées et des nouvelles connaissances ces trois ponts peuvent se bifurquer, s'agrandir, s'élargir et même remplir le vide entre la Divinité et l'humanité ; mais je m'avance trop ; et je laisse aux autres plus érudits et plus versés dans l'histoire de la Perse, les soins de trouver les rapports qui unissent le Chiïsme primitif avec les écoles religieuses et philosophiques qui se sont poussées sur le sol Chiïte, et qui, malgré leur variété d'apparences, ne partent que du même point—la croyance mazdéenne en la participation de l'homme dans la nature divine.

Pour illustrer ce que je viens de dire sur l'alliance du Mazdéisme avec le Chiïsme, je me permets de rapporter, en terminant, quelques

unes des fêtes et des croyances mazdéennes encore en vogue chez les Persans, et qui peuvent vous donner encore une idée de la manière dont les anciennes croyances s'infilèrent dans les nouvelles.

On sait que, dans l'ancienne religion de la Perse, le Naurouz était le premier jour de la création, et commençait la première des six saisons de l'année mazdéenne; on la fêtait en outre comme le renouvellement de la nature. La tradition zoroastrienne, et d'après elle Firdouzi, rapportent que ce jour là a été institué en fête nationale par Djamchid, et elle a été célébrée solennellement par les rois successifs qui montaient ce jour-là au trône entourés des grands et du peuple.

La religion Chiîte gardera cette fête, seulement au lieu d'être le jour de Djamchid et de Firdouzi, le Naurouz deviendra celui du triomphe d'Ali et de ses enfants. La tradition populaire prétend que ce jour-là Ali montera au trône du Khalifat après avoir vaincu ses ennemis, les premiers trois Khalifes, contre lesquels le souvenir populaire garde toujours un vif ressentiment. Mais avant de nous décrire les fêtes de Naurouz je dois dire quelques mots sur celles qui les précèdent. Pendant six semaines avant l'arrivée du 12 Mars, jour de Naurouz, le soir de tous les Mercredis on allume des grands bûchers à l'intérieur des cours. Ces bûchers symbolisent d'après les croyances populaires les signals de l'insurrection de *Moukhtar* précurseur du triomphe de Beni-Hachim, et vengeur du sang de Houssein; seulement le culte du feu et des éléments y joue un trop grand rôle pour que l'insurrection de Moukhtar, d'ailleurs très médiocre par ses résultats, ait pu les engendrer. Tabari nous rapporte dans ses chroniques que de son temps ces fêtes préliminaires étaient célébrées très solennellement, et que les Persans reconnaissaient leur origine zoroastrienne. Certes, pour la Perse moderne le nom de Moukhtar ne sert que de paravent pour cacher ce qu'il y a de profane. Quoiqu'il en soit, les bûchers s'allument avec l'arrivée des crépuscules; les jeunes gens (filles et garçons) se forment en cercles en se tenant par les mains et tournent autour du feu en le saluant et en lui demandant de leur accorder avec le renouvellement de la nature un meilleur sort; quand le feu s'affaisse, la cérémonie de sautage commence; les jeunes gens sautent de part et d'autre, les uns après les autres, par dessus le feu; on croit que la flamme des bûchers a non-seulement la vertu de purifier le corps de toutes les maladies et affections, mais encore celle de lui communiquer la force, la rigueur, et la beauté. Après que le feu est éteint les jeunes gens se réunissent par groupes dans un endroit fixé d'avance, et veillent pendant toute la nuit, les uns en écoutant des contes mythologiques racontés par

quelques vieillards ou quelques *Achiks* ; les autres plus occupés de leur destinée, vont la deviner en consultant les éléments de la nature (eau, plantes, lumière), qui acquièrent ces nuits-là des vertus surnaturelles, et qui, comme vous le savez, étaient représentés dans l'ancien Mazdéisme par une abstraction quelconque, sous la forme d'un Khourdad ou d'un Mourdad. Arrivé enfin le 21 Mars, jour de Naurouz, il est de rigueur, pour tout Persan, riche ou pauvre, de mettre ce jour-là des vêtements neufs, de couleur rouge par préférence, comme symbole de joie et de triomphe. Les fidèles se font des visites mutuelles et se souhaitent la bonne nouvelle année par cette formule : " Bénite soit la nouvelle année, le jour où notre Seigneur Ali monta sur le trône." Les femmes et les jeunes filles, gardées ordinairement avec une jalousie barbare, ont ce jour-là une liberté absolue. Dès le matin du Naurouz elles se promènent aux abords des villes ou des villages cueillant de violettes et chantant. J'ai essayé de traduire le refrain qui caractérise le mieux la nature de cette fête : le voici—

" Viens, printemps, apporte nous le bonheur :
Viens, soleil, chasse les douleurs.
Ali, maître glorieux de la Perse,
Shahr-banou, maîtresse de nos champs,
Montèrent au trône habillés d'écarlate,
Le matin du Naurouz jour de deuil pour les Khalifs humiliés."

Quelques autres, réunies autour d'une vase d'eau, et y plongeant leurs bagues chantent—

" Eau pure, source de bonheur,
Donne nous un beau et riche fiancé."

Alors elles troublent l'eau, et par la submersion des bagues devinent leur sort.

III.
ON THE
ZEND MSS. RECENTLY PRESENTED TO
THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY,
AND ON OTHER ZEND MATTERS.

BY

L. H. MILLS, D.D.

I HAVE the honour to report to the Congress the gift of four MSS. from Bombay to the Bodleian Library in Oxford through communications addressed to me ; also the gift of another MS. to myself personally, and the presence of two others on loan to me from the chief donor of the five.

I am enabled to present three of the first by photograph, and the three last I have brought here, and will submit to your inspection.

The first which I present is a photographic facsimile in its actual dimensions of the oldest Zend MS. which bears a date, being also more than two centuries older than any MS. of the Rîg Veda which has survived to us.

Many of you may have heard of the "Celebrated Ancient Zend M.S." numbered five among those in the University Library of Copenhagen (K⁵). What I now offer to you is its elder sister, a work from the same hand, and somewhat earlier executed ; for we must reconsider our former reading of the colophon, which erroneously determined its date as later than that of the other document.

Let me, however, first describe the codex before further discussion of its important date. It is, as you see, a Zend Yasna with the Pahlavi translation, which is the Sâyaṇa of the Avesta, and altogether essential to the critical value of our studies. It measures, as you see, ten inches by eight, with its written surface measuring with much uniformity eight inches by seven. The paper is strong

and of a tawny tinge, much as you see it reproduced. Perhaps the particular photograph in my work on the Gâthas gives the tone better.

The first two folios have long been missing, as also folio 150, and its last folio is numbered 385; (it contains 764 plates). It is worm-eaten, as you see, here and there, and from some few folios large portions have fallen away, whether owing to exposure or dampness or from the use of bad ink which corroded the paper, cannot now be said; but as all the MSS. are said to have been hidden away during a certain political crisis in stone jars for preservation, this damage may have occurred from the accidental accumulation of moisture. Some conference took place between certain gentlemen among the leading delegates of the Clarendon Press and myself (under date of March 23, 1890) as to the advisability of my restoring the most injured of these folios from K⁵, which, as I gather from the courteous Librarian of the University Library at Copenhagen, is not seriously injured on the folios corresponding to these; but I preferred on the whole to present these shattered pages just as they are only photographing what is left entire, without the debris, which are safe between plates of glass, and can be consulted at the Bodleian Library. If it is thought well of by the delegates, I will reproduce these few pages in print, to be embodied in the introductory essay,¹ if it is still thought desirable to preface the work with a few words of explanation; but so far as the Gâthas, the most important part of the Yasna and the Avesta are concerned, an edition of this MSS. as collated with all the other MSS. extant, will be found in my work on that subject. The handwriting of the copyist, while generally very even so far as the lines are concerned, was evidently rapid, and in a few folios degenerates painfully, and this is especially the case with the colophon, as if the weary writer were eager to throw down his pen.

From what particular MS. this now so precious document was copied, or whether, in a strict sense of the word, it can be said to have been copied in its entirety from any MS., is not said, and cannot be determined; and this omission is noticeable, for Mitrô âpân Kaî Khûsrôbô does not omit to state from what codex he copied K⁵. This MS. may have been intended as an improvement upon its predecessors, and its originals may not have been mentioned because, as not following others so fully as usual, it was in a certain sense an original itself, whereas K⁵ was a copy. But however this

¹ Since this paper was read, I have been requested by the delegates of the Clarendon to prepare such an introduction.

may be, we do not lose much from this undesirable originality, for its variations from K⁵, while decided, are not great. As to some of the variations in the Pahlavi texts of ancient Zend-Pahlavi MSS., I may say that they were often increased, if not occasioned, by the custom of the copyists, who wrote their copies while their assistants read aloud from the MS. reproduced. But in reading the Huzvaresh words, the copyists would give the Parsi equivalents, the Aryan for the Semitic, *i.e.*, they would read *yehâbând* and say *dâd*, or read *yemallelând* and pronounce *gûft*, &c. But while this accounts for some of these variations between this ancient pair, it by no means accounts for all of them. Time forbids a close description of this codex here, but, for a full edition of both its Gâthic texts with translations, I would refer again to my study of the Gâthas, which I respectfully present to the Congress. In it this MS. will be found deciphered and translated, as well as edited with exhaustive collation, already finished so far as to the end of the Ahunavaiti texts. But a collation of it from another's notes, with decipherment and translation almost to the end of the Gâthas, was also presented in my old and unfinished edition, which has been in the hands of almost all the leading Zendists, without its commentary, for a period varying from ten years. The MS. was given immediately, and without any condition whatsoever, by the generous possessor, Destoor Jamaspji Minocheherji Jamasp Asana, Ph.D., of Tübingen, Hon. D.C.L. Oxon., to the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford, through a letter addressed to me under date of July 29, 1889, having been some time previously sent to me on loan.

But we have long noticed the difficult improbability that the copyist should have worked on the two MSS., this and K⁵, at once, finishing the one now before us twenty-two days later than the other.

Dr. West has suggested an emendation of the colophon, which I especially welcome as coming from him, and with which, as to its main feature, I fully agree. You see the word *yôm*, day, inserted in the same handwriting as the rest, but with a later and paler stroke after *Fravardin*. This would give us "on the month *Vohû-man*," *i.e.*, the eleventh month, and "on the day Fravardin," *i.e.*, the nineteenth day. As the date of K⁵ is the twenty-seventh day of the tenth month of the same year, that reading would allow only twenty-two days for writing this MSS. Jamaspji 2 (or D. J., as in my Gâthas), which involves the supposition that Mihrâpân (or Mitrô-âpân) worked on the two MSS. together, as it is not probable that he hurried over this document of 770 pages. But in very

nearly all the colophons of our MSS. the dates begin with the day, and when they begin with the month, then the day does not follow, but comes after the year; so that the date would be written in an awkward and entirely unusual manner in this colophon on the supposition that this inserted *yôm* should be read where it stands, that is, after *Fravardin*.

Dr. West is of the opinion that the first *yôm* was a pure oversight, and the second likewise a blundering correction, while the first error was left standing. He believes this because *yôm* occurs at the proper beginning in the colophons of K⁵ and Pt. 4 (or D. in my Gâthas). In K⁵ *chîgun shnûmanö*, and in Pt. 4 (or D.) *va vâz chîgun khshnûman* are perhaps rubrics.

Now, perhaps we had better let the first *yôm* stand, for it will not be well to accept too many blunders. It is, as you see, firmly written, and I regard *chîgun* as a somewhat clumsy expression for *amat*, and therefore read: "The day when the dedication takes place is now declared." We shall then be free to move this awkward later and over-written *yôm* back before *vohûman*, because, as it stands now, it presents the almost impossible supposition that the penman worked on both the codices together. As the word stands now, it not only confesses, but it positively points to a blunder, for it is itself a later correction, and there are six others beside it on the same page, and two places where corrections are needed.

We therefore conclude that Mihrâpân Kaî Khûsrô (or Mitrô-âpân Kaî Khûsrôbô) jotted down this *yôm* on his scribbled colophon, and, in his eager haste to be done, struck the wrong place with the nib of his pen, little dreaming that we here, in London, six centuries after that moment, would be eagerly scanning that particular word to discover the age of our treasure, which dates not from the nineteenth day of the eleventh month in the year of Yazdagard 692, anno Domini 1323, but from the second day of the first month, nine months and twenty-five days before the industrious scribe finished a second piece, namely, the justly treasured sister writing K⁵, which was brought to Europe by Rask before 32, afforded Westergaard his chief help in determining his Yasna text, and gave Spiegel the further opportunity to add his Pahlavi translation, which has been our only material for thorough work for more than thirty years.

I ought properly to refer at this place to the venerable J³, a Zend-Sanskrit Yasna, but it may be more convenient to deal with all the Zend-Pahlavi codices together. I accordingly turn to Pt. 4 (in my Gâthas D.). It is a codex in excellent preservation, measuring $13\frac{1}{2} \times 8$ inches, and on its written surface $10\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

It has long been noticed that this MS., although not very old, is yet one of the best; so much so, that before I had become aware of its history it aroused my suspicions as to the antiquity of its original, while it increased my admiration for the critical work of a Parsi writing in the year 1780. I secured its loan from its generous possessors, Destoor Shams ul Ullema Beramji Sanjana, M.A., Ph.D., and Destoor Darab Peshotan Sanjana, Justice of the Peace and Professor of Zend-Pahlavi in the Sir Jamshedji College of Bombay; and on becoming informed of its history through a letter written by Destoor Peshotan to Dr. West, and kindly transcribed for my benefit, I immediately communicated with the possessors of the MS., and also with leading gentlemen in the University of Oxford, as to the possibility of having it photographed, with the result that the MS. was presented to the Vice-Chancellor through a communication addressed to me under date of March 5, 1891, and on the sole condition that a copy of it should be given to the donors, the negatives for which photograph are, as I am told, now well on their way towards completion. Whether cheaper and additional reproductions from these negatives will be procurable by purchase or not, I have less than no authority to say. Be this as it may, the MS. is in Europe and in Oxford, where it is accessible to all scholars.

According to its introduction, page 2, we gather that D (or Pt. 4) was written in 1780 by Destoor Kavasji Sobraji Mihirji-Rânâ from the now, alas! lost MS. of Hôshang Sîyâvakhsh, whose ultimate known original was probably from the hand of Mâhvindâdo, son of Nare Mâhâno, son of Vâhrâm Mitrô, who finished a copy of the Dinkard on the 2nd of July 1020, and it belongs to a different set of MS. from any others which we possess. What its scientific importance is I leave to your own good judgments. Time would fail me to enter into its peculiarities in detail, but I refer to the volume which I have had the honour to present for a Gâthic text worked up in view of its variations, and for a Pahlavi text translated with its variations published to the end of the Ahunavaiti in the texts, and for the rest of the Gâthas in the Commentary.

I will next call attention, for a particular reason, to a photograph of the interesting Yana 45. 1, from Haug's MS. at Munich, which was most courteously sent to me in Oxford by the Librarian of the Hof und Staat's Bibliothek, together with other MSS. It is to be found in my book opposite the second title, *i.e.*, where not replaced by a photograph of Pt. 4 or D. You may observe that its Pahlavi characters are peculiar, and scholars unaccustomed to Pahlavi MSS. would be exceedingly liable to error in attempting to read it unwarned.

Its characters, as you see, are curved where in other MSS. they are straight.

This MS. of Haug's has been sometimes supposed to be a close copy of K⁵, but it is rather the result of a collation of that ancient codex with other authorities.

By way of parenthesis, and to complete our view of Pahlavi MSS. received by gift or on loan in Oxford, I take the liberty to show you an excellent modern transcript of the Vendîdâd with Pahlavi translation. As a book alone it is very valuable, for here the Pahlavi follows at once upon the Zend text, an arrangement not followed in any printed volume, and it may also preserve to us very precious evidence as to the texts of its predecessors. We should not forget that the Petersburg MS., whose learned and distinguished editor we have, I believe, present amongst us, and which preserved such very interesting ancient features, was itself a modern work. This MS. of the Vendîdâd was presented as a gift to me by Destoor Jamaspji Minocheherji by letter under date of January 24, 1890. I would also mention that I possess in Oxford a Parsi-Persian translation of the Vendîdâd, which I transcribed from Haug's MS. M., a Pahlavi Vendîdâd with Parsi-Persian translation, kindly sent me in 1888 from the great library in Munich. As I have devoted, I believe, more attention to the Gâthas as a whole than any other scholar, it may be proper for me to report at this place what I regard as an important conclusion which I have been enabled to reach, which is this, that we have heretofore erred, all of us (I in my former almost completed translation of the Pahlavi of the Gâthas, and others in the treatment of portions of it), and our mistake has been that we have presented fluent renderings. A pleasing piece of literature is the last thing that we need in an explanation of a cramped and interpolated translation of a difficult ancient text. Our attempts were of value so far as they were wisely used, and they are still important as preliminary or alternative, for we should study our subject from every point of view; but to translate a text of the character of that before us, fettered as it is at every step by an attempt to follow its original, as if it were itself an ordinary piece of literature, that is to say, to translate it with a flow of rhetoric, is, in my opinion, to err at every step. No literary translation of the Pahlavi translations is at all possible in any ordinary sense, because they are not ordinary, nor always continuous texts. As the Pahlavi translation of the Gâthas is for the most part verbatim, following the order of the sequence of the words of its original, and as the natural order in the sequence of words in the two languages is not the same, it is obvious that

this literal Pahlavi translation of the Gâthas must lose its natural character as Pahlavi language, especially as the order of the words in a sentence is of special importance in the case of the Pahlavi, and of inferior importance in the case of the Zend. The highly inflected Zend-Sanskrit may express its ideas with more independence in the order of its distinctly terminated forms, but with the more feebly inflected Pahlavi the order of the words does much of the work, being of serious importance to the connection of ideas. How then can we ignore these facts and proceed to translate these translations as if they were free speech? A treatment of the Pahlavi translations of the Avesta, and especially those of the Gâthas, needs as its basis translation and retranslation. For this reason, in my new issue of my work, I endeavour to break up my treatment into alternative exposition, showing students how nearly to a close translation of the Gâthas the Pahlavi may be read, while at the same time I show them how the ideas would more naturally fall in if the texts were unfettered, giving what I believe to be on the whole the most probable reproduction, just as the Gâthas themselves should be read, first as all Vedic, and then later as all Parsi, with a final translation based upon the light gained from both.

This is a convenient place for me to name Jamaspji 1, a beautiful Vendîdâd Sâde of 301 folios, measuring $13\frac{1}{4} \times 9$ inches, and on its written surface $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$, 158 years old, and showing just enough of its age to be in keeping with its character. It, the Vendîdâd Sâde, is the most used prayer-book of the Parsis, and this particular volume has beyond any doubt been used for many years in the Fire-temples of Gujerat. It was presented to the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford, to be deposited in the Bodleian Library, by Destoor Jamaspji Minocheherji Jamasp Asana, by letter to me under date of May (?) 1892.

I now turn back to the venerable document which has reached us only in a very shattered condition. It is, as you see from this photograph, like the J⁹, a codex of smaller surface. Its paper was originally strong, but has become, through its great age, also through the chemical action of the ink in some places, and perhaps in addition to this from exposure to damp, so fragile that it was actually dangerous even to turn over a leaf. For this reason I placed the loose folios immediately between plates of glass, and it was from that position that they were photographed as you see. The MS. as at present existing is undated, its colophon, if it ever possessed one (which is probable), having crumbled away; but the generous donor, Destoor Jamaspji Minocheherji Jamasp Asana, Hon. D.C.L. Oxon.,

states in his letter of April 25, 1890, that it was completed soon after the death of Neryôsangh, and he adds that in the opinion of the Parsi scholars it is the oldest of all MS., ante-dating even the ancient paper whose photograph you were first shown, and whose date we know. Whether this opinion be justly founded or not, it is impossible to say. In default of other information, we should accept it provisionally as hereditary opinion. If it was written soon after the death of Neryôsangh, it must date from about 1250, for, from the genealogies of Parsi families who claim descent from him, he must, thinks Dr. West, have been born about A.D. 1160. As its translation is Sanskrit, and not the more original Pahlavi, of which the Sanskrit was a translation, this MS. is hampered with that element of inferiority; but its remotely ancient Sanskrit version gives evidence to a pre-existing one in Pahlavi, whose readings we may often trace by means of it.

The MS. begins with a short Pahlavi passage from Vendîdâd xviii., and, after considerable lacunæ of lost matter, it ends with the 56th chapter at the fifth verse; but the last page of the original handwriting is 520, that is, on the anterior side of folio 260, and it ends with Y. 54. 1; beyond this the handwriting changes, and becomes excessively careless to the close. Otherwise the handwriting (which I would have you notice) is singularly good, although it seems to be the work of two or more penmen, even in its original bulk, and aside from the opening (which may have been added), and its close, which is certainly later. In view of the excessively valuable MS. of the Khorda Avesta, which I shall presently produce, it is interesting to notice that ink of two colours appears on it; this is not, of course, reproduced in the photograph. Jamaspji 2 (in my work on the Gâthas, Destour Jamaspji or D. J.) has likewise occasional letters in red, the only feature not producible in the photograph. As I have closely collated the MS. so far as to its most important extent in my work on the Gâthas, I must refer to that work for details, only mentioning here that it contains several important variations as to the written alphabet. I should say that Professor R. von Roth, among other great favours shown me during a year's residence in Tübingen (or in consequence of it), gave me a partial collation of the Sanskrit translation of this codex in 1883, long before it arrived on loan to me in Oxford in 1888. The letter addressed to me by Destour Jamaspji Minocheherji Jamasp Asana, and presenting it as a gift to the Vice-Chancellor to be deposited in the Bodleian Library, bears the date of April 25, 1890. It was accompanied with a modest request that

it might be photographed in view of its condition, and this request, though so modest, will be regarded as if it had been a condition.

I have now the honour to place before you in its actual bulk an ancient Zend-Sanskrit Yasna MS., executed, according to the evidence of its possessor, who is again Destour Jamaspji Minocheherji Jamasp Asana, by his ancestor Destour Jamshed, son of Destour Jamasp Asa, in the seventeenth century. It is therefore about 250 years old.

My generous friend has kindly placed the valuable codex with me on loan, and he will be, as I am aware, especially pleased to know that I have brought it here to-day for your inspection. It is, as you see, a codex measuring about 9 inches by 9 inches, its written surface measuring about 7 inches by 5 inches. Its paper is of a good quality, and has withstood fairly well the severe Indian climate, which has rendered the preservation of paper MSS. of all ages a matter of the greatest difficulty. It begins at the beginning of the Yasna after short introductory matter, and ends with chapter lvi. 13. 8, with a few pages beyond in a changed hand. No folio is missing, and none is illegible through decay. It is supposed by the owner to be a copy of J³, its ancient predecessor, which I have just had the honour to describe to you. But its variations, both accidental and intentional, are considerable, and while J³ was evidently its leading original, it may be doubted whether it was not, like our great Zend-Pahlavi MS. D. J. (or J²), and I may say like most of our Zend MSS., intended to be in a sense an edition rather than a transcript. One peculiarity it possesses I believe entirely to itself. It not only begins at the left hand of the book as one opens it, but its Sanskrit is not, as is usual with Zend-Sanskrit MSS., written upside down. The MS. changes its character decidedly in Y. 44.3, where a second hand begins a different work. The Sanskrit becomes much less careful, and an intermittent work of another character is added.

For a collation of it, so far as its most important extent is concerned, I would refer you to my work on the Gâthas, where it has assisted me in determining my text. I should say that up to page 521 of the Commentary I had mistaken this MSS. for Jamaspji 4 (of which Dr. M. A. Stein had given me a collation), I supposing that Professor Geldner had collated this MS. as J⁴, but it seems not to have come into his hand. In my texts I call it J*, correcting the error in my Commentary by my remark on page 521.

I have now the honour and great privilege to present for your inspection a very ancient MS., J⁹, which is altogether unique. It is a Khorda Avesta, beginning in Nyâyish, being according to the opinion of the Destoor 548 years old; and it contains what is

I believe nowhere else to be found as applying to the Yashts, and that is a Sanskrit translation. Its ancient text, written in clear if somewhat faded red, preserves to us Avesta characters which are altogether peculiar, and may yet throw light on the history of alphabets, and its translation is a treasure.

Was Neryôsangh its author? Its arrival was too late for me to examine it in detail, but if time permits I will edit it.

What I have said above on the treatment of the Pahlavi applies with modifications also here as to the Sanskrit of these translations as well.

As the familiar forms fall under the eye, what is more natural than to give them their best ascertained values. We glance at the connection, exercise our piqued sagacity, and cite them in a sense which is conspicuously false, for their terms are used with meanings which we have perhaps too hastily discarded from our latest lexicography. As the Pahlavi depends on the Gâtha, it becomes in its turn an original, for, as I may say to non-specialists, Neryôsangh's Sanskrit translation of the Yasna is chiefly what it professes to be, that is, a rendering of the Pahlavi, and not immediately of the Zend; and these meanings of the Sanskrit words which result, unusual as they are, are curiously corroborated by Wilson and Burnouf, so that if we wish to find quotable citations for these doubtful definitions, we can discover them, of all places in the world, in the Sanskrit translations of the Yasna, surely a document important enough, as one may say, notwithstanding its crude irregularities and its disjointed syntax.

Sanskrit terms in the senses indicated were once known in Gujerat, and were taught to Neryôsangh about the year 1200. We must therefore not read these Sanskrit words in their usually quoted meaning, but modify them in view of the Pahlavi and the Zend. Then how shall we combine them into sentences, for we must do so, as their author did before us in more than a majority of instances; for although literal reproduction was doubtless Neryôsangh's first object, it is impossible to suppose that he did not know the meaning of a simple sentence which had just passed from his pen. At times he is more free, thinking first of the connection, and we can never tell when this is not the case.

Under these circumstances a simple translation of Neryôsangh became inadequate. He is not, strictly speaking, susceptible of translation. We may offer a quasi-rendering as a matter of convenience, and after warning our readers—nay, it is our duty to report what, on the whole, we think best; but our real work is alternative, translation in various senses made clearer by comments,

and culminating in our own reported rendering. Having a string of words before us, we are bound to say what they would actually mean if they were written with a first regard to the connection of ideas, for beyond all doubt their author did this before us. And there is one very practical reason why we must present some such provisional version, which is, that if we do not present a scientific one, others will present empirical ones, for Neryôsangh will be constantly quoted, placing the entire exegesis of the Zend Avesta at stake. And if we must present such a summed-up translation, where shall we seek our clue? Shall we look for a clue to a difficult translation of a translation anywhere and everywhere save in the document which it attempts to translate? Was ever science conducted on such a plan? Before our materials were at hand, we were forced to advance as best we could, but let us now hope that we shall hear no more of translating a translation without studying its originals.

And "shall we hear any more of translating an original without studying its translation? On the title-pages of some of our Bibles we used to see the statement that the version presented had been made with all the previous translations diligently compared and revised. Shall the Bible Society proceed more critically than we? Far be it from us to cast any reflection upon those great men who have worked before us. It would be a poor return to the ardent Anquetil du Perron to censure the shortcomings which, under the circumstances in the midst of which he was placed, were inevitable, or to blame the brilliant Haug for his earlier neglect of Pahlavi, so amply compensated later on. It would even seem ungracious to recall too emphatically as a contrast that Spiegel, and before him even Burnouf, found means to avoid this defect, studying both sides of their subject; but we may yet venture to express our sense of relief that the time has at last arrived when no serious Zend-specialist need proceed without exhausting his materials. And this feeling has been expressed in several important communications which I have received from some of the more prominent of German Sanskritists on sending presentation copies of my last work. With one voice these distinguished gentlemen emphasise the extreme need for sound labour in the direction which I have so long pursued, and heartily congratulate me on my effort to awake a new interest here and to hew out a new way. And the presence of these MSS. has been essential to this end. I have said that I would accept the responsibility of advising their donation to the Bodleian Library, and I do so, though that responsibility is grave. There are as earnest Zend

scholars in Bombay as in Europe, and it would be an unworthy act in me to make use of any influence which has been generously accorded me to deprive these native Zoroastrians of their inheritance. But these unprejudiced Parsees look to us for critical help, and how are we to afford it if the MSS. are not here? Then the claims upon Zend philology made by other sciences are great, and they justify what I have done. Vedic philology has claims upon Zend philology, and much that still awaits its explanation might gain light from the Avesta. Persian philology needs the Yashts, and heroes of the Shah Namah find their originals there, while Indogermanic philology gains from it some fuller terminations in both noun and verb; and, what has strangely escaped notice, the missing *e* is restored for the censured Sanskrit *a*, and we have *aciti*, and *enti*, *et* (*eth*) and *en* for the fixed Sanskrit *ati*, and *anti*, *at* and *an*, and before *nt* in the conjunctive we may also have the wished-for *o* in the shape of *áo*. The history of philosophy calls for Zend studies, for the Gnosis was indebted to it, as is (through Jacob Böhme) modern thought; for, strange as it may seem to non-experts, even the sublated dualism of the Fichtian-Hegelian system has been traced historically here.

But theology is our greatest debtor. Nowhere in literatures so dissevered as the Aryan and the Semitic are such analogies to be found as in the Avesta and the Bible.

In the Gâthas we have a monotheism as complete as a self-existent Satan will admit of, and a dualism which is clearly the predecessor of that which holds even now to the permanence of moral evil and the eternity of its results, for our philosophical pessimism is as dualistic as our orthodox perdition,¹ and both echo Gâthic hymns. In the Avesta we have archangels who have grown out of moral abstractions, and a holiness analysed in intention, act, and speech. We have an immortality more pervading than that of the sister Veda, a resurrection which is a positive "standing up" of the dead, a millennium where a golden age is realised, and a heaven whose first stages are good thoughts and words and deeds, which likewise are the insignia which secure its rewards, and even go to form chief parts of the rewards themselves. In short, we have a higher Pharisaic orthodoxy together with its name explained as Farseeism, which is Parseeism as Farsee equals Parsee, not forgetting that Pârsâ in later Persian means also a holy man. If philology, philosophy, and theology demand good work of us, let us not answer

¹ What God Himself cannot alter must be original and self-dependent, but this involves a division, and so a dualism or pluralism in the Supreme Power.

them with trifling. If veracity be the first requisite in a historian, thoroughness should mark those labours on which history is founded. If anything is serious in the application of linguistic science, it seems to me that these considerations are. I therefore do not think that I have erred in advising the gift of these documents, especially not in view of that other service, only second to the act of their donor. I trust that this Congress will duly estimate the generous action of the University of Oxford, who, at an expense which you can easily see is great (there are 764 photographs in the volume), have not only given back to the high-priest of the Parsees his precious gift in a shape still more useful than its original one, but have made it possible for every University in Europe and America to possess Zend students who can read the Zend texts.

I trust that this Section of the Congress will do me the honour to allow me to convey to all the parties concerned in this important matter its thanks, but I should feel deeply gratified if they would pass a special resolution expressing their sense of the great liberality of the donors in Bombay. With regard to my book on the Gâthas which I have presented to you, I may explain that work on the old issue was stopped by my engagement on the "Sacred Books of the East," vol. xxxi., and that it was distributed unfinished to Zendists, because it was urgently requested of me ten years ago by an eminent person (in Germany), under circumstances which precluded a refusal. After vol. xxxi. of the "Sacred Books of the East" was published in 1887, these Zend MSS. began to come in from Bombay, where it was well received, and their acquisition rendered a recast of large portions of my then antiquated work quite imperative. Besides the Ahunavaiti, with the Zend, Pahlavi, Sanskrit, and Persian texts and translations, together with the commentary to all the Gâthas and to S. B. E. xxxi. (pp. 410),¹ I have pages 290 to 393 in type, and only locked up by a mechanical accident. I take this opportunity to thank my subscribers, chief of whom was his Lordship, the late Secretary of State for India in Council, who not deterred by the fact that I am not a British subject, generously subventioned my work with a subscription of £50. Closely following this assistance was the contribution of the Trustees of the Translation Fund of the Parsee Panchayet in Bombay, who have subscribed some £62, followed in their turn by many friends, Parsee, English, and American, thus enabling me to work on without pecuniary loss; and to all these gentlemen who have thus kindly co-operated, individually or collectively, I once more tender my heartfelt thanks.

¹ To be had of F. A. Brockhaus in Leipzig through booksellers,

IV.

THE LITERARY ACTIVITY OF THE PARSIS DURING THE PAST TEN YEARS IN AVESTIC AND PEHLEVI STUDIES.

BY

L. C. CASARTELLI.

I.

THE recent election of a Parsi gentleman as a member of the House of Commons has drawn particular attention to this infinitesimal fraction of the population of India,¹ which is yet in many ways the most remarkable of all the numerous races of that vast empire. I believe the presence of an Asiatic as a member of the British Parliament, as well as that of two others on the roll of English baronets,² are facts unique in history ; and the further fact that all these distinguished subjects of Her Majesty belong to the tiny Parsi community emphasises the truth of the opinion that this small race takes the first rank in India by reason of its educational and literary pre-eminence, its mercantile energy, its great wealth, and its concomitant munificence. To Orientalists it is of particular interest, as the remnant of what was once one of the great creeds of the world, the Zoroastrian or Mazdayasnian religion of the Persian empire. If the Parsis of Bombay are the lineal descendants of the Persians of Cyrus, Artaxerxes, and Darius, they are also the legitimate heirs of the imperial religion of the Sassanid dynasty, of Chosroës and Sapor. They have been the custodians through the ages of whatever remains of one of the great sacred books of the East, the Avesta, and of its satellite literature. It was from the Parsi priests in the last century that the intrepid French pioneer, Anquetil Duperron, gathered the precious remnants of the sacred

¹ Numbering some 90,000 among a total of 287,000,000.

² Sir J. Jijibhai (1857), Sir Dinshaw M. Petit (1890).

texts, and from their traditional interpretation that he borrowed the means for the first European attempt at a translation. But once these materials had come into the possession of European scholarship, and into the laboratory of comparative philology and modern phonetics, an entirely new era set in, and the scientific study of the Avesta and its language took its place side by side with that of the Vedas and Sanskrit. It is, perhaps, true that many of our European scholars were too ready to discredit altogether the Parsi traditions, and to decline their aid; but *en revanche*, it must be owned that Parsi scholars, at least of late years, have shown themselves singularly accessible to the influence of European scholarship, and have, with the traditional receptivity of the Eranian character, turned to excellent account the results of that scholarship in their own studies and writings. It is the object of my paper to point out in some detail this reaction of European research upon Parsi tradition during the past decade.

In drawing up this bibliographical notice, I have been kindly assisted by some among the enlightened Parsi savants of Bombay, of whom I must mention Mr. Kavasji Edalji Kanga, Fellow of the Bombay University, and Dārāb D.¹ Peshotan Sanjana, but chiefly Mr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A., who has supplied me with a practically exhaustive list of the writings of his co-religionists, and many valuable notes. From the latter I wish to quote an interesting passage which indicates the chief manner in which the influence of European scholarship has actually been brought to bear on the newer generation of Parsi scholars. Mr. Modi writes:—

“We have a ‘Society for making Inquiry into Zoroastrian Studies,’ before which we generally read our short notes and papers on Iranian subjects. . . . Mr. K. R. Cama, our well-known Oriental scholar, who has in past years himself done a good deal for Avesta and Pehlevi studies, but who, owing to his business, ceased working himself in the field, was the founder of this Society. . . . He was the teacher of our Bombay Parsi scholars. Having himself commenced these studies under Professor Spiegel of Germany and Professor Oppert of Paris, he opened classes in Bombay to teach the Parsi students according to the scientific and systematic method of European scholars. With the exception of the Dasturs, all the Parsi scholars are either his pupils or his pupils’ pupils.”

Exactly similar testimony is borne by Mr. Kanga in the preface of his “Avesta Grammar,” wherein he writes:—

¹ The abbreviation “D.” throughout this paper stands for the title of the Parsi priests, “Dastur.”

“The systematic and regular study of Avesta and Pehlevi, based on the rules of philology and grammar, was first commenced in Bombay in 1861. Before that period the knowledge of Avesta was confined to a few Dastoor and Ervads, who mainly relied upon Pehlevi translations now extant, which, though good enough so far as they went, were not marked by any critical knowledge of the grammatical forms. The knowledge of grammar among the sacerdotal and other classes was necessarily scanty and imperfect. . . . Such was, up to 1861, the state of the Avesta study. Since then, a great and long-wished-for change has taken place in the study of the works in the Zoroastrian religion. To Mr. K. R. Kama, an Oriental scholar of European repute, belongs the honour of having laid the foundation, and zealously worked for the prosecution and development, of philological studies in Bombay. . . . In 1863 the old system of teaching Avesta by means of Pehlevi was superseded by one based on the lines of philology and grammar” (pp. iii., iv.).

As Mr. Kama's name will not again occur in the course of this paper, I have thought it only fair to quote these testimonies of Messrs. Modi and Kanga to his share in the renaissance of Parsi learning and research. In order not to make this essay too tedious, and to give it greater actuality, as well as to render it of some use to European scholars, I have confined its scope to the last decade, 1882-1892.

II.

The beginning of the decade well-nigh coincided with the definitive edition of de Harlez's French version of the Avesta (Paris, 1881), and with the commencement of the English version published in the Oxford series of the “Sacred Books of the East,” by Darmesteter and Mills (1880, Part I.), completed during the course of the decade (Part II., 1883; Part III., 1887). These two standard versions of the Avesta, as they may well be called, definitely mark a new era in the history of Avestic studies. It is only natural that they should have produced a considerable impression on Parsi scholarship itself. The former, the French version of M. de Harlez, has been rendered accessible to Parsi readers by a translation of it into Gujarati, the modern vernacular, by Aerpat Meherjibhāi Pālanji Mādan, published in three consecutive volumes, viz., Yaçna and the Gathas, Bombay, 1885; Vendidad, Bombay, 1886; Khordeh Avesta, Bombay, 1887. No translation of the Oxford version has appeared, but a Parsi scholar has attempted an independent Gujarati

version of the Avesta upon modern scientific principles. This is Mr. Kavasji Edalji Kanga, Fellow of the University of Bombay and head-master of the Mulla Firuz Madressa. A first edition of the version of the Vendidad had already been issued by him in 1874 as one of the Kama prize-essays, together with a full vocabulary, but the second edition of it appeared in 1884. The other parts of the Avesta were issued as follows:—Yaçna and Vispered (without the Gathas), 1886; Khordeh Avesta (of which the first edition had appeared in 1880), second edition, 1887; third edition, 1890. It will give some idea of the manner in which European scholarship has been utilised in this version to say that Mr. Kanga has based his translation upon Westergaard's text, though with occasional preference of Spiegel's readings, and that in his later editions he has further laid under contribution the new text of Geldner, and followed the numbering of paragraphs of the latter.

The transition from strictly Avestic to Pehlevi literature is made by reference to the new edition of the Pehlevi version of the Vendidad which is now being undertaken by Dārāb Dastur Peshotan Sanjānā, who has kindly forwarded me advance proof-sheets of the first few pages. This will evidently be a very carefully collated text, with abundant and scholarly *apparatus criticus*, and will make a handsome well-printed volume. It is hoped that it may be completed by the end of this year.

But perhaps the most important work that can be done for Oriental science by the Parsi savants is the publishing of the numerous Pehlevi texts which still exist inedited in their libraries. It will be remembered that when M. Darmesteter was in India in 1886, he is said to have given the Parsi community the advice to celebrate the Queen's jubilee by publishing as many such texts as possible. The advice was sound, and will be endorsed by European scholars, for it is known how much treasure of the kind still waits to be rendered accessible to us. What, then, has been done during the decade in this direction? I must certainly mention, in the first place, the continuation of the edition of that most important work the *Dinkart*, begun in 1874 by the high-priest Peshotan D. Behramji Sanjāna (father of the Parsi scholar last quoted), and of which there have appeared vol. iv. in 1883, vol. v. in 1888, and vol. vi. in 1891. I am not now concerned with the translations, whether Gujarati or English, appended to this edition. I have formerly pointed out elsewhere how widely in many cases the Parsi methods of interpretation differ from those in use among European scholars, and how necessary it therefore is frequently to control them by a

careful study of the text itself (see, *e.g.*, my "Traité de Médecine Madzéenne, traduit du Pehlevi et commenté," Louvain, 1886, p. 20, and also my "Philosophie Religieuse du Mazdéisme," 1884, p. vii.). But the value of the publication of this text itself remains.

The same learned high-priest has a further claim on our gratitude by his edition in 1885 of four very interesting small works, viz., the "Ganj-i Shāyagān," the "Andarj-i Atropāt Marspandān" ("Counsels of Atropat Marspandān"), the "Mātikān-i Chatrang" ("Book of Chess"), and the "Andarj-i Khûçro-i Kavâtân" ("Counsels of Chosroës Anoshirwan"). Of these texts, the second has already been translated into French by de Harlez in the *Muséon*, 1887 (tom. vi. pp. 66-78), and the last by myself in the *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, vol. i. pp. 97-101.

Still more satisfactory from a scientific point of view is the joint edition of the "Shikand-Gûmânîk Vijâr," Pazand-Sanskrit text, with a fragment of the Pehlevi, by Hôshang D. Jâmâspji Jâmâsp-Asânâ (the well-known collaborator of Haug), and Dr. E. W. West, who brought out the whole, with his usual thoroughness and minuteness of scholarship in 1887. The Dastur Dārāb Peshotan also writes to me: "Further, I have almost completed my edition of the Pehlevi MS. of the Nirangistān belonging to the Dastur of Poona, which is mentioned in the second edition of Haug's 'Essays on the Parsees.' I intend to give in the introduction the additional portions contained in the MS. described as TD by Dr. E. W. West" (Letter, July 8, 1892).

The above represents what Parsi scholarship has done for the texts of the sacred or standard works of the Avesta, or of subsequent Pehlevi literature during the past ten years. We now turn to the grammatical and lexicographical study of the languages. It is a pleasure to here call your attention to the excellent grammar of the Avestic (commonly called "Zend") language, brought out last year by the industrious and able scholar, whose name has occurred already, Mr. Kavasji Edalji Kanga, under the title "A Practical Grammar of the Avesta Language, compared with Sanskrit," Bombay, 1891.¹ It may perhaps be fairly looked upon as a reproach to English scholarship that it has not yet produced a single Zend (or Avestic) grammar. It is all the more creditable, therefore, to a Parsi savant that he should be the first to fill the gap with a handbook well worthy of taking its place in the hands of European as well as of native students. When these lines were first written, there had not

¹ Can this be what is mysteriously referred to as "a metrical grammar of the Avesta language," in the *Academy*, August 13, 1892?

yet appeared the admirable Avesta grammar of Professor A. V. Williams Jackson of Columbia College, N.Y. (Stuttgart, 1892), of which the first plan has lately been issued. The credit of this scholarly production must be claimed, however, not by our country, but by the United States. Mr. Kanga has diligently utilised the labours of his European predecessors, Spiegel, Westergaard, Haug, Justi, &c., and, what is more, has carefully collated the Avestic texts of Westergaard and Geldner, so as to gather up all the grammatical variations presented by them, which gives his work a completeness that is highly satisfactory. The running comparison of the forms with the corresponding Sanskrit adds to the value of the book.

A still more recent publication deserves mention here. I refer to a "Dictionary of Avestic Proper Names," just issued by Mr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, already mentioned above. This excellent volume was composed in competition for a prize offered in 1889 by Mr. Ardeshir Sorabji D. Kamdin for "a comprehensive essay describing fully in alphabetical order, and from Avesta, Pehlevi, and Persian books, all the proper names occurring in the Avesta texts, whether they be the names of persons and places or names of religious instruments and ceremonies." The prize was awarded to Mr. Modi in February 1891. It is unfortunate that the dictionary is in Gujarati; it seems to me worthy of being rendered accessible to European readers by a translation into English, which no doubt will follow in due course.

I must also refer here to the continuation of the "Pehlevi, Gujarati, and English Dictionary" of the venerable high-priest Dr. Jamaspji D. Minocheherji Jamasp Asana, of which vol. iii. appeared in 1881, and vol. iv. in 1886. In spite of the large amount of valuable material which this dictionary undoubtedly contains—material not easily obtainable elsewhere—it must be regretted that it is still being carried out upon a plan which seems to preclude the possibility of its ever being completed within reasonable limits of either time or space. This is owing to the unnecessary insertion of every possible reading of the ambiguous Pehlevi script, whether really occurring in actual use or not—a method which enormously multiplies forms, and renders progress well-nigh impossible. It may be permitted to hope that the learned author may yet adopt some more feasible plan to expedite this important work. As a matter of fact, a Pehlevi dictionary does not yet exist in any language.

The next department of literary activity to which I shall draw attention is the intelligent utilisation on the part of Parsi students

of the most recent scientific writings of European Orientalists in the form of translations of these latter into English. First and foremost comes the handsome version, in two volumes, of the greater part of W. Geiger's standard work, "Ost-Iranische Kultur im Alterthum," by the accomplished son of the high-priest Peshotan, under the title, "The Civilisation of the Eastern Iranians in Ancient Times. By Dr. W. Geiger. Translated from the German by Dārāb D. Peshotan Sanjānā, B.A. London: Henry Frowde. Vol. i. 1885; vol. ii. 1886." This version by a Parsi of a German work into English is excellently done and deserves high praise. The author appended to the second volume translations into English of portions of the writings of another European scholar, viz., three chapters (respectively on "Gushtāsp and Zoroaster," "Irānian Art," and "The Irānian Alphabets"), from Spiegel's "Eranische Alterthumskunde." These were afterwards published separately, together with a translation of Geiger's further essay on "The Age of the Avesta," in two small volumes in 1886 (London: Frowde).

It was the talented son of the other Parsi high-priest (the venerable Dr. Minocheherji) who undertook a translation into English of my own volume, "La Philosophie Religieuse du Mazdéisme," originally published in 1884, which translation duly appeared under the title "The Philosophy of the Mazdayasnian Religion under the Sassanids. Translated from the French by Firoz Jamaspji D. Jamasp Asa. Bombay, 1889." To the intense sorrow of his aged father, and the general grief of the Parsi community, this most gifted young Dastur (whom de Gubernatis in his "Peregrinazioni" describes as "a model son," and who was generally looked upon as his father's destined successor in his high office), was carried off by a premature death at the age of thirty-six, before his translation of my book left the press. Let me here add this brief tribute to his memory.

In addition to translations of the kind from European languages, a considerable number of original essays, either in English or Gujarati, have been produced during the decade by Parsi savants. A few of these may be mentioned here. Dastur Dārāb has published "Next-of-Kin Marriages in Ancient Irān. London: Trübner, 1888;" and quite recently, "The Position of Zoroastrian Women in Remote Antiquity. Bombay, 1892." As this paper is merely a bibliographical record, I do not touch upon the points of controversy between Mr. Dārāb Peshotan and myself involved in these small volumes, which I have fully treated of elsewhere (in the *Babylonian and Oriental Record*), and merely register the essays as able and interesting presentations of the author's own views.

A very considerable number of such essays have also been published by that diligent writer, already spoken of, Mr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi. Of these, four were read before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society;¹ two before the Bombay Anthropological Society;² two (on "Haoma" and "Yima" respectively) before the Eighth Oriental Congress at Stockholm; two (in French) read in Paris, one before the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres,³ the other before the Société Asiatique.⁴ Lastly, there are some popular lectures delivered in English or Gujarati in Bombay itself. All these show a thorough appreciation and an intelligent application of the researches of European scholarship.

The same author has published in Gujarati three volumes containing eight prize-essays on various points of Asiatic religion, history, or geography; but these are addressed exclusively to a Parsi, not to a European audience.⁵

Similar Gujarati essays for the use of Parsis are Mr. Tehmuras Dinshaw's "Yasna ba Nirang," 1888, and his second edition of Mr. K. R. Kama's highly esteemed "Life of Zoroaster from Avesta Sources," 1890.

I cannot do more than barely mention the small volume of "Proceedings of the Society for Inquiring into the Zoroastrian Religion," lately issued (Zartoshti Dinni Khol - Karnari Maṇḍli: Bombay, 1891.) To this Society reference has been more fully made in the beginning of this paper.

I am indebted to Mr. Modi for a list of various other papers of a kindred nature in Gujarati, either read before the above Society or delivered as lectures by Mr. Sheryarji Dadabhai Bhroacha, one of the best native Zend and Pehlevi scholars; by Mr. Jamaspji Edalji Dadacharji, secretary of the same Society; Mr. Edalji Kersaspji Antia, a good Zend scholar and lecturer in that language in the Sir Jamshedji Madresa, &c., but I cannot further trespass upon your patience by detailing them.

Nor does it quite enter into the province of the subject I have

¹ "The River Karun in Persia," 1889. "The Game of Ball-bat among the Ancient Persians," 1890. "The Divine Comedy of Dante and the Ardar Virâf Nameh," 1892. "The So-called Pehlevi Origin of the Story of Sindibad," 1892.

² "Astodâns," 1889. "Funeral Ceremonies of the Parsis," 1892.

³ "Quelques Observations sur les Ossuaires rapportés de Perse par M. Dieulafoy," 1889.

⁴ "L'Étymologie Populaire des Noms des Étapes entre Peshawar et Caboul," 1889.

⁵ "Jamshed, Hom, and Atash," 1884. "Social Life of the Avesta People; Geography of the Avesta Period; Articles of Faith in the Avesta, an Essay on Yaçna XII," 1887. "Anâhita and Farôhar," 1887.

selected to refer to certain publications which have appeared in this country from Parsi pens, with the object of making known to English readers the history and religious tenets of the Parsi race. Otherwise I should have to speak of the handsome couple of illustrated volumes published by Messrs. Macmillan & Co. in 1884, and containing an entirely new edition of Mr. Dosabhai Framji Karaka, C.S.I.'s "History of the Parsis," as well as the short essay ("The Parsi Religion") contributed to Messrs. Sonnenschein's "Religious Systems of the World" (1890, 2nd edit., 1891), by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji (now M.P.). A passing allusion may, however, be excused.

III.

I have concluded my ten years' review, most of the merit of which is owing to my obliging Parsi correspondents. I am inclined to believe that it is not merely a long catalogue of publications of varying value and merit, but also a fresh indication of that remarkable readiness to accept and assimilate outside elements, and to bring them into harmonious symmetry with its own systems, which I believe to have been one of the leading characteristics of the Eranian intellect in all stages of its history. I have tried to show in other places that this national tendency has been an exceedingly important factor in the philosophical and doctrinal evolution of Eranian religion and metaphysics.

V.

PERSEPOLIS.

BY

HERBERT WELD BLUNDELL.

THERE are few famous sites that have been more the subject of examination and debate, and yet have preserved so successfully the secrets of their subterranean features, as the great group of palaces known as Persepolis. Any addition, therefore, to the knowledge we possess, obtained by ever so modest a scratching of the soil, will be welcomed by archæologists, who have had to depend so long on calculation and conjecture. The results of the researches I was able to make during the time occupied by the process of moulding the relievos of the palaces would scarcely warrant me in devoting a paper to the subject, were it not for the fact that there is little probability of further facilities for excavation being granted by the present Shah. This being so, I hold it to be imperative to throw into the common stock every fragment of information, not only because every link, however small, may be of importance, and of greater importance as the chain of evidence nears completion, but because, in default of this, ingenious conjectures, backed with authority, may become, for want of contradiction, accepted as facts, with the result that research is directed into wrong channels and the progress of absolute knowledge delayed.

At any rate, I may hope that my investigations, if not convincing, will at least serve the purpose of keeping judgment on certain points suspended till opportunities arise for complete examination and final settlement. Owing to the invincible suspicion of the motives of would-be excavators, it has been impossible to obtain from the Persian Government a definite permission to excavate at Persepolis. About sixteen years ago, it is true, the Mukhtar-i-daulat, the father of the late governor of Shiraz, excavated on the site of the Hall of a Hundred Columns and cleared out the accumulations of clay down to the level of the pavement of the hall; but the

operation being conducted not for the purpose of research, but with the idea of something valuable turning up, little or no addition to our knowledge was gained; while owing to the reckless destruction by his workmen of all the interesting sculptured forms, only small fragments survived of the pillars and capitals, the drums of the bases alone resisting the misplaced energies of the workmen. When I arrived at Shiraz towards the end of January, the governor was under notice to quit, a circumstance which I fancy had much to do with the liberality of his permission, not only to take mouldings, for which I had powers from the Shah's Government, but to obtain any labour I required to facilitate the work. By acting on the principle of not asking too close a definition of my powers, I was able, without distinct infringement of the laws of the Medes and Persians, to take a surreptitious peep into the hitherto sealed book. When such a definition was formally asked for by the Minister of a friendly foreign power on his own behalf and ours, it came in the form of a distinct prohibition to touch anything below the surface, and it was only thanks to the slowness of Eastern movements in such matters that I was able to seize the time allowed me before the mandate arrived to make progress with some hurried and unostentatious excavations. Being therefore bound neither to make much show of work or men, I made it my first object to pick points where most new information could be obtained, and after this to take soundings over as large a surface as possible, with a view to obtaining data for drawing conclusions and assisting any future efforts in the same direction, supposing at any future time powers for excavating on a large scale might be obtained.

I shall take for granted a knowledge of the general topography and arrangement of the buildings on the platform. To avoid controversy, I will call the palace near the eastern angle, sometimes called that of Ochus, Palace No. 6, according to the system of enumeration adopted by Perrot and Chipiez. It was at this farthest end from the usual entrance to the platform, in order to avoid observation and inconvenient curiosity, that I commenced work. Starting at a line of foundation-stones indicating a wall running parallel to the retaining wall of the platform, and assisted by change in the colour of the ground, I dug out the base of a pillar. It proved to be of the same "reflex calyx" pattern as those of the Hall of a Hundred Columns. Continuing, we found three other bases arranged in a square at a distance of 9 feet 1 inch from centre to centre of the drum. We dug on each side to find the direction of the columniation. Starting from along the

line of the most easterly bases and carrying a trench straight towards the façade of the palace, we found no more traces of pillars, but everywhere a smooth flooring of cement of a rich red colour, and wherever we came upon it, quite unfaded and unbroken. A trench dug from the four pillars at right angles to the last trench showed two more pillars in line with the front row. Another sunk in the centre of the court along the other side of the court, corresponding to the trench on the eastern side, showed nothing but the continuous red cement pavement. On following out the external wall, we came across a good many bricks of the flat Persepolitan type, namely, 1 foot 1 inch square and $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep. The larger sort found at the Hall of a Hundred Columns and the Great Hall of Xerxes were 1 foot 1 inch square and $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep. The measurements therefore of this court are as follows:—Length, 183 feet; breadth, 115 feet. Measurements of the base:—Diameter of astragal, 1 foot $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches; circumference of torus, 6 feet 2 inches; height of drum, including cylindrical socle, 1 foot $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches; height of whole base, 1 foot $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

The bases stand on a bed of very hard concrete composed of fine clay and fragments of limestone.

Still keeping to this more secluded portion of the platform, I sank a shaft about half way between this court and the terrace below the south-eastern façade of the Palace of Xerxes. Below 8 or 10 feet of clay we found a dressed stone surface of natural rock, the ground-level of the platform on this side. The Palace of Xerxes stands upon a natural rock platform, which on this south-eastern side stands 20 or 30 feet from the ground-level, and distant 156 feet from the retaining wall of the platform. On the dressed face of this stylobate of the palace appear horizontal grooves, indicating the beams of a roof, while at each end and in the centre are large square apertures underneath these horizontal grooves to receive the lateral beams of some roof built against the face of the rock. Below these are three recesses like doorways, apparently unfinished. Starting at a distance of 25 feet from the doorways, I drove two trenches towards two of them. The pavement was roughly-dressed natural rock, on which were lying fragments of pillars and bases; but being immediately beneath the palace, it is impossible to assert that they belong to a portico or building built on the terrace below, or have been thrown down from above. These door-niches seem to be either ornamental or an intended opening was abandoned owing to the dangerous faults

that run across the face of the rock and through the door. A flight of steps leads down from the palace above, and about 50 feet from the last step towards the wall of the platform I dug out another flight of three steps leading at right angles to the last, to the level of the floor of the terrace. A trench of 20 feet or so run from these last steps in the direction of the palace, only produced some bricks and fragments of columns, without any indication as to how they were arranged.

The next operations were conducted upon a square pylon at the south corner of the Hall of a Hundred Columns. This building seems to be a hall with four large pillars to support the roof, and entered by three great doorways, two of them opening on to porticos supported certainly on one side, the south-east, by two pillars. The third doorway facing the angle of the hall led down to the lower level on which the hall is built. I drove three parallel trenches, one continuing the line of the wall, the foundations of which are visible running from the pier along what would have been the edge of the higher level terrace, another from the base of the pillar nearest to it, and the third starting from the north-west angle of the central chamber as outlined by the foundation-stones of the wall. We came on this continued at the depth of about 5 feet. The first wall foundations do not continue, but the trench showed a large quantity of charcoal and decomposed gech or plaster, and although continued for 40 feet or so, showed no indications of a wall crossing to form a closed hall or chamber. The second trench, carried on for the same distance, showed also no bases or indication of a row of pillars, such as might admit of the conjecture that a colonnade ran along the edge of this terrace. The third trench showed an unbroken line of foundations, without any break or indication of a fourth doorway on this side; but 24 feet farther in the same direction, beyond the line of the central chamber walls, it disclosed a smooth polished limestone pavement. All three showed fragments of charcoal, and the third one, the south-west, gave a beautiful example of an iron and lead cramp and a piece of resin, joining two large blocks of limestone. On the north-west side no bases or pillars were found, but as the wall foundation-stones run out for 20 feet or so on the eastern side, and the hollowed-out pier of the doorway showed where a wall must have been morticed into it, I could find no foundation-stones at right angles to this. In the absence, therefore, both of pillars to support a roof and any signs of charcoal, it is possible that this wall continued along the higher level terrace, especially as a hole farther

on showed an immense number of bricks very nearly in line with this.

THE TUMULUS.

We next turn our attention to the tumulus rising behind the Palace of Darius. It has long been, from its position and appearance, an inviting object of speculation and conjecture. Fergusson says of it, "I look upon it as the most interesting spot now existing on the platform." A predecessor of mine had the autumn before stopped here for a short time, and apparently commenced excavation both at this spot and in the level space between the Palace of Darius and that of Xerxes. He had made two cuttings in the shape of a cross through the apex of the tumulus. Deepening these, we came upon a subterranean passage, where a stone of the roof had fallen, running parallel to the wall of the stylobate of the Palace of Darius. We cleared the passage out for about 20 feet in a northerly direction. In a southerly direction it led by a figure of S to the great cross-passage leading from the Palace of Darius towards the hill, but being at a considerably higher level, 4 feet above the roof of this cross-drain, it opens into it about 8 feet above the floor level of the passage. The bottom of the tumulus drain, at the point where we first struck it, is about 3 feet 3 inches below the level of the pavement of Darius' palace. Starting from the flat space in front of the Palace of Xerxes and digging into the tumulus from that side, we found the natural rock formed a table about 4 feet 6 inches above the level of the Palace of Xerxes. Large dressed blocks and fragments of a figured stairway seemed to show that there was an ascent from the space below to the top of this eminence, but we could discover no remains either of bricks or charcoal to give any clue to the character of the structure, if indeed there were any from the summit. The only architectural detail was a frustum of a pilaster about 10 cubits in diameter, fluted and with remains of paint in the flutings.

THE OPEN COURT BELOW THE PALACE OF DARIUS.

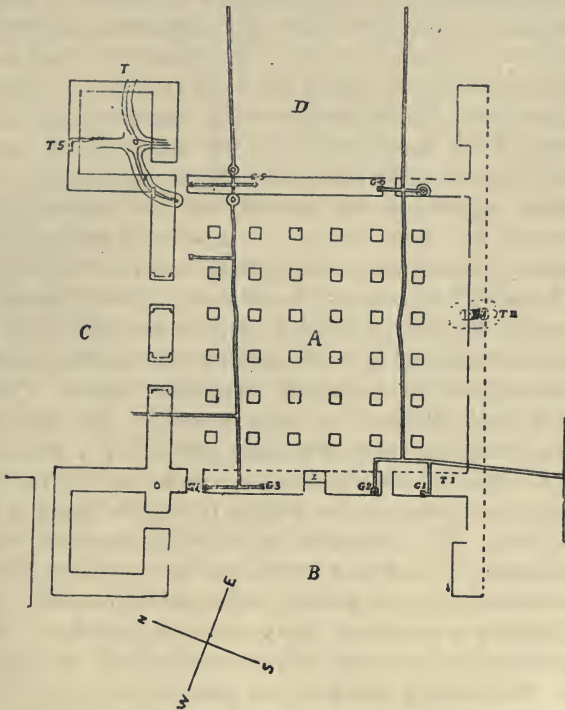
I must make some mention of the work of an unknown predecessor of mine, who cleared away two or three feet of superficial accumulation in the open space between the south-east façade of the Palace of Darius and the stylobate of the pillared building in front of the Palace of Xerxes. In the existing plan it is an empty space bounded by the figured stylobates of the Palace of Darius

and the stairway to the space in front of the north-west façade of the Palace of Xerxes. I found the soil cleared away on the third side nearest the edge of the platform, and carried as far as about half-way to the centre of the court. The excavation shows a wall foundation consisting of a double line of dressed blocks laid lengthways on a bed of concrete at a distance of about 4 feet from one another, and forming a wall 6 feet 10 inches in breadth, the whole running parallel to the face of the platform and 44 feet 6 inches from the edge of the parapet. The wall starts from, and is let into, an opening in the masonry of the stylobate in front of the Palace of Xerxes, and stops at the other end at a point half-way across the stairway leading from the south-east portico of the Palace of Darius, and at a distance of 7 feet 4 inches from the last step. There is an opening in the line of the wall as if to form an entrance exactly opposite the centre of the stairway on the opposite side of the court which leads to the higher level of the Palace of Xerxes. There are two blocks, apparently podia, in front of the line of wall foundations, one 15 feet from the stylobate, the other 14 feet 10 inches in front of the line of columniation. There is a stairway in the stylobate of the Palace of Xerxes, which, if we restored the front of this court as a colonnade, would lead down to the intercolumnar space. Supposing this colonnade were carried to and joined the southern angle of the Palace of Darius, the steps at this angle would lead down into the enclosed court, and we should also have an explanation of the keys and grooves which are to be seen on the face of the wall near the steps, indicating that something was built against it. It was scarcely to be expected that the pillars would be allowed to remain. The edge of the parapet is so near that they could be rolled over without difficulty, and the ground below is heaped up with debris and fragments.

THE GREAT HALL OF XERXES.

We now come to the work on the site of the great pillared Hall of Xerxes. This great palace, one of the finest achievements of ancient art, has been for half a century an architect's battlefield on the question as to whether it should be restored with a wall or not. The French architects and travellers have headed the opposition camp, beginning with Coste in 1840. The latest restorations, which are by Perrot and Chipiez, exhibit the building as four isolated groups of columns, like immense canopies, the spaces of the

columns being filled by draperies and carpets—a very beautiful, but rather paradoxical, edifice. Fergusson, though he has had few followers, stoutly maintained the existence of the wall; and as the principal objection from the architect's point of view was the supposed existence of a line of drains running under the foundations, which would have imperilled their security, he even went so far as to suggest that the travellers were in error, and the drains followed some other direction.



PLAN OF HALL OF XERXES.

To make reference more simple, I will call the central phalanx of pillars A, and the three portico groups B, C, D, respectively. The apertures of the gullies of the drains I will number 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6, starting from the southern angle. I took as a starting-point the immense stone slab Z in the centre of the space between A and B, thinking this might indicate a threshold of an entrance, and cleared away the clay along a line continuous with the inside edge of it. Outside of this line I found large irregularly shaped

boulders, 1 to 2 feet in diameter, carefully levelled and laid like a course of foundation-stones. Inside of this line was fine concrete and decomposed plaster or *gech*, showing signs of a yellow colour. Among the boulders were some, but not many, fragments of bricks. It may be asked here how is it that the pavement of the hall could be described by the latest authority?—"Le sol y est partout nu et lisse entre la colonnade centrale et les portiques lateraux." Now, judging from my own experience, this description really represents the impression given by a casual survey of the surface of the ground, and I probably should have taken this impression away with me, as others have done, if I had not determined to clear away the surface deposit, rather to satisfy my mind than with any hope that anything lay below the surface to modify my first judgment. The explanation of the deceptiveness of the surface is that at several points, as at Z, and parts around the bases and gullies, a smooth-dressed stone appears at the surface, and the intervening spaces are so smooth and hard that one instinctively concludes that the stone pavement is continuous everywhere, and it is only by picking it up in flakes with a mattock like so much asphalt that one understands how the fine clay, moistened by rains and baked in a blazing sun into the consistency of brick, forms a film as firm and smooth as the actual stone which appears in various places. This course of boulders was laid bare to a point about 10 feet inside of the line drawn through the row of gullies; here at H a loose boulder, weighing a couple of hundredweights, was noticed by my assistant to cover an open space, and on rolling it out, we found it was the roof of a drain. We descended into it with a lantern, and found it led by a knee 5 feet off at a right angle into the longitudinal drain running between the outside line of columns of the central phalanx. It was joined by a passage at the same angle from G2. We then carefully, twice over, tape-measured the whole system of subterranean passages. The average width of the passage is 2 feet 3 inches to 2 feet 8 inches, and its greatest height, which is at a distance of about 90 feet from the line of gullies, is from 8 to 10 feet. In parts it is a cutting through the natural rock, in others it is built up with gigantic blocks of dressed limestone most carefully jointed and set in plaster. The branch passages leading to Nos. 6 and 7 were blocked with clay silt, and evidently those who have been here before have taken it for granted that these passages joined in the same way; it was presumed that there was a continuous passage across the building through the gullies 1, 2, 3, and 4. It was this erroneous conjecture that formed the principal architectural

argument against the existence of a wall, on the ground that these drains would have undermined the foundations. Fergusson's remarks are worth quoting, as showing that the instincts of an architect are occasionally more worth trusting than unverified conjectures of eye-witnesses. He says, "But they make the drain proceed from one to the other; and though it may appear impertinent in one who has never been there to say so to those who have, my own impression is that this junction does not exist. One other circumstance . . . is that the drain or aqueduct from the Palace of Darius, which runs into them, does not do so at right angles, or runs into this uppermost drain, but turns to the eastward so as to avoid it." This prophetic utterance was amply verified.

I could not induce one man to remain alone in these mysterious passages, but three men with a lantern were able to keep one another's courage up till the transverse passages were cleared out, and I had the satisfaction of placing the end of the tape-measure against the solid rock.

The apertures of the square gullies are 1 foot 3 inches square, cut, all except two, out of a colossal solid block of limestone. No. 2 projects above the surface about 1 foot 3 inches, the rest are level with the pavement surrounding them. The roof of the drain of No. 2 is 2 feet below the stone of the surface, that of No. 5 is 7 feet 4 inches; the section of the two is given on the plan, and gives the fall. I think it is an important fact that G 2 stands up from the surface 15 inches; it seems to indicate that it projected into the wall. At any rate, it could only be used as a drain if the pavement around was raised to this height.

The principal objection to the existence of a wall being now removed, I dug a trench across the conjectured line of wall on the south-east side of the hall. Here, again, the deceptive firmness and smoothness of the surface would never have prepared me to find that the dressed stone which forms the pavement in this part is cut by a bed of hard concrete 11 feet 8 inches in breadth and 6 inches below the surface, and then continues indefinitely, as far as one can judge, from a long trench dug again outside this over the whole space between this wall and the Palace of Darius. This bed of concrete is apparently laid on account of the natural rock failing to come to the level. It contained a few bricks in perfect preservation of the large Persepolitan type, namely, 1 foot 1 inch square and $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep, and a fragment of very transparent light yellow alabaster. If the edge of the concrete marked the edge of the wall, it would have been 33 feet from the nearest

pillar. Turning now my attention to the tumuli at the angles of the hall, I dug a cross-shaped trench through the centre of the largest one at the northern angle; I have numbered them on the plan T 4 to T 5. At a point in alignment with the edge of the bases of the porticos C and D in T 4 and T 5, there was a space of about 3 feet in breadth where the stone was rough and uneven. Inside of this line we found masses of charcoal and decomposed plaster, till we got to the centre, where we found a square stone with a hole running through it, which might have served for the hinge of a door or the galley of a door. Close to this stone, buried in masses of charcoal, we found a quantity of red pottery vases, an iron axe-head, nails with round heads, and a copper pot full of pieces of bone and charcoal. Humble implements, but interesting as relics of an historical conflagration. They had been cracked by the fallen rafters and some blackened by the heat. Continuing No. 4 trench beyond the centre of the tumulus, but with a slight inclination inwards to catch the line of the wall running from the great hollowed bases of the jambs, I found two lines of narrow foundation-stones laid lengthways, and enclosing a space about 11 feet 8 inches across, which is also the length of the entrance bases. In trench 5, 16 feet from the edge of the stylobate, and running parallel to it, we found a small house-drain.

It is, of course, impossible, without complete clearance of all the existing accumulations, to pretend to trace the detailed outlines of the wall, but I think we should now be justified in assuming its existence. With the fullest sense of my want of technical qualification, I will not attempt to do more than offer a scheme founded upon the data which are now to hand. We will take first the most debated part of the wall, that running transversely over the line of the gullies, and we will start at the great slab Z, marking apparently an entrance. Now, if we imagine a wall built upon the course of heavy boulders, its inside face would be in alignment with the edge of the slab, and if it included the line of gullies, its breadth would be about 12 feet. The breadth of the lateral wall on the south-eastern side, as shown in trench No. 2, is 11 feet 8 inches, which is also the length of the bases of the jambs at the entrance off the north-west side.

By this scheme the span of the roof, taken from the edge of the wall to the edge of the plinth of the nearest pillar, would be on the entrance side about 25 feet, on the side opposite about 33 feet, and on the north-east and south-west side about 25 feet. The greatest space therefore would be on that side of the building

farthest and opposite to the entrance, so that the king, seated on a dais in a spacious gallery, would face the crowd entering from the propylæum and up the great figured stairway into this great hall. With regard to the drainage of the roof, we have a maximum distance from the centre or ridge of about 110 feet. The usual fall given is from $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in 10 feet in England to 3 inches in 10 feet in India. I should think the former would be sufficient to meet all requirements of this climate, and an extra elevation of 15 inches in the centre would provide for it. The presence of the gullies would imply a system of drainage of water from the roof by conduits through the wall. A system of providing for the discharge of rain-water by piercing walls with vertical rain-water pipes had been known for centuries, and practised with perfect success. But in cases where the materials of construction were crude brick, this is impossible. All drains must be in stone, burnt brick, or terra-cotta, or in iron or other metal. Now we always use iron for rain-pipes, but avoid bedding them in walls, as in the settling down of the masonry they split and the walls are saturated with the rain. Mr. J. E. Taylor, British Vice-Consul at Bussorah, exploring some of the burial mounds in the immediate neighbourhood of the Persian Gulf, found these structures were pierced with vertical tubes of terra-cotta, each about 2 feet long and 18 inches in diameter, and held together by thin coats of bitumen. That these arrangements were well adapted to their purpose is proved by the fact that these sepulchral mounds have remained perfect to this day. This arrangement or some similar may have been adopted here. In placing the transverse walls in this position, I am only doing so to show that it is not impossible to bring the vertical conduits in such a position that they would be accessible from the outside or inside, so that it is conceivable that the space between them and the face of the wall was filled up with timber, as is done now-a-days to admit of being repaired without pulling the wall to pieces.

THE WALLS OF FORTIFICATION IN THE PLAIN.

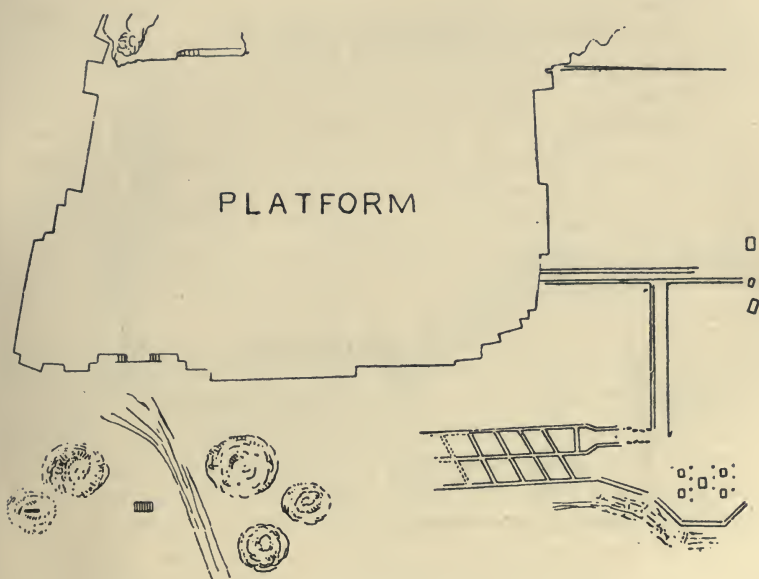
At the southern angle of the platform, bearing about 57° with the most prominent point, and about 250 yards distant, lie a group of bases and pillars, and immense square blocks, which the latest drawings (those of M. Dieulafoy) evidently betray no attempt to arrange in a definite plan. In the latest summary of our knowledge of the locality, that by Perrot and Chipiez, it is

stated that no one has noted the slightest trace of the wall of Diodorus, and it is impossible to find the places of the gates which, as Diodorus says, are visible on each of the sides. None of the pillars are now standing, but Herbert describes one:—

“About 300 paces southward from the Chilminar there is a single column, entire from base to capital, but being so low and without company, it is not easy to conjecture of what use it was.” Sir William Ouseley makes the following mention of it: “One column out of many that stood on the plain not far from the terrace, and opposite its southern angle, was pulled down but a few years before our visit by some Ilyats for the sake of whatever lead or iron had been used, as they supposed, in the joining of the pieces. The column appears in views given by Kæmpfer, Le Brun, Niebuhr, and others.”

The bases of the pillars being nearly all *in situ*, it is very easy to make out the plan. It consists of sixteen pillars arranged in fours, 52 feet 6 inches from centre to centre in the longitudinal axis, that is, parallel with the front of the platform, and 20 feet 5 inches from centre to centre measured at right angles in the inter-columnial space. At each of the four angles is an immense slab 14 feet 2 by 10 feet 8 inches, and in the central space a still larger slab 15 feet 5 by 11 feet 3 inches; the slabs being arranged therefore in the form of a quincunx. At the northern angle, but about 64 feet to the north-east, and in alignment with the last row of pillars, is a single large dressed block like a foundation-stone. At right angles to this direction, and at an equal distance on each side, lie two rows of large roughly-dressed blocks, four on one side and five on the other, roughly outlining an entrance or pylon. Some days after, I returned to the same spot to see if I could get any clue to assist me in explaining this anomalous building. Walking out between the rows of large blocks last mentioned, I was struck by two lines of light-coloured soil showing like paths through the bright green grass, that then, early in April, was sprouting vigorously after the late rains. The marks continued the line of the large blocks of stone for a short distance, then opened out, and ran parallel to the front of the platform; they were crossed at intervals by diagonal lines. The same lines could be distinctly traced round the whole group of pillars in the form of one side of an octagon. Shortly after this I went to the plain of Meshdi Murghab, usually considered the site of Pasargadae, to see the mouldings that were being taken of the bas-relief representing a winged figure on one of the piers. During the course of my examination I went to the soli-

tary pier standing about 400 yards to the north-east of the principal palace. Perrot and Chipiez say of this: "Ce n'est pas assez pour que l'on puisse rien conjecturer au sujet de la disposition intérieure; mais, à en juger par ce seul débris, ce bâtiment devait ressembler aux deux édifices déjà décrits." I noticed, however, the same light-coloured tracks outlining a square building, and testing these by means of digging, I found that a few inches below the surface were foundation-stones, and inside of the periphery two rows of twelve bases of pillars each. The measurements of this building I will give later on. Emboldened by this experiment, on

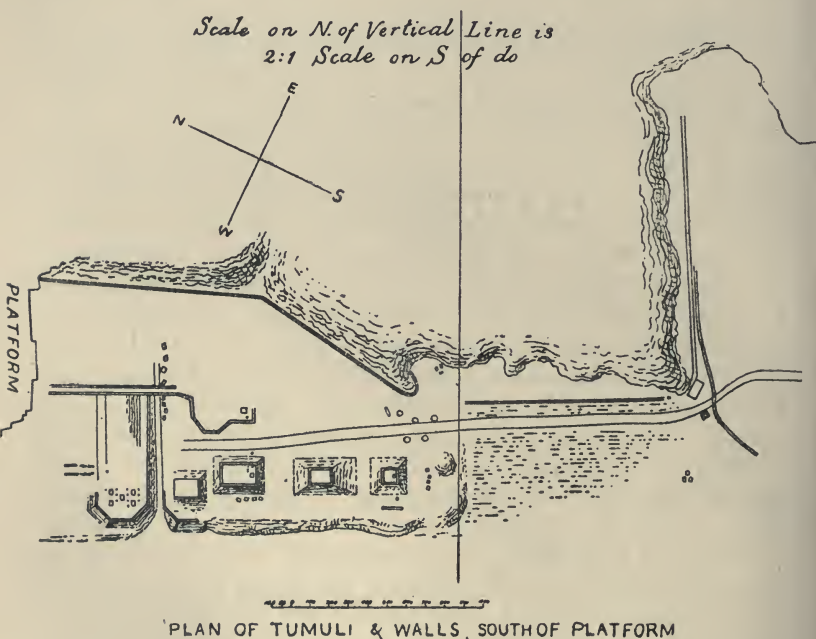


PLAN OF CONCRETE FOUNDATIONS EXCAVATED.

my return to Persepolis I proceeded to test the lines there in the same way. The results are figured in the plan. These maps are plotted out from tape and chain measurements, and bearings taken by prismatic compass and a small theodolite.

Continuing the direction of the wall indications parallel to the face of the platform, we arrived at a large tumulus opposite the angle in the retaining wall, at the recess in which the steps are built, and two others, as marked on the plan. Beyond this, exactly facing the great stairway, are a line of heavy foundation-stones laid with their ends facing the platform, 203 feet from it. Beyond this again

is a *kanat* or shaft of a watercourse subterranean aqueduct, which exactly catches the edge of the wall and gives a complete view of it for 8 or 10 feet of its foundations from the surface. There were first laid the beds of concrete, such as we found on testing the light-coloured lines at the pillared building, then on these a line of smoothly-dressed foundation-blocks, showing exactly for what purpose the concrete was laid. A line through the direction of this wall over the foundation-stones last mentioned strikes a yard or so to the right of the central slab of the pillared structure on the plain, N. 154° by prismatic compass; bearing of tablet, about 157° .



The ground beyond this westward is covered with tumuli, of which nothing could be made without considerable excavation. They roughly outline a square tract sloping on four sides, corresponding to the angle of the platform, and join across the road an embankment which runs along the north-western side of the retaining wall up to the hill. We will now return to the pillared building in the plain. Going south-east, we find on the other side of a dip the indications of a tumulus and bastion similar to that on which the pillared structure is built. In the centre of this tumulus can be

traced the walls of a square building, on one side of which the wall foundation-stones *in situ* crop up. At an interval again from this, on another square tumulus, is an oblong building with a slab and some bases of pillars arranged as in the plan. Farther on in the same direction are two similar tumuli of an oblong shape. Inside of this front line are other less explicable buildings. What is distinctly a counterpart stands inside, and is joined by a double line of concrete running up to the platform across, and over a line of immense dressed blocks of stone is another rib of double line running to the dip between the bastions.

The termination of this group of constructions on the south-east is clearly defined at a point opposite the outside tomb, both by the slope of the ground and the line of cultivation in the plain, which, owing to the constant recurrence of the impenetrable concrete, is confined to the outside of this limit. The numerous *kanats*, also, which have been begun and abandoned within the area of this embankment, save the excavator trouble in showing the presence of the same concrete. The line of the embankment turns sharply to the hill at a point a little beyond where the tomb is cut, but before it reaches the hill it is cut by the caravan road which passes along the foot of the hill, and continues under the wall of the platform to Puzeh and the main line.

This southern line of embankment produced across the road would catch the hill about 20 yards in front of the unfinished tomb. At this point there runs at right angles to it, and parallel to the line of the hill, a perfectly clear line of heavy foundation-stones, in some places giving the appearance of the retaining wall of a causeway running under the foot of the hill, and between it and the caravan road. This can be followed straight along the face of the hill, round the point, and at a bearing of N. 68° W. from this point for a distance, as measured by careful pacing, of 800 yards, till it reaches a point under a sheer inaccessible precipice; here it abruptly stops. I ought to mention that the scale from the point of the tomb is half the remainder, in order to give as much size as possible to the details. Now, in the first place, this parallel double line of stones, laid at a distance of about 5 feet from one another, indicates a wall rather than a road; and secondly, it only runs under that part of the line of hills which are low and easily accessible; and thirdly, there would have been no object in a road, as it only leads to a deep bay in the hills, which, from this point, become a succession of steep scarps running in the main direction of this range, roughly speaking N.N.W. and S.S.E. The caravan road connecting the towns to

the east with Puzeh strikes from the spur of the hill in a straight line across the plain. We have several strong arguments *à priori* in favour of a fortified enceinte. In the first place, there is no possible doubt that the cliff behind the platform was fortified. No one carefully observing a continuous lofty embankment of clay, débris, rubble, and pottery following the circuit of the precipice, a conical tumulus rising every 40 yards or so, and leaving space for the steps of patrols, still clearly visible, could be for a moment in doubt that every precaution of defence was taken from assault on this side. Yet the whole of this hill being a sheer scarp, made attack from this side almost impossible. It is scarcely to be imagined that the platform, elevated only a few feet in some places, as, for instance, where it joins the hill, and actually not raised at all above the natural rock at the extreme western angle, where there are massive gate substructions leading from the mass of natural rock on to the platform, with a step of a foot or two, should have been left unprotected from this side of the plain. There is reason to believe also that there was an entrance on the south-eastern side. Hamdallah, describing Persepolis in 1339, speaks of ascents on two sides by means of staircases; Diodorus mentions gates at *each* side, and finally, there is considerable force in Fergusson's surmise that there must have been an entrance from this side, "because nothing (if the entrance had always been where it is) could have been more anomalous and awkward than the position and orientation of Darius' Palace." With the entrance to the south its peculiarities are all explained. Besides this, it is not probable that the royal tomb, hewn out of a point in the rock at the spur of the hill to the south, and invisible to people on the platform, and level with the surface of the plain, would have been left exposed, as it would have been, unless included in the enceinte of fortification. With the example before us of the fortifications of Ecbatana, as described by Herodotus and Polybius, as well as the recent researches at Susa, it would be curious if the place described by Diodorus as the "richest of cities under the sun" should have been an exception to the rule. Again, it does not seem possible that there could have been room on the platform itself for all the enormous *personnel* of an Eastern court, or for the number of soldiers and guards we would naturally suppose, and the historical accounts would warrant us in believing, were stationed there. If this population were located in the space between the south-east wall of the platform and the jutting spur of the hill, they would surely have been protected, not only from attack on the side of the plain, but from an enemy ascending (as he could

with ease) the low-lying hills on the south-east, and commanding the whole position of the royal palaces and the plain below them. The erroneous assumption of many authors who have not been personally on the site, that the plain in front of the platform is quite smooth and level, has arisen from the very dangerous practice of arguing *ex silentio*. The tumuli facing the angle near the grand stairways are certainly from 10 to 15 feet high, and there is reason to suppose that not very long ago they were very much more considerable in size. Judging, at any rate, from a drawing of Sir W. Ouseley's in the first volume of his *Travels*, he must have taken it from an eminence considerably higher than the platform to have been able to have seen the surface at this angle of perspective, and he says himself that he finds, by comparing the engravings, that he took the drawing nearly between the spots from which Kämpfer and Le Brun (1718 A.D.) regarded the ruins when delineating them. These two spots are still marked by considerable tumuli (vol. ii. p. 233). Before attempting to give a plan of the walls of circumvallation, I will take the liberty of quoting the hitherto discredited passage of Diodorus which describes them. "The acropolis being worthy of mention . . . the crown was 16 cubits high and furnished with bastions. The second had double the height, and the third, of which the perimeter was square, was 60 cubits, built in hard stone, and seeming destined to endure for ever. On each side it had brazen gates, and at them brazen bulls" (Mr. Cecil Smith's emendation, *ταυροὺς* for *σταντροὺς*, is too attractive not to be adopted), "fitted not only to terrify but to defend" (Curzon, *Persia*, ii. p. 187, note).

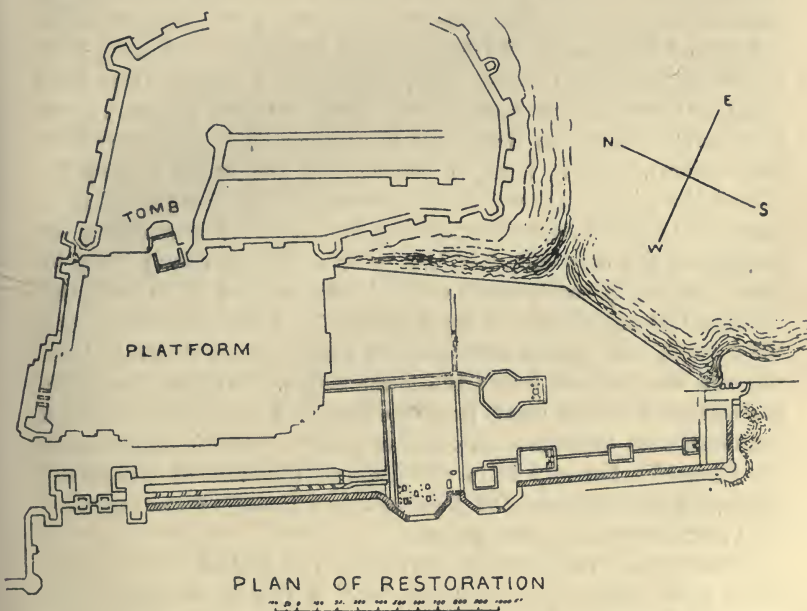
Here we have a triple enceinte, the first 16 cubits high, the second twice the height of the first, and the third built of hard stone 60 cubits high. If we suppose the third wall of solid stone (a material, be it observed, he only attributes to this one) to be the retaining wall of the platform itself, we have to endeavour to account for the other two. Now, in front of the platform, and in the space on the south-eastern side, we find beds of concrete, the lines of which I have indicated by open parallel lines in the plan, intersected by diagonal lines, flanked on one side by a pair of demi-octagonal bastions, as outlined by the line of concrete, and at the other end running into tumuli at the angle of the recess in which the grand stairway is placed. The breadth of these lines of concrete are about 3 feet 6 inches, and the parallel lines are 60 feet from one another; the diagonal lines are 77 feet 4 inches long and 44½ feet apart. The lines of concrete are too narrow to be the

foundations of the whole wall; they were probably the foundations of the masonry which riveted the escarp or external face. The diagonal lines of concrete seem to indicate one of two things, either the wall built upon them was merely a system of bond-stones to buttress and bind the curtain, or, secondly, formed the laterals of casemates from which arrows and missiles were discharged on the enemy. In the first case, if the pattern were completed by joining the angle, they would show a system described by Vitruvius, "Cum autem fundamenta ita distantia inter se fuerint constituta, tunc inter ea alia transversa, conjuncta exteriori et interiori fundamento, 'pectinatim' disposita 'quemadmodum serræ dentes' solent esse collocentur."

The second or casemated system seems to have been employed in Carthage, in Egypt—for example, Medinet Abou—and at Byzantium, where it was probably an inheritance from the Parthians and Sassanians. There is perhaps additional force in the argument that these diagonals were the walls forming the laterals of the casemates acquired from the fact that placed at this angle they would be best able to command the flanks of salients and approaches to the gates. Of course this system supposes a wall in front (*προτείχισμα* of the Greeks). This wall, however, if it had been built entirely of bricks, as it is at Susa and Babylon, would not have left probably any indications that could be obtained without extensive excavation. It may strike some people that the polygonal plan of the bastions is rather too modern to be probable, especially if they have studied modern fortification, which ascribes to Albert Durer the painter the first development of the *bastei* (bastion), from the mediæval round and square tower. Philo of Byzantium, who wrote on fortification in the second century before Christ, and represents probably an Oriental rather than a Western tradition, is perfectly acquainted with the value of, and recommends and explains tetragons, pentagons, and sexagons as the best form of salient—*ἐπάλξεις ἐγγώνια*, the very word applied in this context by Diodorus. Before attempting a reconstruction, we must examine the similar buildings of cognate or neighbouring nations. Ecbatana, as the older capital of a former dominant race, would probably have been the immediate model, as Susa would have been the replica of Persepolitan work. Of the former only the description of Herodotus remains, but the late excavations made by M. Dieulafoy at Susa in 1884 to 1886 are useful for comparative purposes to assist us in interpreting the facts we have before us. It will be seen that we have a triple enceinte of 185 feet total breadth; at Persepolis we have

120 feet in two masses of 60 feet each, and the third is the stone retaining wall of the platform.

I now give an attempted restoration of the lines of fortification. They are drawn to bring in the tumuli and beds of concrete and stone foundations, and where no clue is given, I make no suggestions. The bastions or towers on the hill correspond to the tumuli, which are about 120 feet from apex to apex, a distance which would be from the parapet of a tower well within the regulation effective range of an arrow, put at 100 cubits as a maximum by Philo of Byzantium (120 Babylon, 115 Susa), for enfilading the



face of the curtain. The walls would come up to the face of the platform at a point just below the terrace where the steps leading down from the Palace of Xerxes are placed. I surmise the heavy blocks of stone might have led up a covered stairway to the level of the platform of the wall from the lower level of the pillared building, which I take to be an entrance hall supported by pillars and piers of brick built on the slabs, as foundations to lessen the bearing of the roof.

The other square buildings I take to be perhaps barracks. They may possibly have been actually square towers, but for the fact that

I did not see lines indicating the foundation for the curtain joining them, and I am only endeavouring to use the data, not argue from them.

The general result of the researches I have laid before you would give the hill and platform of Persepolis the position of an acropolis strongly fortified and self-contained, and to a certain extent isolated from the city of which it formed the royal suburb and the national treasury. Again, turning to Ecbatana and Susa for analogies, an exactly similar relation between city and acropolis, making allowance for the different physical features of the locality, subsisted. I do not think it can be gathered from the account of Herodotus that the whole city of Ecbatana was surrounded by the seven walls. He says, "They called the fortifications Ecbatana," and then, after a description of the seven walls, states that "Deioces then built these fortifications for himself and round his own palace, and he commanded the rest of the people to fix their habitations round the fortifications." It is hard to believe that the walls, if they included the whole city, could have so completely disappeared as to admit of Polybius describing the city as ἀτείχιστος or wall-less, but he says of the acropolis, "It has in it a fortress (ἄκρη) built by hand (artificially constructed) marvellously fortified as to strength." "Under this are placed the royal palaces." At Ecbatana, therefore, the fortress and palaces occupied the higher points of the hill and the city was grouped round the lower slopes. At Susa the hill of the acropolis stands away from the city, and on it principally, if not done, were expended the greatest pains to make it impregnable. At Persepolis the city is in the gorge of the hills in a naturally defensible position, and the βασιλεῖον and treasuries are separated by a distance of about two miles.

We can trace the echo of this tradition of a stronghold through the Arabic writers to Hamdallah, who in the fourteenth century speaks of it as one of the three great fortresses of Fars, and within a farsak of Istakhr. I do not think this idea would be so persistent if the structure had been merely a group of palaces accessible on two sides, and provided on the third with a large and easy flight of steps, as if to facilitate the process of capture.

COLOURS AND MATERIALS.

I will now proceed to give a short account of some of the colours and materials which were obtained by excavation. In removing some dry accumulation in order to get at a part of the bas-relief in

the Hall of a Hundred Columns, in order to mould it, Mr. Giuntini, the Italian *formatore*, found it covered with a coating of blue paint, which came away readily under the touch as fine blue powder. This on examination is found to be silicate of copper, or blue fritte. Texier is the only one, so far as I know, whose guess at the truth on this point has been verified, except perhaps Herbert, who, however, laboured under the disadvantage of being gifted with the most lively imagination of any person who ever visited Persepolis. He speaks of gilding in the frieze being so bright as to look as if it had just been put on. As for gilding, I am sadly mistaken in my estimate of the Persian character if anything the size of a pin's head with a metallic lustre were allowed to remain a day after it ceased to be protected. The same silicate of copper is used as a blue paste for a small ornament found in the court of Palace No. 6. It is about $10\frac{1}{2}$ centimetres long and about $4\frac{1}{2}$ broad, fluted transversely, with two holes to fix it apparently as a handle, perhaps for a sword or a dagger. We found several small specimens of red copper enamel of very great density. On a frustum of a small pilaster, $10\frac{1}{2}$ centimetres in diameter, yellow ochre was found in the flutings, laid on a ground of white gesso. This fragment was found in the tumulus close to the Palace of Darius. On a small block of concrete, made up of limestone and quartz pebbles with brown clay and lime, we found the red colouring used in the court of Palace No. 6, and on the floor of north-westerly rooms of the Palace of Darius. It is an earthy hematite laid on a thick facing of gesso on plaster in the last two cases, but without this ground in the case of the concrete. The fragment of an enamelled tile, found at the angle of the great hall of Xerxes, is a baked ware having a quartz base with a little lime to form a binding. That it is not a sand base is shown by the fact that the quartz fragments are not waterworn, and that they are sifted to a size. The face of the tile is covered with a thin glaze of light blue with a yellow border; a sharp line divides the two colours—a bead or cloison separate—made up of filaments 2 centimetres in length, of a dark material, put in before firing. It is exactly similar to the tiles exhibited in the Louvre brought from Susa. There was also a very bright vermilion colour, with sulphur and globules of mercury on analysis, so that it is therefore a mercuric sulphide. With regard to the wall materials employed, it can scarcely now be a matter of doubt that at the great halls, where the wall space was considerable, bricks in the two sizes (of which any number of specimens can be obtained with very little digging) were employed. They correspond to the size that, according to Vitruvius,

the Greeks called *tetradoron*, four palms each way. The walls were morticed into the vertical stone masonry by hollowing out the stone for its reception. The bricks employed at Sardis were $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot long and 1 foot broad. This brick was called *Lydion* because used by the Lydians. The builders of Susa used bricks 13 inches square and $3\frac{1}{2}$ and $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep.

In the Palace of Darius the conditions are totally different. Here the solid stone, the jambs of the doorways, and the masses of stone forming windows and recesses, come within a few inches of one another. You will see that the edge of the masonry both of the vertical and horizontal members has a rabbet of smooth-dressed stone about 10 centimetres deep, then the stone is roughly chiselled in a curve to a central ridge projecting laterally into the wall, the whole construction being the opposite to what we find where bricks are employed. This projection would, in fact, mortice into a wall instead of the wall into it, and is well adapted to serve as a core to a mass of plastic material, while the curved form or hollow at the edge would be equally favourable for such a substance, but would make the employment of bricks impossible. The rabbet line would be very well fitted to receive the flat edge of an enamelled tile, which probably formed the revetment of the wall.

I must express my obligations to Mr. R. Phené Spiers for help in the architectural portion, and to Mr. Flinders Petrie and Mr. Spurrell in analysis of the colours and materials.

I spoke above of the Palace of Pasargadaë, of which the white tracks assisted me in making out part of the plan. The edifice was 187 feet 5 inches long, and 130 feet 7 inches broad. Facing the north-west are two rows of pillars, twelve in each row, and 11 feet 4 inches from centre to centre. At the northern angle there is a doorway opening between the two rows, and at the eastern angle there are the shattered fragments of a pier made of the same very white limestone as the solitary pier now standing. In the centre nearly, *i.e.*, 60 feet from the north-west edge of the wall, guided by the same marks, I dug out a column complete with a two-stepped square plinth, a fluted base, and smooth shaft. The capital was Doric, with a square abacus. This is of the pattern found in the edifice called Cyrus's Tomb. The presence of this pillar here seems to give colour to the surmise that those at Cyrus's Tomb do not belong to it. They might have been taken from here. These fluted bases belong to the archaic Ionic type, of which there are examples at Samos and in the temples of Nike Apteros and Minerva Polias. These, however, stood upon cylindrical socles.

[*Note*.—The expedition to Persepolis left England in November 1891 for the purpose of taking moulds of the more prominent sculptures, with a view to their preservation and reproduction. The costs were defrayed by Lord Savile and Mr. Cecil Smith, who had obtained the necessary permission from the Shah. Mr. H. Weld Blundell undertook at his own expense to superintend the expedition, and was thus enabled to carry out the excavations here recorded.—ED.]

SECTION VIII.

CHINA, CENTRAL ASIA, AND THE
FAR EAST.

I.

A FAIR AND DISPASSIONATE DISCUSSION OF THE THREE DOCTRINES ACCEPTED IN CHINA.

FROM LIÛ MÎ, A BUDDHIST WRITER.

BY

JAMES LEGGE,

Professor of Chinese, University of Oxford.

INTRODUCTION.

MY object in the paper which I now venture to submit to the Congress is to set forth, mainly from a Buddhist standpoint, as briefly as can be done with some regard to distinctness and precision, the nature and comparative value of the teachings of Confucianism, Tâoism, and Buddhism, which are commonly spoken of as "The Three Religions of China." In doing this, I will avail myself of a treatise published in the latter half of our thirteenth century or the first half of our fourteenth by a scholar called Liû Mî, with the title which I have adopted for my paper. Mr. Bunyiû Nanjio, in his catalogue of the Buddhist Tripitaka, enters the treatise as No. 1643, and adds that the author was of the Yüan dynasty. A copy of it in my possession assigns the author to the Sung dynasty. The last year of the one of those dynasties was 1279, and the first year of the other was 1280. Evidently Liû Mî must have lived on from the one into the other. If he wrote other books, none of them has found a place in the Tripitaka. He entertained a strong conviction of the superiority of Buddhism to the other two systems, but was not, so far as it appears, himself a monk. He is styled "Ching Châi Hsio-Shih Liû Mî," which I render by "Liû Mî, the Distinguished Scholar of the Quiet Study."

My attention was first directed to the treatise twelve years ago, and Mr. Nanjio happening to call on me one day when I was reading it, I asked him what he thought of it. He replied, "It is one of the most popular books in Japan. Everybody reads it. It is a very able exposition and defence of Buddhism." Some years afterwards, in a conversation with Mr. Iusiro Kiuchi, a member of the

Japanese Cabinet, I found that he was familiar with Liú Mî's arguments, and prepared to maintain them with unhesitating confidence. I count myself fortunate in having become acquainted with "The Discussion of the Three Doctrines," and think that I cannot better do my part in our present Congress than by bringing before you the more important portions of it in an English version. The author's method of conducting his argument is different from what a scholar trained in the schools of the West would pursue, but his competency to deal with his subject, so far as his range of information was concerned, cannot be questioned. Occasionally I am unable to accept his statements, and think that he errs here by exaggeration, there by defect. Where this is the case, I will briefly indicate my difference of opinion, and endeavour to correct his error or supply his deficiency; but, for the most part, I will do little more than repeat to you in English what Liú Mî has told me in his Chinese.

I.

Our author commences with an account of the origin or first appearance of the Three Doctrines in China.

(1.) First in order came "The Doctrine of the Literati," which began with Fû-hsî's making of the Right Trigrams. "The Doctrine of the Literati" is Liú's name for what has come to be called by foreigners "Confucianism," and it is the more correct denomination of the two, for Confucius was only one of the Literati. He called himself "a transmitter and not a maker, one who believed in and loved the ancients." He said, "I am not one who was born in the possession of knowledge. I am one who is fond of antiquity and earnest in seeking for knowledge there." Tsze-sze, his grandson, defines the antiquity where the Sage learned the principles which he taught, saying that "he handed down the doctrines of Yâo and Shun, as if they had been his ancestors."

The history of China, accepted by its Literati, and which seems to me reliable, places Yâo and Shun in the twenty-fourth and twenty-third centuries before Christ. Liú Mî goes far beyond that era, and carries us back to Fû-hsî and his Trigrams. We find those figures in the Yî Ching. They are the trilineal symbols from which are developed the sixty-four Hexagrams of that strange and mysterious book. Fû-hsî's place in chronology can only be guessed at. If Yâo really lived in the twenty-fourth century B.C., I think that a thousand years is a very moderate allowance for the time between him and Fû-hsî. The tradition that the latter made the Eight

Trigrams was probably tantamount with our author to a statement that he invented the written characters. At any rate, the rise of the doctrine of the Literati is placed long before that of the other two Doctrines.

(2.) The Doctrine of the Tâo is dated by Liû from Lâo-tsze's publication or production rather of the Tâo-teh Ching, "the Classic," that is, "of the Tâo and its Characteristics." This event must have taken place in the sixth century B.C., probably during the lifetime of Confucius, though there had been an earlier doctrine of the Tâo, for which the authorship of Hwang-tî is claimed. He was posterior to Fû-hsî, and the year 2697 B.C. has been put down as the first year of his rule.

(3.) The entrance of Buddhism into China is assigned to the reign of the emperor Ming (A.D. 58-75) of the second or eastern Han dynasty. Our author says nothing of an earlier entrance, which has been imagined, of eighteen monks from India in B.C. 218, in the time of Shih Hwang-tî, the founder of the Ch'in dynasty. If such men ever arrived at the capital of China, we have the testimony of Nien Ch'ang in his History of Buddhism that they were not allowed to remain in the country, but immediately sent away.

It is related that in A.D. 61 the emperor Ming dreamt one night that he saw a golden image flying towards him from the west. Notices of Buddha and his doctrines had by this time found their way to the Chinese capital, and the emperor's counsellors concluded that the dream prognosticated the introduction of them to the country. Messengers being sent to the west accordingly to make inquiries about them, they returned in the end of 68 to the capital at Lo-yang, bringing with them an image of Buddha, some texts, and two monks known to us as Kâsyapa Maṭāṅga and Chû Fâ-lan, who were cordially welcomed and suitably accommodated, and who addressed themselves to translate their books into Chinese, a work which may be said to have gone on ever since. The same Nien Ch'ang whom I have just mentioned gives erroneously, as do all the Chinese and Japanese writers whom I have consulted, the year B.C. 1027 as the era of Buddha's birth. Not even Nanjio ventures to call this date in question.

II.

Our author next gives a brief and general view of what is common in the teaching of the Three Doctrines, and shows how each of them seems to be indispensable.

He says: "The fundamental idea with the Literati is correctness or morality; with the Tâoists, veneration or giving honour to their Tâo; and with the Buddhists, vastness. They agree in their love of life and dislike of putting to death, and so (the principle of) Benevolence is common to them; in their regard for others as themselves, and so (the sentiment of) Justice is common to them; in their repression of anger and opposition to lust, in their prohibition of excess and precautions against wrong, and so (the maintenance of) Self-culture is common to them. They all, as if with the crash of thunder, penetrate the ears of the deaf, and, as with the brightness of the sun and moon, give light to the darkened understanding, and so a Transforming influence is common to them.

"It readily appears that there are only the two paths of good and evil open to man, and it is the common aim of the three doctrines that all men should take the good path. One writer has said that Buddhism regulates the mind, Tâoism the body, and the doctrine of the Literati society. But the mind, the body, and society require, each of them, to be regulated, and how can any one of the Three Doctrines be left uncultivated? Another writer has said that the doctrine of the Literati cures the skin, Tâoism the pulse, and Buddhism the marrow. But as the skin, the pulse, and the marrow all require to be kept in healthy action, how can any one of the doctrines be allowed to fall into disuse?"

III.

Our author proceeds briefly to describe the operation of the Three Doctrines, and shows how each has defied all attempts to eradicate it.

He says (1.) "The Literati in China employ (their teaching of) the (three) cardinal Bonds and (five) Constant Virtues to rectify the relationships of society and to illustrate (the influence and power of) ceremonies, music, punishments, and government. When these have a universal action and encounter no repelling opposition, a happy order prevails throughout heaven and earth, and all things are nourished and flourish. Great is the service of the Literati to the world, and so, when the emperor of Ch'in wished to do away with them and their doctrine, notwithstanding all that he could do, they could not in the end be done away with."

Such is the brief account which our author gives of the Doctrine of the Literati. So far as it goes, it is correct. There underlies the doctrine an analysis of our human nature into its constituent moral elements, and of society into its constituent relationships,

along with a recognition of the duties in fulfilling which man would exercise all the faculties inherent in him, be happy himself, and make all with whom he had to do happy also. We are not surprised to hear from Confucius repeated enunciations of a rule of life which almost exactly anticipated that which we find in our New Testament:—"What you do not want done to yourself, do not do to others."

Liû Mî, however, misses or overlooks a most important element in the doctrine of the Literati—the recognition, namely, of the fact that man's existence, nature, and duties are from a Supreme Being, now indicated by the impersonal term Heaven, and now called by the personal name of Supreme Ruler, equivalent to our designation God. There is the first sentence in Tsze-sze's treatise, so well known as the *Chung Yung*:—"What Heaven has conferred (on man) is called his nature; the following of this nature is called the path (to be trodden); the regulation of this path is called (the system of) instruction."

More than a thousand years, moreover, before Tsze-sze, the founder of the Shang dynasty, T'ang the Successful had proclaimed: "The Great God has conferred (even) on the inferior people a moral sense, compliance with which would show their nature invariably right. To make them tranquilly pursue the course which it indicates is the work of the Ruler." This monotheistic faith was at the foundation of the doctrine of the Literati, enunciated from the earliest time, and ruling it down to the present day; sometimes suffusing and transfiguring the morality of the system, and converting it into a religion. A baser belief may have preceded it in pre-historic time, and it has now and then been disfigured by practices inconsistent with it; but I cannot suppose that Liû was ignorant of its theistic, even monotheistic, character. Perhaps his familiarity with Buddhism, in which there is no such belief, made it easier for him to overlook or undervalue the evidence of it in all the orthodox literature of his country. However we explain it, his account of the doctrine of the Literati is seriously defective; and in the interest of truth, I take this early opportunity to supply his omission.

He says (2.) on Tâoism:—"Tâoism in China makes men pure and humble in the keeping of themselves, and lowly and retiring in the assertion of themselves. It washes away all practices of a heedless and disorderly character, and brings its professors back to the regions of quietness, silence, and non-action. Its use in the teaching of the world is very great, and so, when the emperor Wû

of the Liang dynasty (502-549 A.D.) wished to destroy Tâoism, notwithstanding all that he could do, Tâoism could not be done away with."

To this brief account of Tâoism I will take no exception here. By-and-by I shall have occasion to point out wherein the estimate of the system is incomplete.

(3.) On Buddhism our author says: "Buddhism in China makes men put away what is vain, and seek after what is real; reject what is false, and turn to what is true; convert action which requires effort to that which is easy; and advance from what is profitable only to one's-self to what is profitable to others. It is the dependence and resource of all living people, to which nothing can be added. Hence, though the three Wû sovereigns wished to extinguish Buddhism, it could not, with all their efforts, be extinguished."

Here Liû adds: "Lî Shih-Ch'ien of the Sûi dynasty (589-618), in discoursing about the three doctrines, says, 'Buddhism may be compared to the sun, Tâoism to the moon, and the doctrine of the Literati to the five planets.' As it would be impossible for the sky above to dispense with any one of those three luminaries, so it is impossible for the world to be without any one of the Three Doctrines. Although there are the differences of superior and inferior among them, not one will bear to be partially disowned. So it is; but the minds of men are different, and different minds have different views. Those who favour Tâoism say that there is nothing in Buddhism equal to the veneration of the Tâo. Those who favour Buddhism say that there is nothing in Tâoism equal to *its* grandeur. The Literati, again, plume themselves upon the morality of their system, reproach both the others, and denounce them as 'strange doctrines.' They approve, they condemn with endless confusion, and have done so for hundreds and thousands of years."

IV.

Our author now hastens to clinch his discussion and bring his argument to a conclusion. He says:—"My purpose is to make clear and discuss the merits of the Three Doctrines, and I am resolved that I will not do so with a prejudiced mind, that I will discard from my contention all love for any one system and dislike of another, and will rule my thoughts with an absolute impartiality.

"Let us inquire into the highest achievement of each doctrine,

and then our perplexities will melt away like ice. The highest achievement is seen by bringing together the operating causes and resulting issues. All occupations and things have their highest achievements. In the case of the husbandman, his work appears in his person soaked with rain and his feet bedaubed with earth, while its fruit is seen in his granaries filled with the stores of his produce. In the case of the merchant, his work appears in his early journeys, and nights spent beneath the dew, while its fruit is seen in his safes filled with gold. So it is also with the Three Doctrines. Each has its highest achievement, and from their achievements we can estimate their comparative merits as superior and inferior. The conclusion comes readily without the use of argument. Let us now look at them with this object in mind.

"1. According to the doctrine of the Literati, one proceeds from his own single person to regulate his clan or family; from his clan or family to regulate the State; and from the State to regulate all within 'the four seas,' till the regions of space are filled with the lessons of the Doctrine. The primary principle which it requires may be pronounced very small, and its effects to be far-reaching. But what is its relation to what is without 'the four seas' and beyond the six bounds of space? We have such expressions as 'all on the east was affected by it, and all on the west, till it reached the four seas.' That is its most distant reach; there it stops and goes no farther.

"Thus it is with the doctrine of the Literati. Therefore they who study it preserve their mental constitution and nourish their nature, walking in the paths of benevolence and righteousness;—they are scholars complete and admirable, whose course is perfect and unadulterated. When we look at all their arrangements and all they accomplish, we perceive that they render the greatest service to their rulers and confer benefits on the people. They can secure the repose of the nation, and the prosperity of its altars; they can maintain the culture of society, and produce the highest order and peace. This work being accomplished, they grow old, but their names are preserved by the faithful historians.

"This is the highest achievement of the doctrine of the Literati, and here it stops. Tsâng-tsze says, 'Only ending in death, is it not far-reaching?' That it reaches to death shows how great is the service which it renders."

With this there ends all that our author says about the doctrine of the Literati. Again he dismisses the subject without any recognition of the existence and ordinations of the Supreme Ruler, of

which I have already complained. And there is another want,—I do not say another omission, for we cannot blame Liû Mî for it. But we should have been glad if, in speaking of the highest achievement of the doctrine, he had been able to refer to its giving to man the assurance of his immortality. If he could not give such an assurance, some whisper of hope would have been welcome. The life in time of the able and successful member of the school is finely described; but when life is done, all that remains for him is the tribute of the historian,—the mention of him with praise in the records of the past. And of the unseen future of the ill-doer, the man who has lived a useless life, or who has lived only to do evil, and increase the unhappiness and misery of other men, the doctrine says nothing. So far as we know it from Liû Mî, it says nothing; so far as we learn it from Confucius himself, it says nothing. We are disappointed, and call to mind the conversation between the sage and his disciple Chî Lû, when the latter said, “I venture to ask about death,” and the Master replied, “While you do not know life, how can you know about death?”

2. Dealing now with Tâoism, our author says: “The doctrine of Tâoism starts from the bodily person and proceeds to what is mysterious and obscure; from what takes place among men it rises above the sky; from the mountain forests and craggy caves it reaches to the boundless expanse, the lofty golden gate of the great firmament:—it may be said to ascend from this ordinary world, and enter into the most sacred region. But what is its relation to what is beyond the makings and transformations of heaven and earth? It says that, ‘In its greatness it embraces the utmost limits of the sky, and in its minuteness penetrates to the atoms of dust.’ Thus its highest reach is to the vast expanse of the sky, and it has nothing to do with anything beyond this.

“Thus it is with the doctrine of the Tâoists. Therefore they who study it with the undistracted energy of their spirits move to union with the disembodied, and grandly, in the region of absolute purity and few desires, freeing themselves from the old, and putting on the new, they accumulate meritorious performances and amass their good deeds, till they can deliver themselves from the trammels of the body; can fly aloft, can subdue spirits, can summon wind and rain to come at their call, can assist the processes of making and transformation, and establish a mysterious merit, their longevity inexhaustible, and their enjoyment natural and free.

“Such and nothing more is the highest achievement of Tâoism. Its classic of the Yellow Court says, ‘After long contemplation in

this protracted life, they fly away.' Long life being attained, the goal of Tâoism is reached."

Thus briefly is the doctrine of Tâoism discussed and dismissed. Liû Mî would seem hardly to have felt the difficulties in interpreting the treatise of Lâo-tsze that have embarrassed and perplexed most European sinologues who have made it a study. He does not attempt to give an explanation of the name Tâo; he says nothing of the scheme of contraries, which plays so important a part in the system; he does not even mention Lâo's maxim that good is to be returned for evil; he accepts without question the wild and baseless stories of what the Tâoist masters are able to accomplish by their magical arts, which are a subject of ridicule to the Confucian scholars. The highest achievement of the discipline is to him long life, and that obtained, though facts do not make good the attainment of it, the goal of Tâoism is reached.

3. We come now to our author's account of Buddhism, for which he has been reserving his strength. He says: "According to the teaching of Buddhism, when a Buddha comes forth to his manifestation, three thousand great chiliocosms constitute the sphere of his successful operation. Let us speak of it in one of those worlds.

"In the midst of every world there is a Sumêru mountain, rising from the great ocean and ascending above the nine tiers of the sky. Round the waist of this mountain revolve the sun and moon, separating day and night.

"On the four sides of Sumêru are four continents. That on the east is called Pûrva-vidêha; that on the west, Gô-dhan-ya; that on the south, Zambu-dvîpa; and that on the north, Uttara-kuru. In each of these four great continents there are 3000 countries. We dwell in the Zambu-dvîpa continent, and our China is one of the 3000 countries of that southern continent. Shâkya-muni descended and was born in India, which is the exact centre of the southern continent.

"Above the four sides of Sumêru the space nearest the sun and moon is what we call the Dêva-loka of the Four Kings. Above this again is what is called the Dêva-loka of Shâkra, Lord of Dêvas. Higher still in the pure vacancy, brightly shining amid the tiers of clouds, are the four Dêva-lokas, having the general name of 'The Region of Desire.' Still higher amid the tiers of clouds are the eighteen Dêva-lokas having the general name of 'The Region of Form.' Higher still in the boundless void are the four Dêva-lokas having the general name of 'The Region without Form.' All living

beings in these three regions are subject to birth, old age, sickness, and death.

“Such is an account of one world, and a thousand such worlds are called a small chiliocosm, and a thousand such small chiliocosms are called a medium one, comprising a million worlds. A thousand such medium chiliocosms are called a great chiliocosm, comprising ten million worlds. The thousand being taken three times, we speak of three thousand great chiliocosms, but these in reality form only one great chilio-universe. In this great chilio-universe there are ten million mount Sumêrus, ten million suns and moons, ten million dêva retinues of the Four Kings. If one were to take a million strings of small cash, and on every world put down one cash, when he had exhausted the million strings he would have gone over a great chilio-universe. This is the sphere of the successful operation of one Buddha.

“When any one Buddha comes forth in his manifestation, then in the ten million worlds there are ten million individual Buddhas manifested at the same time. Therefore the Sanskrit Sûtra of the Net, the Brahma-gala Sûtra, says: ‘(The leaves of) each lotus flower represent the ten million countries. In every one there is a Shâkya-muni seated under a bôdhi-tree, and all at the same time attain to the Buddha state.’ In this way there are the ten thousand millions of Lochanas or essential Buddhas, which appear in ten thousand millions of Shâkya-munis, each assigned to his own material region. These are styled the innumerable embodiments of the essence; and then these ten thousand millions of embodied Buddhas proceed to transform and deliver the ten thousand million worlds, till all that are in them, produced from the womb, from eggs, or from the water, without feet, or with two feet, or with four feet, or with many feet, with form and without form, with thought and without thought, even to those who do not think and have never approximated to think,—all are carried across (to Nirvâna). Such is the result of the teachings of Buddhism.”

Let us pause here for a moment and think of what our author has said about the constitution and composition of the universe and the manifestation of a Buddha. Well might he at the commencement of his treatise specify “greatness” or “vastness” as the distinctive and fundamental characteristic of Buddhism. But all his assertions as to its actual, and what I may call its material greatness, are unsupported by evidence and contrary to facts. There is no mention of a Creator, no reference even to a demiurge, no hint of evolution.

Who placed Sumêru in the waters of the sea? There is no such mountain as it is said to be, in India or in all the earth. And what is said about the Dêva-lokas above it is all in cloudland, baseless, monstrous, absurd. We can accept the existence of one Buddha; but that there are in the great chilio-universe ten thousand millions of Buddhas has no majesty to awe us to acquiescence. The assertion only amuses us and moves us to derision. Then there is the great consummation, the result of the teaching of Buddhism. The idea of its greatness melts into a vast grotesque conception of the beautiful diversified universe again becoming formless and void, a chaotic Nirvâna, terrible, unbelievable. Such would be the result of the operation of Buddhism!

Our author resumes and goes on, as he did with the two other Doctrines, to show what is the highest achievement of Buddhism. He says: "Therefore the learners of Buddhism know the emptiness (and vanity) of all the Skandhas—the constituent elements, that is, of every personality. They cleanse the six roots (or means of communication with all that is external to themselves) to an absolute purity. They keep far aloof from the ten bad deeds and cultivate the ten excellences. They keep in view the four things on which memory should dwell. They put forth the four correct exertions. They remove from before them the sixty-two (perverting) sights, and do not allow anything depraved or hypocritical to be about them. They cut off the ninety-seven occasions of annoyance, so that no troubles can disturb them. The 3000 greater observances of demeanour and the 80,000 smaller actions are all carefully attended to by them. They display the four (gracious) exercises of mind to which no limit can be set. They constantly employ and cultivate the (graces of the) six paramîtas. Amid their practice of the rules of the doctrine they will forget their own persons, even to stripping off their skin or piercing their flesh till the blood flows, to write their Sûtras. They will cut off an arm or throw away the whole body while they continue their conversation with another without shrinking or hesitation. They will forget themselves for the sake of other creatures, as (when Shâkya-muni) endured the pain and cut off a piece of his flesh to feed the hawk (and save the dove), or as when he gave his body to feed the famished tigress, and that without fright or apprehension. His money, pearls, treasures, his kingdom, capital, wife, and son, he threw away as he would have done a worn-out shoe. His joints, hands, feet, head, eyes, marrow, and brains he parted with as if they were merely his exuvîæ. From life to life, through hundreds,

thousands, myriads, and lakhs of lives this mind underwent no change ; from kalpa to kalpa, through hundreds, thousands, and lakhs of kalpas, this mind became more earnest and resolute.

“In this way, after three Asangkhyea ages have been completed, and all the virtues fully displayed, they become disentangled from the fourfold enthrallment, all tendencies to error are extinguished ; their comprehension and progress are beyond measure and limit. They skilfully enter the gate of the system, and advance beyond measure and limit. Their Samâdhi is accomplished ; their five roots and five powers are perfectly developed. The three things to be attained and clearly understood are fully acknowledged. The fourfold wisdom and threefold body receive their attestations. The six supernatural talents and the fivefold eye are obtained. They acquire the four incontrovertible powers of argument, and can discourse without end. They become possessed of the will whose four exercises cannot be denied, and can direct it as they please. Their eight victories and eight consequent deliverances from all objective and subjective trammels are continually exhibited. In their fourfold freedom from apprehension and their fourfold means of pacification they have an inexhaustible store of satisfaction and content. Theirs are the eight divisions of the holy path, the eighteen peculiar characteristics (of the Buddha), different from what are to be found in the Three Conveyances ; the thirty-two physiological marks and the eighty varieties of beauty and grandeur make their spiritual body subtle and exquisite. They see clearly the innumerable kalpas of the past and the future ; they know fully the innumerable minds of all living in the innumerable worlds of the present. With the ten honours of distinction they rise above the three worlds. Such men possess every variety of wisdom. Each of them is the dēva among dēvas ; a king of the law to whom there is no superior ; among all who are correct and awake, one who is truly so, excelling the possessors of all charity ; one who acquires completely the ten faculties, and leads back into the regions of the Law all who have sentient being.

“This is the highest achievement of Buddhism ; here it stops. The Sûtra of the Lotus of the Law says, ‘The Tathâgata is the greatest instance of cause and effect.’ Therefore, when one comes forth and is manifested in the world, he wishes to cause all living beings to arrive at the same result as himself, for in his great desire and great power he has sworn that all possessed of an active, intelligent nature shall with himself arrive at the unsurpassable consummation of the Nirvâna.”

Our author has brought his discussion nearly to an end, having exhibited what he considers to be the highest achievement of the three doctrines. Summing up the results at which he has arrived, he says:—"The students of the Doctrine of the Literati, when they have attained to its highest result, only transmit their names to the future with distinction; the students of Tâoism as their highest benefit only get long life; the students of Buddhism, on the other hand, obliterate the distinction between life and death, and arrive finally at Nirvâna, having sought to convert all living beings to become with themselves truly enlightened. Does not the comparative superiority and inferiority of the three doctrines in this way manifestly appear? Let me try and illustrate this by comparisons.

"The sphere in which the system of the Literati operates is the Middle Kingdom, our China; that where the system of the Tâo operates is the sky above and human society; that in which Buddhism operates is the entire firmament above, and all the region where its system is in action.

"The doctrine of the Literati may be said to have for its aim the government of a family; its dread commands take effect within its surrounding walls, but it cannot be named outside them. Tâoism may be said to have for its aim the direction of a territory; its governmental lessons reach to all within its four borders, but beyond them they cannot be maintained. Buddhism at once takes possession of all within the four seas and becomes ruler of all under the sky. Over the land to the margin of the ocean, all are its ministers and people; ceremonies, music, measures of correction, and punishments proceed from it. This is the difference between the three systems as regards their breadth and narrowness.

"Students of the doctrine of the Literati die, and there is an end of them; they and their system are an affair of but a hundred years. Students of Tâoism eagerly seek after long life; they and their life may endure for a thousand or a myriad years. Students of Buddhism wish to obliterate the distinction between life and death, and will consequently abide in a condition of tranquillity, passing through a multitude of kalpas innumerable and inexhaustible. The system of the Literati may be compared to the flame of a lamp which gives light for a single evening. When the bell sounds or the clepsydra is exhausted, the oil is expended and the lamp goes out. Tâoism may be compared to the lamps which king Ajâtashatrû made to illuminate the relics of Buddha, but which would become extinguished after a hundred years. Buddhism may be compared to the illuminating power of the bright

sun, shining constantly through myriads of years, disappearing in the west, but rising again in the east, with unceasing revolution. This is the distinction between the three doctrines as regards the length and shortness of their duration.

“In this way we know that there is a law fitting for this world, and a law conducting to the world beyond this. The two doctrines of the Literati and of Tâoism are for this world. Buddhism begins with the teaching for this world, and ends with that which is for the world beyond this. What is it which we call this world? The Hwâ-Yen Sûtra says: ‘There are the world of Dévas, the world of men, and the world of king Yama. Each of these regions and all in it (including the regions of Desire, Form, and Formlessness) is called a world. There is a law prevailing here which causes the inhabitants to pass from death to life and from life to death in ceaseless revolution. Where the law does not operate beyond the three regions, it is called the law for this world. Where the nature possesses a true intelligence, embracing in its regards all space, and which cannot be confined within those three regions, we have what is called the law prevailing beyond this world.’

“Buddhism sets forth its teachings under the figure of the Five Conveyances. The first two of them, which are called the Human Conveyance and the Déva Conveyance, contain the law suitable for this world. The other three, which are called the Conveyances of the S'râvakas, the Pratyêka Buddhas, and the Bôdhi-sattvas, contain the laws which extend to the world beyond this.

“The Human Conveyance is what are called the Five Prohibitions:—(i.) not to kill, meaning that we ought to love all living things, that we ought not hastily to do violence for our own advantage to any creature, and not merely that we ought not to eat its flesh; (ii.) not to steal, meaning that we ought not to take to ourselves anything that is not right, and not merely that we ought not to steal the things of others; (iii.) not to commit fornication or adultery, meaning that we ought not to approach any but our legitimate mate; (iv.) not to speak falsely, meaning that we are not by our words to impose on others; (v.) not to drink intoxicating liquors, meaning that we are not by intemperance to disturb the cultivation of our minds. They who hold fast these five prohibitions are enabled by means of them to play the man. The five constant virtues of the Literati have the same meaning and object.

“The Déva Conveyance is what are called the Ten Excellences:—

(i.) not to kill; (ii.) not to steal; (iii.) not to commit fornication or adultery; (iv.) not to speak falsely. These four are the same as the five prohibitions. The fifth is not to use specious or indirect speech, meaning not to employ words to gloss over what is wrong; the sixth, not to have a double tongue, meaning not to talk of others differently to their face and behind their back; the seventh, not to have a foul mouth, meaning to eschew slandering and also speaking what is not correct and righteous; the eighth, not to be jealous, meaning to eschew envy and dislike; the ninth, not to cherish angry feeling, meaning not to allow passion and resentment to lodge in the mind; the tenth is not to have any stupidity, meaning never to allow the sense of what is good and what is bad to be obscured. The recompense of him who cultivates all these ten excellences is found in his being born as a Dêva. The nine true and admirable prohibitions of Tâoism teach the same lessons.

"It is by the Human Conveyance that there is planted the condition of man's existence; it is by the Dêva Conveyance that there is obtained the condition of his Dêva state. The law for this world consists of these two, and they equally belong to the three doctrines.

"As to the other three Conveyances, they conduct those who observe them to pass grandly out of this world; they make them forget both what is good and what is evil, advance directly to the limit of the True, spiritually passing into and comprehending it,—a state which is not to be seen or spied out in this world."

I end here my translations from Liû Mî's treatise. In what follows he replies to various objections that may be made to his views, and defends his Buddhism from the attacks of many of the greatest names among the Literati of China.

I hope the time is not far distant when some sinologist will be induced to publish an edition of Liû's work, along with a translation of it and the necessary notes. Such a contribution to our knowledge of the literature of the Chinese Empire, from the introduction of Buddhism down to the Yüan or Mongol dynasty in our fourteenth century, would be most valuable and important.

V.

In the meantime, I will relieve you from listening longer to my paper with a few general observations which its subjects have suggested to me.

First, I have called your attention already to the extravagant description which our author gives of the constitution of the universe

as the sphere of every Buddha's operation. Not that the description which he gives is exhaustive. What he says of the Dêva-lokas in the firmament, which are altogether twenty-six in number, is very little, and he says nothing at all in this place about the Narakas, the many hells or places of punishment, which are situated, under the government of king Yama, beneath the earth, as the Dêva-lokas are above it. Liû Mî no doubt thought that what he did say was sufficient to impress his readers with the vastness of the Buddhistic universe.

When we pass from our author's cosmology, however, to his exhibition of the moral teaching of the doctrine, we experience a great relief. There is, indeed, no recognition of a Divine Creator and Ruler in it, nothing about any love and service as due from us to God, but the inculcation of moral duties in the sphere of one's own character and life is both minute and grand. From its pessimist view of misery as a necessary attribute of sentient existence we are compelled to dissent, but its teaching of the doctrine of the path to be trodden, as leading to the extinction of the passions, which increase and envenom the misery of life, is very full and noble.

Secondly, Our author does not enable us to say definitely what he understood by Nirvâna, the consummation to which Buddhism leads. He says that students of the doctrine of the Literati die, and there is an end of them, excepting in so far as the historian preserves the memory of their deeds; that students of Tâoism may get long life, and live for a thousand or a myriad of years, but then there is an end also of them; and then he says that the students of Buddhism try to obliterate the distinction between life and death, and will abide in a condition of tranquillity, passing through a multitude of kalpas, innumerable, inexhaustible. One thing we may say:—for him who has attained to Nirvâna there is an end of transmigration. He has no more to endure the misery of life; he has fought the fight and died in the triumph of it; he has not to live again as he did before till he win another similar fight. But is the Nirvâna state one of happy conscious enjoyment? I used to think that the word was equivalent to our annihilation. The translation of it in Thibetan is equivalent to "separation from pain," in Mongolian to "escape from misery." In Chinese the most common definition of it is "separation from life, and extinction" (離生滅). The character which I render by "extinction" is very emphatic. Of its constituent parts one is 火 (hwō), "fire," and the other is 水 (shûi), "water," the two consuming and destroying elements. The meaning of the whole is "extinction," either in an active or passive

sense. The "extinction of the altars of a state" was an old phrase, tantamount to the abolition of it as an independent or self-subsisting principality. If Nirvâna be anything more than the cessation of living existence, the going out of life, what remains must be something insignificant and not worth having. I must think that the life of misery terminating in Nirvâna would not be worth living. On the pessimist foundation of the doctrine nothing better than such a fiasco could well be built up.

Thirdly, But what shall be said of the consuming desire of Shâkyamuni, yea, of every Buddha, to deliver all living, all existing beings and things—I may say "the whole creation"—from their condition of suffering? I spoke of the extravagance of the statement about such a result of Buddhism when first made by our author. Farther on we found him quoting from the Hwa-Yen Sûtra that the Tathâgata has sworn that all possessed of an active, intelligent nature shall with himself arrive at the consummation of Nirvâna. The Tathâgata—that is, our Buddha, the founder of the doctrine called by his name—the Tathâgata has sworn that all intelligent beings shall with himself attain to Nirvâna. I cannot refer to any other Sûtra where this oath of Buddha is recorded, but in the very remarkable Liturgy of Kwan-Yin, translated by the late Samuel Beal, whom I may well style a Buddhist master, in his "Catena of Buddhist Scriptures," the lesson to be read by the officiating monk is to this effect: "The Bôdhi-Sattva Kwan-Yin in addressing Buddha said, 'World-honoured One! While the recitation of these divine sentences is ineffectual to deliver creatures from the three evil ways of birth, I vow never to arrive at the condition of Buddha!'" This same vow is then repeated several times in different forms, and is followed by the "divine sentences" to be repeated, which are merely mystic phrases of a Dhâranî or magical charm. The whole liturgy appears to us ridiculously foolish, or worse; but as intended to awaken in the worshippers the sentiment of compassion for the woes of others with the vow of the greatest self-denial and sacrifice, unless those woes were relieved, it has always seemed to me very wonderful. The association in Buddhism of what seems sublime benevolence and of drivelling absurdity of method is not to be paralleled in any other doctrine or religion.

Fourthly, Our author has failed to bring me to the same mind with himself as to the superiority of Buddhism to the doctrine of the Literati in China. That empire is what it is by virtue of the lessons inculcated in its ancient classics, set forth, as they subsequently were, by its sage whom we call Confucius, expanded and

illustrated and enforced by the writings of its scholars down to the present day, taught in all its schools, and the sources from which are drawn the subjects for examination at its official competitions, which are the passport to rank and all honourable distinction. Buddhism has been in China but a disturbing influence, ministering to the element of superstition in our nature that plays so large a part in the world. I am far from saying that the doctrine of the Literati is perfect; nevertheless, it has kept the people of China together in national union, passing through many revolutions, but still enduring, after at least four or five millenniums of its existence, and still not without a measure of heart and hope. Europe and America can now give it something better than India did in sending it its Buddhism in our first century; and I hope they will do so. You must not look in the civilisation of China or Japan for the fruits of Buddhism. Go to Thibet and Mongolia, and in the bigotry or apathy of their populations, in their prayer-wheels and cylinders, you find the achievements of the doctrine of Buddha.

Fifthly, and you will be glad to hear me add lastly, I will venture to conclude by adverting to a prevalent error concerning the number of Buddhists that are in the world. Our author, Liû Mî, as we saw at the commencement of my paper, puts down its greatness or vastness as the distinguishing characteristic of Buddhism, and we have seen how he proceeds to make up the vastness of it. As baseless as his descriptions, it appears to me, are the estimates of the number of its adherents, which makes them amount to 40 per cent. of the population of the world, or thereabouts. To assign to Buddhism the whole of the population of China seems to me "passing strange." I do not commit myself to any definite figures without the authority of official and reliable statistics; but I should be surprised if it were proved that there are a hundred million men in the world who would write down, or direct another to enter, their names as believers in Shakyamûni and his Doctrine.

II.
L'ÂGE DU LI-KI,
OU
MÉ MORIAL DES RITES CHINOIS.

PAR

MONSIEUR C. DE HARLEZ,
Professeur à l'Université de Louvain.

§ I. OBJET DE CETTE ÉTUDE.

Parmi les sinologues et les hagiographes qui se sont occupés de la religion des anciens Chinois, il en est un grand nombre qui ont puisé les renseignements qui s'y rapportent, principalement dans le Li-ki,¹ et qui ont tiré de ce livre les traits nécessaires pour former le tableau du culte primitif de la Chine. À leurs yeux le "Mé morial des Rites" avait, en cette matière, la même autorité que les vieux Kings.

Dans un autre de nos écrits, nous avons fait ressortir les erreurs auxquelles cette idée a donné naissance et les contradictions extraordinaires qui en sont résultées, entre les relations de ceux qui ont procédé d'après ce principe, et nous ont montré simultanément dans les premiers Chinois, des athées, des animistes, des matérialistes, des spiritualistes, des monothéistes parfaits, ou des idolâtres. La source de ces variations étonnantes était, comme nous l'avons dit, dans cette erreur généralement régnante qui faisait considérer tous les monuments religieux de la Chine comme représentant un système toujours identique à lui-même et qui rapportait en outre l'origine du Li-ki à une antiquité très reculée.

Déjà dans la préface de la traduction complète du Li-ki, publiée parmi les "Sacred Books of the East," le savant sinologue, Dr. J.

¹ Le Li-ki est aujourd'hui suffisamment connu. Disons toutefois pour ceux qui n'ont point eu l'occasion d'en apprendre la nature, que ce livre est un vaste recueil de maximes, de préceptes, et d'exemples relatifs à ce que les Chinois appellent *li*, rites, c'est-à-dire à toutes les règles des actions, non seulement de la vie privée, mais aussi de l'ordre politique, social ou religieux. Divisé en quarante livres, il contient un amas énorme de renseignements, vrais ou faux, sur ces matières ; les éléments qui le composent sont le plus souvent rangés sans ordre et comme au hasard.

Legge, avait déjà fait remarquer que les auteurs du Li-ki exprimaient uniquement les opinions ayant cours sous les premiers Han. On n'en continua pas moins à reculer, au-delà des bornes admissibles, l'âge du grand rituel et l'on n'avait pas été peu surpris de lire dans un ouvrage écrit par un sinologue distingué que le Li-ki avait été compilé au xi^e siècle.

Un autre savant imbu d'une idée semblable, disait naguère encore que "le Mémorial des Rites représentait fidèlement l'antiquité, qu'il avait, plus que tout autre, échappé à l'influence de Confucius." Dans notre *Aperçu Historique des Religions Chinoises* nous avons signalé brièvement quelques faits montrant combien ces appréciations étaient erronées. Mais ce n'était là que des appréciations sommaires tout-à-fait insuffisantes.

J'ai donc cru devoir revenir sur cette question et l'examiner sous ses diverses faces, de manière à résoudre tous les doutes, si même je n'épuise pas complètement le débat, tous les arguments que je pourrais faire valoir.

J'aurai pour cela deux points spéciaux à traiter : (1) la composition, la rédaction du livre qui porte le titre de Li-ki ; (2) la provenance, l'âge des différentes parties qui le constituent et qui n'ont entre elles que des relations extérieures.

§ II. COMPOSITION DU LI-KI.

Cette première partie de notre étude ne nous demandera que peu de temps et de peine. Il est étonnant que l'on ait perdu de vue les faits les plus certains, au point de reporter la compilation du Li-ki jusqu'au xi^e siècle et même au-delà. Nous les rappellerons donc en peu de mots.

Déjà sous les derniers Tcheous, pendant ces luttes longues et meurtrières entre les états vassaux qui aboutirent à la destruction complète de ces principautés et à leur réunion sous le sceptre des Ts'in, les rites avaient déperé et s'étaient profondément altérés. La corruption des cours, les violences qu'entraînait un état de guerre continuels avaient détruit le respect des règles antiques et les petits princes, comme les chefs les plus puissants, les violaient à l'envi. "Dès que la dynastie Tcheou défaillit, est-il dit au T'ang-shu, les rites et la musique furent corrompus par les états en lutte et périrent sous les Ts'in."¹

¹ Ma-tuan-lin est plus explicite encore : voici comment il s'exprime : "Quand vint la décadence des Tcheous, les princes vassaux se mirent à transgresser les lois, les règles et en firent périr ou jeter tous les documents." 皆滅去其籍.

Shi-hoang-ti le redoutable conquérant qui soumit toute la Chine à son pouvoir, et fit, comme on le sait, une guerre acharnée aux livres de l'antiquité chinoise, s'en prit spécialement aux rituels et s'acharna à les détruire. C'était là surtout que se trouvaient consignées ces règles de gouvernement qui mettaient un frein au pouvoir autocratique absolu, et fournissaient aux lettrés, amis de leur pays, le thème de leurs remontrances au souverain abusant de son pouvoir. Shi-hoang-ti, qui prétendait inaugurer une ère toute nouvelle,¹ voulait avant tout étouffer la voix de l'antiquité qui lui reprochait son despotisme.

Ainsi périrent les rituels et les rites, comme dit l'historien officiel des T'ang, qui ajoute aussitôt : "Quand les Han montèrent sur le trône, ce qui restait des six Kings,² était plein d'erreur et de confusion."

Lorsque l'empereur Han Hwei-ti eut rapporté le décret qui vouait les Kings à la destruction, les lettrés se mirent à rechercher les débris de ces livres sacrés et à reconstituer leur texte. Les rites ne furent pas oubliés, mais, comme le dit Sse-ma-tsien, on reconstruisit les rituels de mémoire. Chacun y mit du sien et bientôt l'on eut une collection formidable de livres relatifs aux règles de conduite. Il y en avait 131 volumes sous l'empereur Siuen (vers l'an 90 A.C.), 199 sous Tchang-ti (26 A.C.), et même 214 d'après le catalogue de la Bibliothèque des Sui (600 P.C.).

Ce que valait cette énorme collection, la suite va nous l'apprendre. Siuen-ti avait réuni en l'an 91 A.C. une assemblée de savants pour discuter et opérer la reconstruction des livres canoniques. À la suite de leurs délibérations, un lettré du nom de Tai-te et plus connu sous celui de Tai l'ainé, se mit à revoir les matériaux assemblés et réduisit cette masse indigeste à 89 volumes. Son cousin, *Siao Tai*, ou "Tai cadet," trouva lui-même ces 89 tomes, remplis de choses superflues et erronées et par une seconde rédaction, ramena l'œuvre de son prédécesseur aux proportions plus modestes de 46 volumes ou *Piens*. Mais deux siècles environ après cette opération, un autre lettré célèbre, nommé Ma-Yong, ajouta au

Depuis Kong-tze on ne s'en servit plus. Sous les Ts'ins ils furent détruits 大壤. Au temps de Hiao Siuen, Heu-tzang colligea et publia (des rites). Les disciples Tai-te et Tai-shen suivirent ses leçons. Puis Yen-tchong de Lou publia des portions de l'Ancien Texte. C'était vers l'an 100 A.C. Malheureusement nous n'avons aucun indice qui justifie la prétention de Yen-tchong (voir Ma-tuan-lin, p. 180, f. 1).

¹ C'est pourquoi il avait pris ce nom qui signifie Empereur I., et donné à son fils celui de *Erh-hoang-ti*, "Empereur II.," disant que sa race en arriverait au "Millième Empereur."

² Ce qu'on en retrouva et réunit.

mémorial trois nouveaux traités, le *Yue ling* (L. iii.), le *Ming T'ang Wei* (L. xii.), et le *Yo-ki* (L. xvii.). Ainsi fut formé le Li-ki.¹

Ce que les Chinois eux-mêmes pensent du travail de ces lettrés, l'historien des T'angs, et le grand philosophe-commentateur Tchou-hi, nous l'apprendront :—

“Les lettrés se réunirent,” dit le premier, “pour mettre en ordre les livres et les corriger.”² Mais *ils expliquaient les textes anciens d'après leurs idées propres, incapables d'atteindre la vérité.* En outre les livres d'astrologie virent alors le jour, troublant ainsi (de plus en plus) les livres canoniques. Les disciples de Tcheng Hiuen le proclamèrent le lettré suprême (*Ta jou*) et firent de ses paroles la plus haute autorité. . . . Les princes ne pouvant trancher les difficultés, crurent ne pouvoir abolir ce qui était établi par eux.”³

Et Tchou-hi : “Le rituel de Ta-tai est une œuvre inepte, remplie d'erreurs et de fantaisies.”⁴

Le Li-ki de Siao-tai, qui est le nôtre, n'a pas été jugé beaucoup plus favorablement par les lettrés chinois, car ils en ont fait des éditions expurgées où des sections et des livres entiers ont été rejetés pour les mêmes motifs. Ou peut le voir dans la préface et le texte publié avec traduction par Callery.⁵

Mais si les rites, les cérémonies avaient subi des altérations pro-

¹ Voici, d'autre part, ce que porte la préface du Ta-tai-li, telle que nous la trouvons dans le *Pi-shu hong-tchong* :—

“Depuis l'élévation des Han, on a recueilli de ce que les anciens lettrés avaient composé de rituels, en tout 204 Kiuen. Tai-te les réunit et en fit 89 tomes semblables qu'on appelle Tai-te-li. Tai-tcheng résuma de nouveau l'œuvre de Tai-te en 49 Kiuen. C'est ce qu'on appelle le Siao-tai-li, que l'on suit encore aujourd'hui. En général ce que les lettrés des Han ont reproduit, tout provient des disciples des 70 maîtres.” Ce qui prouve déjà l'âge récent du Ta-tai-li, car les 70 maîtres n'ont pas suivi tous immédiatement Kong-tze. Pour en compter 70, il faut revenir à l'époque des Han. D'ailleurs le rituel du grand Tai porte sa date en lui-même. Ce qui nous en reste est composé en majeure partie d'entretiens de Kong-tze et de ses disciples où l'on fait discourir le grand philosophe, par exemple, sur les cinq Ti, sur les 300 ans de vie de Hoang-ti, et autres choses semblables inconnues au temps de Kong-tze.

Bien plus le chap. xlviii. nous apprend par une longue dissertation pourquoi les Ts'in n'ont eu que deux générations d'empereurs tandis que les Yin et les Tcheou en ont eu 30 et 31. C'est donc une composition de l'époque des Han.

² Notons que pour le Li-ki les conditions étaient bien pires encore. Il ne s'agissait pas seulement de corriger et d'expliquer, mais de reconstruire, de créer à nouveau d'après des souvenirs troublés et infidèles.

³ Les rites ayant été pervertis sous les derniers Tcheous, et les livres d'astrologie les ayant altérés encore d'avantage, on comprend aisément ce que pouvaient être des souvenirs recueillis dans de pareilles circonstances.

⁴ Ce jugement de Tchou-hi est reproduit dans l'Introduction de l'*I-li* complété de K'ien-long. C'est là que nous l'avons recueilli.

⁵ In 4°, Turin, 1853.

fondes depuis plusieurs siècles, les croyances, la religion n'avaient pas moins changé.

L'introduction de l'astrologie, dont parle le T'ang-shu, n'en avait pas été la seule cause. Tandis que les rapports de l'empire chinois avec les pays occidentaux amenaient sur ses rives les adeptes des sciences occultes de la Chaldée, les Tao-she et les Fang-shi s'efforçaient d'y répandre la croyance et le culte des divinités sidérales, des esprits Shamaniens et des créations fantaisistes des disciples dégénérés du Tao. Il suffit de jeter un coup d'œil sur le traité *Fong-shen* du grand historien chinois, et sur le *Tong-kien-kang-mou*,¹ pour faire une idée de leur action aussi délétère que persévérante.

Tantôt c'est le Tai-yi, le Tai-ki, ou les cinq Tis qu'ils posent sur les autels, employant les subterfuges les moins élevés pour faire croire à leur existence et à leur action sur le monde; tantôt ce sont des génies présidant aux astres qu'ils veulent mettre en faveur.

On devinera aisément ce que les idées religieuses des Chinois étaient devenues dans des conjonctures de cette espèce. Qui pourrait donc prétendre sérieusement que le Li-ki représente les conceptions antiques? Du reste, les auteurs de cette compilation se sont chargés eux-mêmes de prouver par leurs contradictions à quel point les croyances du peuple à Tête Noire se sont modifiées.

Ainsi le L. viii. § ii. 18, nous redit après le Yi-king que la religion chinoise consistait dans le culte de Shang-ti et des ancêtres² ou des esprits.

D'autre part, le § 4, S. i. 2, p. 3, nous apprend que les sacrifices offerts par le fils du ciel étaient ceux "au ciel et à la terre, aux esprits des régions célestes, des monts et fleuves, et des oblations domestiques." Ce qui, à part ce dernier trait, reproduit les conceptions du Shu-king. Mais, par contre, les Ll. xx. § 3, et xxi. § 19, nous parlent des sacrifices au soleil et à la lune, en ayant soin de se contredire l'un l'autre, comme on le verra plus loin.

Ces faits suffiront, sans doute, pour faire apprécier la nature et la valeur du Li-ki, et sans prolonger cette énumération de vices essentiels qui ont valu au texte de ce livre de si nombreuses atéthèses de la part des lettrés chinois, nous pourrions conclure de ce qui précède que le Li-ki a été compilé, sous les premiers Han, au dernier siècle

¹ Le *Fong-shen-shu* est accessible à tous le monde dans la traduction de M. Chavannes; le *Tong-kien kang-mou*, dans celle du P. Mailla.

² Voir aussi le *Tehong Yong*, § 19.

de notre ère, et qu'il ne mérite dans ses assertions qu'une confiance des plus restreintes.¹

Voyons maintenant quelles peuvent être la provenance et l'autorité de chacune des parties de ce rituel, de chacun des livres réunis sous ce nom commun de "Mémorial² des Rites." Rappelons d'abord à nos lecteurs quel est ce livre objet de notre étude.

Le Li-ki est un ouvrage anonyme, ne portant pas plus d'indication de date que de nom d'auteur.

Le *Tcheou-li* et l'*I-li* sont deux traités parfaitement méthodiques dont le premier expose les titres, les rangs et les fonctions des diverses magistratures prétendument existantes sous l'empire des Tcheous, et le second donne dans les détails les plus circonstanciés les diverses cérémonies qui accompagnent les actes principaux de la vie des grands et des princes jusqu'aux derniers des fonctionnaires d'un état.

Le Li-ki n'est, au contraire, qu'un recueil de sentences, de prescriptions, de dissertations philosophiques accumulées sans aucun ordre ou plutôt dans le pêle-mêle le plus inconcevable. Non-seulement les livres s'y succèdent sans aucun enchaînement entre eux, mais les paragraphes d'un même livre, d'une même section de livre se suivent le plus souvent sans aucun lien entre eux, mais développant les idées les plus étrangères les unes aux autres.

Voici un exemple de ce contenu hétérogène que nous présentons à ceux de nos lecteurs, auxquels le texte, ou même la traduction, de cet ouvrage est inaccessible.

Le livre ii. commence par un récit d'où sort un précepte relativement à l'ordre de succession quand il est fixé par le père d'une famille. Suivent alors, les devoirs des inférieurs quant à la correction de leurs supérieurs, la prohibition d'enterrer deux personnes dans le même tombeau, l'origine de la coutume de ne point porter le deuil d'une mère divorcée, les règles de la salutation d'un visiteur, pourquoi Kong-tze éleva un tertre sur la sépulture de ses père et mère, pourquoi le philosophe fit jeter tous les câpres qu'il trouva en son garde manger.

Le § 11 nous apprend à la fois qu'il ne faut point chanter dans

¹ Nous avons vu précédemment (p. 4, note 1) que le Ta-tai-li n'a pu être rédigé que sous le Han, or le Li-ki n'en est qu'un résumé composé ultérieurement. Les matériaux réunis ne sont pas en général beaucoup plus anciens. On verra même en plusieurs endroits, et spécialement au livre vii., que des Taoïstes ont mis la main à sa composition et l'ont empreint de leurs idées, ce qui ne put se faire avant le iv^e siècle A.C., et plus récemment encore.

² Ce mot est expliqué différemment par les lexicographes chinois. Pour le *Shuo-wen* c'est *Su* présenter un mémoire, ou distinguer, séparer. Pour d'autres, c'est *shi* comprendre (*Po Ya*) ; ou "enfiler des récits" (*Shi-ming*), ou se rappeler à la mémoire *tchi* (Kuàng Yin, &c.). Ce terme de mémorial traduisant le mot *ki*, indique un traité spécial fondé sur des traditions historiques vraies ou prétendument telles.

les rues d'un village quand il y a un mort mis au cercueil dans l'une ou l'autre maison de l'endroit et que les cordons d'un bonnet de deuil ne doivent pas pendre sur le cou.

Le § 12 indique les cercueils en usage sous les trois premières dynasties, après quoi le § 13 nous dit que le noir était la couleur favorite des Hia, pour leurs chevaux de guerre, et les victimes des sacrifices, tandis que les Yin préféraient le blanc et les Tcheou le rouge.

Le reste est à l'avenant.

Dans quelques livres seulement une pensée principale a présidé au choix et à la réunion des matériaux qui les composent, mais ces éléments appartenant à des catégories déterminées, n'en sont pas moins comme semés presque au hasard dans l'intérieur du livre. Il en est ainsi particulièrement du premier et du dixième, qui forment une collection des plus bizarres des rites relatifs à la vie privée, à l'intérieur des maisons. Citons seulement, comme specimen, les §§ 1 à 4 de la seconde section, P. ii. du premier livre.

Le premier enseigne comment un jeune homme doit demander conseil à un homme âgé ; le second, comment un fils doit chauffer le lit de ses parents en hiver et le rafraîchir en été ; le troisième, quels éloges méritera le fils qui refuse de se servir d'un char donné pendant la vie de son père ; le quatrième, quelle conduite on doit tenir quand on rencontre un ancien ami de l'auteur de ses jours.

Cet état de désordre qui se retrouve d'un bout à l'autre du Li-ki impose nécessairement cette conséquence que le "Mémorial des Rites," n'est point un ancien rituel, sauvé de l'incendie, comme Moïse des eaux, et remis en honneur après que l'orage destructeur eut passé, ni même reproduit de mémoire par des lettrés doués de facultés assez puissantes pour conserver le souvenir presque intact d'un code de cette nature et de cette étendue ; mais qu'au contraire notre Li-ki est presque en entier l'œuvre de gens qui ont creusé péniblement leurs souvenirs pour retrouver de ci et de là ce qui s'y était conservé des règles d'autrefois et les ont consignées par écrit à mesure que les faits se présentaient à leur mémoire, sans se soucier même de mettre dans cet ensemble informe quelque peu d'ordre et de méthode.

Or c'est bien là ce que l'histoire nous apprend du mode de restauration du "Manuel des Règles," et le témoignage implicite que son contenu rend à la véracité des historiens ne permet point de douter de celle-ci.

Le Li-ki, compilé onze siècles avant notre ère, est donc une hypothèse que l'on ne peut même discuter sérieusement.

Toutefois quelque soit l'âge de la rédaction de ce livre, il pourrait s'y trouver des fragments plus ou moins étendus d'ouvrages

plus anciens, très anciens même, témoins irrécusables des croyances antiques qui nous permettraient de voir bien loin au-delà de l'époque où les éléments du Li-ki furent compilés et rassemblés. Avant de traiter ce point important, nous devons faire remarquer que les auteurs du Li-ki ont la prétention de nous renseigner sur les usages reçus aux temps les plus anciens de la monarchie chinoise, sous Yao et Shun comme sous les trois premières dynasties qui occupèrent le trône.

Si nous nous plaçons à ce point de vue les informations ne nous manqueraient point. Mais la question n'est point posée sur ce terrain ; il s'agit de savoir à quelle époque ont écrit ceux qui nous donnent ces renseignements, de quand datent les parties beaucoup plus nombreuses où nous trouvons indiquées les croyances et les coutumes contemporaines des temps où ces sections ont été composées ; car c'est là le seul objet de nos recherches, le seul qui puisse servir à déterminer la valeur du témoignage de ces écrivains.

Pour arriver sûrement à la solution désirée, il nous faut donc parcourir successivement toutes les parties du "Mémorial des Rites" en examinant, pour chacune d'elles, les motifs qui militent pour leur assigner une date plus ou moins reculée. Nous passerons successivement en revue tous les livres qui composent le Li-ki, livres indépendants les uns des autres et même les différentes sections entre lesquelles la plupart d'entre eux se partagent.

Tout se réduira, du reste, à deux genres de preuves, les seules qui puissent être employées utilement en notre sujet ; les témoignages extérieurs et le contenu même des textes alors qu'il implique nécessairement une époque déterminée. Nous nous abstiendrons soigneusement de toute conjecture, de toute hypothèse, nous nous en tiendrons scrupuleusement à ce qui ne laisse place à aucun doute, à aucune contestation raisonnable.

Comme nous l'avons dit ci-dessus, le Li-ki ne porte nulle part de nom d'auteur. Néanmoins, de plusieurs de ses parties la provenance et la date nous sont parfaitement connues. A cette première catégorie appartiennent les livres iii., iv., et xvii., dont nous parlerons en premier lieu pour débayer notre terrain et circonscrire le champ de nos recherches. La question d'âge et d'origine en ce qui les concerne sera vite résolue.

Le livre iii., intitulé *Wang-tchi*, ou "Ordonnances royales," est de l'aveu de tout le monde l'œuvre des lettrés qui le composèrent et rédigèrent sous le règne et par ordre de l'empereur Wen-ti, le quatrième des Han, qui régna de 179 à 197 avant notre ère. Le Tong-kien-kang-mu, la grande histoire générale de la Chine, fixe la date

de ce fait à l'an 164.¹ Du reste, ce livre contient peu de choses nouvelles ; c'est en majeure partie, une collection de passages empruntés au Shu-king, au livre de Meng-tze et aux commentaires du Tchün-tsiu par Tso-kiu-ming (*Tso-tchuen*, v^e siècle A.C.) et Kong-yang, lettré du commencement du ii^e siècle.

Comme le remarquent les commentateurs de l'édition de K'ien-long, "les ministères y sont indiqués d'après le système établi par les Han, les règlements anciens y sont présentés sous la forme adoptée à cette époque." Cette remarque confirme à sa manière le jugement de Legge, lorsqu'il dit que le Li-ki reflète non les idées antiques, mais celles qui régnaient à l'époque de sa rédaction sous les Han. La provenance du livre iv. n'est pas moins certaine, bien qu'on ne l'ait constatée que depuis peu de temps. Il s'est trouvé en effet que le *Yue-ling* (*mensium ordo*) n'était que la reproduction textuelle, à part quelques mots, d'un traité du même nom contenu dans le *Tchün-tsiu*, recueil de traits historiques composé par le fameux Lü-pu-wei, ministre du père de Shi-hoang-ti, et de cet empereur même, le destructeur des Kings.

Lü-pu-wei était un simple marchand, mais son habileté et ses intrigues n'en réussirent pas moins à faire reconnaître comme héritier du trône, puis à y faire monter, le prince qui régna sous le nom de Tchwang-siang, et fut, comme il vient d'être dit, le père du fondateur de la puissance impériale et du pouvoir autocratique. Tchwang-siang choisit aussitôt son libérateur comme premier ministre et n'eut qu'à se louer de ce choix.

Lü-pu-wei s'appliqua principalement à favoriser partout le développement des lettres et composa lui-même un ouvrage considérable de souvenirs historiques sous le nom courant alors de *Tchün-tsiu*, c'est-à-dire "Printemps-automnes," qui correspond au terme "Annales." L'ordre des mois y occupe les 12 premiers *piens* ou plutôt la première partie de chacun des 12 premiers *piens*.² L'œuvre de Lü-pu-wei fait partie de la collection dite des XXII. docteurs, *Erh-shi-erh-tze*. Elle se retrouve encore dans les œuvres d'un autre philosophe du ii^e siècle A.C.

Le livre xvii., *Yo-ki*, "Mémorial de la Musique," s'est formé à peu près de la même manière que le quatrième, ou *Yue-ling*. Les diffé-

¹ Le *Tong Kien Yi-tchi-lu* dit aussi, "Wenti chargea des lettrés distingués de publier les réglemens royaux contenus dans les six Kings. (Voir le règne de Wen-ti, 19^e année.) Voir le *Tong-Kien-Kang-mu* à cette année. Lu-tchi dit également, "Wen-ti ordonna à des lettrés éminents (*po shi*) de le composer et publier" (*tchu-seng-tso*).

² Chacun de ces douze livres est divisé en cinq parties ; la fraction du *Yue-ling* qui s'y rapporte occupe la première, les quatre autres suivantes contiennent des explications, développements, historiettes, etc.

ences ne prouvent que plus fortement encore que le Li-ki n'est point un monument de l'antiquité.

Les auteurs chinois, qui le tiennent en une haute estime,¹ reconnaissent que son introduction dans cette *olla podrida* qui constitue notre rituel, est l'œuvre de Ma-Yong, l'un des plus illustres *scholars* du deuxième siècle de notre ère. Mais il y a plus que cela ; le Yo-ki se trouve n'être qu'une amplification d'un traité de Sse-ma-tsien sur le même sujet, et formant le deuxième des traités divers, réunis dans la seconde partie du Sse-ki, où il porte le titre de *Yo-shu*, "Livre de la musique."

Le livre du grand historien commence par une introduction étrangère au Yo-ki, après quoi vient un texte qui est exactement le commencement de ce dernier ouvrage, mot pour mot.

"Toute production de sons musicaux naît du cœur humain ; quand le cœur humain est mis en mouvement, ce sont les objets extérieurs qui le font. Quand il agit ainsi sous l'impulsion de ces objets, ce mouvement prend une forme par les sons musicaux, quand ces sons se trouvent en harmonie, se correspondent harmoniquement, il naît de là une succession de sons différents. Cette succession est ce qu'on appelle *Yin*," etc. etc.

Au commencement de notre ère, il existait un traité de musique, un *Yo-ki* en 23 *piens* ; le nôtre n'en contient plus que onze. Les douze autres se sont-ils perdus ? Le Yo-ki primitif était-il autrement divisé ? C'est ce que l'on ne saurait dire.

Quoiqu'il en soit le dix-septième livre du Li-ki reçut sa première rédaction au temps de Sse-ma-tsien, qui vécut de 163 à 85 A.C. C'est donc là, la limite extrême que l'on puisse assigner à sa composition. Nous devons ajouter encore à ce qui précède, cette considération essentielle que les idées philosophiques énoncées dans le Yo-ki sont bien celles de l'époque des Hans et de l'efflorescence du naturisme.

C'est alors seulement que l'on a pu dire, par exemple, "que le sage compose sa musique correspondant au ciel et règle les rites comme agissant avec la terre ; que leurs rites et leur musique illustrent l'action constitutrice du ciel et de la terre qui dispose tout avec ordre." Et surtout que la musique manifesta le *Tai-tchi*² (ou "Grand commencement de l'être distinct"), conception Tao-shéiste, par excellence.

¹ Il est tout spécialement ainsi de Tcheng-tze et de Tchou-hi, les deux grands philosophes de l'époque des Song.

² Legge traduit "se manifesta au grand commencement." Le texte porte *Tchutai-tchi*, ce qui est bien plus conforme à ma traduction et aux idées philosophiques. Le grand commencement des êtres se manifesta par l'harmonie.

Ce *Tai-tchi* est un des facteurs de la cosmogonie de cette école. Lorsque l'être intellectuel, inaccessible aux sens se manifesta, le commencement de la forme fut le *Tai-tchi*, le Grand Un, *Yi*, qui donna naissance à deux, à trois, aux êtres particuliers.¹

Nous rangerons encore dans cette première catégorie les livres xxviii. et xxxix., qui ne sont autre chose que les deux livres confucéens, le *Tchong-yong* et le *Ta-hio*,² rangés, on ne sait pour-quoi, dans une collection où ils n'avaient rien à faire, à la quelle ils étaient entièrement étrangers. Aussi dans la plupart des éditions depuis Tchou-hi, ils ont disparu du texte. Il n'en est fait qu'une simple mention, au lieu qu'ils occupaient. Ils sont en effet en dehors de notre terrain et cette simple mention est tout ce que nous avons à en dire. Notons seulement qu'avec eux nous nous trouvons au iv^e siècle, si l'on en excepte peut-être le premier chapitre du *Ta-hio*, attribué à tort ou à raison à Kong-tze, comme le reste du livre l'est à son disciple Tseng-tsan, et le *Tchong-yong* à son petit-fils Tze-sze.

Abordons maintenant les autres livres du Li-ki dont la date n'est point fixée extérieurement, et recherchons ce que les textes eux-mêmes nous en apprendront.

III. ÂGE DES DIFFÉRENTS LIVRES DU LI-KI.

Le premier livre du Li-ki, le *Kiu-li*,³ est placé, il ne se peut mieux, pour nous donner une idée anticipée du recueil. C'est en effet un véritable tohu-bohu, un chaos de règles, de préceptes, de sentences jetés comme au hasard sur le papier d'un collectionneur. Donnons brièvement quelques exemples de ce genre de composition. Voici d'abord ce dont parle la première partie de la Section I.

§ 1-3. Respect, modestie, fondements des rites.

§ 4. Ne point acquérir injustement, ne point éviter les maux par des moyens peu honnêtes, etc.

§ 5. Ne point affirmer ce dont on doute.

¹ Voir ma "Mythologie Chinoise," pp. 24 et 29.

² Le *Tchong-yong* est un traité de morale dissertant du principe qui doit régler les actions humaines. Son titre ne signifie pas "Invariable Milieu," comme on le traduit généralement, mais "Maintien du niveau, de l'égalité d'âme constante." *Tchong* que l'on rend par milieu est défini par les Chinois, l'état du cœur qu'aucun désir ne tire hors de lui-même. (Cp. mon *Sing-li*, p. 134.) Le *Ta-hio* consiste dans le développement en exemples ou dissertations du premier chapitre qui pose le premier principe gouvernemental.

³ Ainsi nommé d'après les deux premiers mots du texte. Ces termes ont donné beaucoup de mal aux interprètes. Ils semblent signifier, rites courbés, mauvais. Mais *Kiu* signifie aussi compositions populaires mélangées. Ce seraient les rites privés, exposés pêle-mêle. C'est bien cela.

§ 6. Comment on doit se tenir quand on est assis.

§ 7-27. Existence des règles des rapports entre les hommes, leur nécessité, etc.

§ 28. Termes employés pour désigner l'âge des hommes. Obligations des grands fonctionnaires.

Partie II.

§ 1. Conduite à tenir en demandant conseil à un homme âgé.

§ 2. Comment un fils doit soigner ses parents en deux cas donnés.

§ 3. Mérites, éloge d'un fils qui refuse un équipage.

§ 4. Conduite d'un fils vis-à-vis des amis intimes de son père ; quand il quitte ses parents pour quelques heures ; vis-à-vis de gens plus âgés ; appartement qu'il doit occuper ; comment il doit se conduire à table, en voyageant ; son bonnet.

§ 5. Conduite à tenir par tout le monde dans une visite.

§ 6. Comment un grand fonctionnaire doit entrer chez le prince.

§ 7. Comment les particuliers reçoivent un hôte.

Comment on doit enlever la poussière des appartements, y placer les nattes. Comment un fils doit répondre à l'appel de son père ; comment il doit se conduire près d'un homme de dignité supérieure.

Conduite des femmes dans leurs rapports avec les hommes. Coiffure des fiancées. Félicitations pour un mariage. Ce qu'on ne doit pas exiger du pauvre et du faible. Choix d'un nom pour un enfant nouveau né.

Comment on apporte les plats aux repas ; comment on doit s'y conduire. Règles des dons acceptés ; de l'assistance au repas du prince, et ainsi de suite. Plus loin nous trouverions nous mieux encore.

Ainsi la partie v. de la section i. commence par la description de l'ordre de bataille des armées, des drapeaux déployés comme signaux, mais en nous apprenant au beau milieu que les annalistes doivent avoir papier, encre et pinceau dans leur char, puis il nous parle de la vengeance du meurtre d'un père, des campagnes incultes, honte des gouverneurs, des robes à porter pendant le sacrifice, des mots à éviter en causant, etc. etc.

En voila, je pense, plus qu'il n'en faut pour donner une idée exacte du Kiu-li. Ajoutons seulement que la seconde partie est généralement en dehors du domaine privé et nous entretient des droits et devoirs des grands, des princes vassaux et du Fils du ciel lui-même.

Voila le contenu du livre initial du Li-ki. Cette composition même ne nous permet pas de voir en lui une œuvre originale faite

pour consacrer par l'écriture les règles reçues à l'époque où elle était rédigée. Ce ne peut être évidemment que ce qu'est en réalité le Li-ki, un recueil de souvenirs consignés au jour le jour, souvenirs pouvant consister parfois en fragments de livres perdus et conservés par la mémoire.

La question pour nous se bornera donc à nous demander s'il est dans ce fatras quelque trait spécial qui puisse se rapporter à une époque connue.

Pour répondre à cette question nous devons circonscrire le plus possible notre terrain de recherches et d'abord en écarter toutes ces règles de l'étiquette privée qui sont de tous les temps et ne peuvent servir à caractériser une époque. Au xiii^e siècle de notre ère le philosophe Tchu-hi les consignait encore dans son "Manuel de Morale" ou *Siao-hio*.¹ Ce livre est rempli de sentences prises au Li-ki, présentées comme les règles du moment.

En ce qui concerne ce que j'appellerai la partie politique du Kiu-li, il est évident que l'auteur a voulu dépeindre les coutumes des temps antérieurs aux Ts'in, de cette féodalité que Shi-hoang-ti s'est efforcé d'anéantir.

Le fils du ciel y est encore désigné par le titre de *Wang*, roi, qu'avaient pris les Tcheous, alors que les Ts'in et les Han se qualifièrent de *Ti* empereur, comme les souverains des premières dynasties. À la sect. i. P. i. § 16 (32) le texte porte : "La mort du fils du ciel est annoncée en disant . . . *Wang pang* le roi est mort." ²

Toutefois un peu plus loin il est dit qu'en plaçant sa tablette dans le temple ancestral on le qualifie de *Ti*, "empereur." Or cette qualification est inapplicable aux rois Tcheous, elle se réfère au *Miao hao*, ou "nom de temple," qui était donné aux empereurs Han, dont les premiers s'appellent pour cette raison—Kao-ti (pour Kao-tsu), Hoei-ti, Wen-ti, King-ti, Wu-ti, etc.

L'auteur de notre chapitre, qui vivait sous les Han, mais voulait faire revivre les Tcheous dans son "Mémorial des Rites," aurait appliqué à la dynastie éteinte ce qui ne convenait qu'aux empereurs ses contemporains.³

Un autre indice encore se trouve dans la liste des ministres et fonctionnaires qu'on lit au § 2, S. ii. P. ii. du même *Kiu-li*. Cette énumération est, sans aucun doute, inexacte ; car elle n'est confirmée

¹ Voir ma traduction, "Annales du Musée Guimet."

² Lit, est tombé comme un sommet de montagne qui s'écroule.

³ C'est là, ce me semble, la seule explication possible de ce dire. Faute d'y avoir pensé, on a traduit : on les qualifiait de dieux, on les déifiait. Mais ceci est contraire à toutes les données historiques.

par aucun des documents historiques ou authentiques que l'on possède. L'auteur a inventé et par conséquent ne vivait pas aux temps dont il parle.

En outre la mention de la cavalerie dans les armées chinoises au § 1, Sect. i. P. v., annonce comme le remarque Legge, tout au moins la fin du règne des Tcheous.

Les noms donnés aux astres qui figurent sur les drapeaux au même passage, tels que le guerrier noir (*hiuen Wú*), ne sont pas plus anciens.

Le livre ii., appelé *T'an Kong*, du nom d'un personnage qui figure au § 1, traite principalement du deuil et de ses pratiques qui par elles-mêmes appartiennent à des époques très étendues et très diverses ; mais l'auteur a mis une borne infranchissable à toutes les hypothèses d'antiquité par les épisodes historiques ou légendaires, qu'il rappelle et qu'il ne peut sans doute avoir aperçus dans une vue prophétique. Nous y voyons ainsi figurer différents personnages qui ont vécu entre le vii^e et le iv^e siècle A.C.

Ce sont entre autres le prince Siuen de Ts'in (676-651), Hiang de Song, mort en 637 (voir ii. 1. 1. 5. et 2. 3. 25), Hiang de Lu (572-543, v. ii. 2. 1. 5), Tao de Lu (467-431. v. ii. 2. 1. 17), Mu de la même principauté, mort en 376 (ii. 1. 1. 14),¹ et vingt autres.

En outre Kong-tze et ses disciples y sont constamment mis en scène. Ce sont des entretiens avec le maître ou avec d'autres où nous voyons figurer Tze-tze, Tze-lu, Tze-kong, Tze-hia, et autres. La mort de Kong-tze nous est racontée à la S. i. 2, 20 ; puis vient son enterrement. La mort de Tzeng-tze est mentionnée au § 1 précédent, et racontée au § 18.

Enfin, le livre est plein d'anecdotes sur le grand homme, très intéressantes si elles étaient vraies ; malheureusement les Chinois eux-mêmes les considèrent comme fabuleuses, comme de pures inventions de lettrés.

Le T'an-kong n'a donc pu être composé que longtemps après la mort de Kong-tze ; et d'ailleurs la fréquente mention du prince Mu, mort en 377 ou 376, ne permet pas de reporter son origine première au delà du iii^e siècle A.C. ; si tant est qu'il soit si ancien et que toutes ces fables relatives au célèbre philosophe aient été publiées si peu de temps après la mort de ses disciples immédiats.

Au livre iii. succèdent le *Wang-tchi* et le *Yue-ling* dont nous avons parlé antérieurement (voir p. 68 ss.). Nous arrivons donc au sixième.

¹ Lü-shi rappelle que ce titre ne convenait plus aux Tcheous, mais n'explique point notre passage, très simple si l'on tient compte de l'erreur.

² De même à S. ii 2, 1 ; i. 3, 5 ; ii. 3, 29.

Ce livre par son nom seul prévient toutes les fantaisies chronologiques et leur pose un terme.

Il a en effet pour titre *Questions de Tzeng-tze*, et ne contient qu'une série de questions posées par ce disciple et de réponses que lui fait le maître. Il s'agit d'abord dans ces entretiens de sujets politiques, de la naissance posthume d'un héritier du trône, des visites des princes à la cour royale et entre eux, puis de questions concernant le deuil, les habits, les cérémonies funèbres, les sacrifices (1-16), le mariage et ses cérémonies en concurrence avec un deuil.

De là le docte interlocuteur passe aux visites des princes vassaux, puis revient aux empêchements que la mort du Fils du ciel apporte au sacrifice, et à différents autres points ressortant du même sujet. Le § 14, S. ii. nous apprend entre autres choses qu'un souverain sortant de ses états doit emporter son cercueil avec lui; le reste ne nous intéresse en aucune manière.

Kong-tze remplissant ce livre d'un bout à l'autre, il n'est pas possible de supposer celui-ci plus ancien que l'époque où l'on commença à mettre par écrit ses enseignements, c'est-à-dire, un temps notable après mort, ou le commencement du iv^e siècle tout au plus.

Mais cette date même peut-elle être adoptée? Que nos lecteurs en jugent d'après les traits suivants.

1^o. Au § 23, S. i., l'auteur se trompe sur le nom du prince de Wei, visiteur du souverain de Lu, Gai, et le nomme Ling, alors que ce prince était déjà mort quand cette entrevue put avoir lieu. Un contemporain eut-il commis cette erreur.

2^o. Le § 19, S. ii., parle des premiers disciples de Tze-yu comme appartenant déjà au passé lointain, "Ces disciples, y est-il dit, tenaient telle pratique pour légitime. Ceux qui sacrifient aujourd'hui¹ ne la maintiennent plus."

Tze-yu ne put avoir des disciples qu'après la mort du maître. Le temps présent, dont il est fait mention en ce paragraphe, était donc assez éloigné de la mort de Kong-tze; ce serait tout au plus le commencement du iv^e siècle.

3^o. Et ceci est plus fort encore. En quatre endroits,² Kong-tze reconnaît hautement avoir reçu de Lao-tze l'enseignement qu'il communique à son fidèle disciple. Bien plus au § 22 il raconte avoir assisté avec Lao-tze à un enterrement de village pendant une éclipse et là le fondateur du Taoïsme y montre une science et une intelligence

¹ *Kin-tchi-ts'i-tche*.

² Voir i. 24, place des tablettes ancestrales; ii. 22, visites des princes à la cour; ib. occurrence d'une éclipse; ii. 24, anecdote; ib. 342, du service militaire en cas de deuil.

supérieure à celle de son rival, qui craint de ne plus revoir le soleil.

Il n'est pas besoin de dire que semblables traits décèlent une main Taoïste et qu'ils n'ont pu être consignés par écrit qu'au temps où le Taoïsme avait acquis une certaine prépondérance, et même une prépondérance assez grande pour se permettre de semblables libertés, non point seulement dans des livres de sectes comme celui de Tchuang-tze, mais dans les recueils officiels. On reconnaîtra, je pense, unanimement que cela n'a été possible qu'à partir des Ts'in dans la seconde moitié du iii^e siècle.

Le livre vi. a pour titre *Wen Wang Shi-tze*, "Wen Wang, prince héritier." Ce titre est tiré des premiers paragraphes, qui racontent comment cet illustre prince se conduisait envers "l'auteur de ses jours," et le proposent pour modèle. De là ce livre passe à l'instruction donnée aux princes héritiers en général; on y trouve quelques noms de fonctionnaires qui sont absents du Tcheou-li.

Au § 19 c'est Kong-tze dont les paroles sont rapportées comme prononcées autrefois.

La section ii. traite de l'éducation des princes royaux en général et de leurs écoles.

Rien donc n'indique la date précise de ce livre, mais la mention de Kong-tze que nous avons signalée ci-dessus ne permet pas de reporter sa rédaction au delà du iv^e siècle. Le livre vii., *Li-yun* (cours, succession des rites), nous fournira des données plus précises.

D'abord, en beaucoup d'endroits, nous retrouvons, comme dans les autres livres, des discours mis dans la bouche de Kong-tze et de ses disciples. Dès le premier paragraphe nous le voyons se lamentant de ce que les grandes lois de l'ordre moral ne sont plus observées. Plus loin (§ 4-9) il apprend à Yen-yen toute l'importance des anciens rites, comment ils étaient suivis autrefois alors que les hommes étaient capables de servir les esprits¹ et Shang-ti (§ 9). Cela remplit toute la première section; la seconde commence par des plaintes identiques mettant encore en scène le philosophe du v^e siècle. Mais le compilateur a, de plus, soin de nous avertir que Kong-tze appartenait déjà au passé lointain, et cela dès ses premiers mots, car le livre commence par cette phrase "Jadis Kong-tze assistait au sacrifice dit *Tcha*."

Il lui eut été difficile, du reste, de cacher ce fait, car les discours qu'il fait tenir au maître et les idées qu'il développe lui-même appartiennent à une époque beaucoup plus rapprochée de nous. Ce n'est point, en effet, Kong-tze ni ses disciples qui auraient dit

¹ *Kuei-shen*.

que "l'homme forme un trio avec le ciel et la terre, qu'il est au niveau des esprits dans le gouvernement du monde ;"¹ ou qui se serait avisé de définir l'être humain et les éléments qui le composent comme le fait notre auteur au § 1, Section iii. Ce n'est point non plus de sa bouche qu'on aurait appris que "c'est l'action harmonique des cinq éléments répandus dans les quatre saisons qui a produit la lune, tandis que c'est le ciel qui a suspendu les étoiles et le soleil."² Rechercher les *rerum causas* et surtout le faire de cette façon était certainement une chose inouïe dans l'école du Réformateur des rois.

Ceci nous mène certainement loin des temps Confucéens. Il y a cependant plus encore ; beaucoup d'expressions et de conceptions que l'on rencontre dans ce livre sont du plus pur Taoïsme, et de ce Tao-shéisme qui se fit jour au iii^e et ii^e siècle sous les Shi-hoang-ti et les Wu-ti.

Ces idées se manifestent dès les premiers mots du Li-yun, qui nous représentent Kong-tze disant à son disciple Yen-yen, qu'il n'avait jamais vu le Grand Tao (*ta-tao*) puis décrivant ce *ta-tao* en un long discours digne des Tchuang-tze et des Wen-tze. On dirait une amplification du Tao-te-king telle que ce dernier philosophe en remplissait son œuvre au ii^e siècle avant notre ère.³ Il en est de même des principes semblables à ceux-ci :

L'homme est l'énergie du ciel et de la terre, la relation du Yin et du Yang, l'union du Kuei et du Shen, la substance pure des cinq éléments (S. iii. 1). L'homme est le cœur du ciel et de la terre, le bourgeon des cinq éléments, etc., etc.

Mieux encore le § 6, S. iv. introduit le Grand Un, le *Tai Yi*⁴ cette conception philosophique du plus pur Tao-shéisme que ses adeptes cherchaient à faire recevoir dans la religion nationale à la fin du iii^e siècle, comme nous l'apprend Sze-ma-tsien.⁵ Ce n'est point certainement avant le siècle suivant que cette création des Fang-shi⁶ a pu trouver place dans les livres des rites orthodoxes. C'est là une date qu'il n'est point possible de contester, et que nous devons bien considérer comme définitivement acquise. C'est du reste l'avis des sinologues qui se sont occupés de ces choses.

¹ *Tcheng jin tsan yü tien ti, ping yü Kuei-shen i tchi-tching.*

² Section iii. 2.

³ Voir mes *Textes taoïstes*. Annales du Musée Guimet, T. xx.

⁴ Voir ma *Mythologie chinoise*.

⁵ Traité des *Fong-shen*. Voir la récente traduction de M. Chavannes.

⁶ Voici comment l'auteur s'exprime au § 4, Sect. iv. "Les rites ont leur fondement dans le Grand Un. Celui-ci s'étant divisé il y eut ciel et terre ; ceux-ci prirent leur cours et il y eut le Yin et le Yang. Ces principes s'échangèrent et formèrent les quatre saisons ; ils se distinguèrent et formèrent les esprits" (*Kuei-shen*).

Le livre viii. est intitulé *Li-tchi* d'après les premiers mots du texte, qui signifient : "Les rites sont des instruments" (servant à former l'homme et à perfectionner la vertu). Il traite principalement des propriétés des rites.

L'auteur y parle beaucoup en son propre nom, mais il met aussi plusieurs fois Kong-tze en scène (voir Sect. i. 19, 23 ; ii. 20, 21), ou l'un de ses disciples (ii. 9, 14, 21). Ce que le rédacteur inconnu dit de lui-même porte encore ce caractère de raffinement qui témoigne d'une époque déjà assez éloignée de l'âge du grand philosophe et s'accorde parfaitement avec les idées régnant chez les lettrés de la dynastie Han. Il en est ainsi spécialement de cette philosophie de la nature qui fonde les rites sur la nature des saisons, l'imitation des astres, etc. La sacrifice au foyer et la vieille femme qui en est l'objet réel, comme il est dit à S. i. 23, sont aussi des conceptions Tao-shéistes.

Sze-ma-tsien, en son traité du sacrifice Fong-shen, nous montre les Fang-shi s'efforçant d'introduire le culte du foyer dans l'empire, sous le crédule Wu-ti des Hans. L'âge de composition de notre livre ne peut donc dépasser le iv^e siècle avant notre ère ; selon toute probabilité il ne remonte pas même au delà du deuxième.

Livre IX. *Kiao-te-sang*.—Ce livre doit encore son titre à ses trois premiers mots qui signifient, "Le (sacrifice) Kiao¹ n'a qu'un seul bœuf comme victime," tandis que celui des esprits du sol et des céréales en requiert trois. Ces premiers paragraphes développent l'idée déjà énoncée dans le livre précédent qu'à certains points de vue, la moindre quantité est un signe d'excellence. Il n'y a qu'une seule victime de la plus grande espèce, parce qu'il n'y a qu'un Shang-ti.

L'opinion générale des Chinois est que ce livre faisait originairement partie du précédent et en a été détaché sans motif.

Nous y voyons figurer Tchao-Wen-tze, ministre de Lou vers l'an 540 ; Kong-tze aussi en différents endroits (voir S. i. 6 à 19), l'un et l'autre comme des personnages des âges antérieurs avec les 古之 *Kiun-tze*, les sages d'autrefois. La première partie de ce livre est consacrée aux sacrifices, la seconde traite des cérémonies de la prise du bonnet et du mariage, une troisième et finale reprend la matière du sacrifice. Kong-tze y est encore mentionné et les trois dynasties des Yin, des Hia et des Tcheous y sont mises sur le même pied comme appartenant également au passé (voir S. iii. 3, 14-16).

"Les Tcheous employaient le bonnet pien, les *Yin* le *Sú*, et les

¹ Le grand sacrifice à Shang-ti comme il appert du passage suivant.

Hia le Sheou. Les trois familles souveraines portaient le bonnet de peau." Ainsi s'exprime l'auteur à S. iii. 3. Il écrivait donc sous les Han.

Le livre x., *Nei-tze*, comme son nom l'indique, s'occupe exclusivement des règles de conduite à suivre dans l'intérieur de la famille, dans la maison. Il trace leurs devoirs aux enfants et aux autres membres de la famille, puis les règles reçues dans l'usage des aliments. Il en donne encore d'autres relatives aux femmes et des préceptes divers qu'il serait inutile d'énumérer.

Tout peut s'y rapporter à une époque quelconque mais les particularités que nous avons signalées au livre précédent se retrouvent ici et indiquent une époque identique.

Le livre xi., *Yü-tsao* (Pendants de jade), a pour objet spécial les vêtements du souverain et de ceux qui paraissent à sa cour; mais il parle aussi incidemment d'une foule d'autres objets. Le seul indice d'une date limitative est la mention des usages pratiqués par Kong-tze, qui se repète plusieurs fois. (Voir Sect. ii., § 11; iii. 9, 16).

Le livre xii., *Ming-tang-Wei*, les places au Ming-tang ou grande salle d'audience, a pour but principal d'énumérer et d'exalter les privilèges accordés par les premiers empereurs Tcheou aux princes de l'état de Lou en raison des mérites du fondateur de la dynastie. Mais de l'aveu des auteurs chinois cet exposé est d'une fausseté incontestable, et n'a aucune valeur historique. Il a été entièrement écarté des éditions corrigées du Li-ki. Il n'y a donc pas lieu de s'y arrêter. Il n'a, du reste, pu être composé qu'après la chute des états féodaux sous les Ts'ins.

Remarquons seulement ce point qui ne paraît pas contestable. Les princes de Lou s'attribuaient le droit de sacrifier à Shang-ti comme le fils du ciel.

Le livre xiii. présente dans le plus admirable pêle-mêle quelques prescriptions relatives aux vêtements de deuil. C'est un recueil de souvenirs épars, mis par écrit à mesure qu'ils se présentaient à l'esprit de l'auteur. Évidemment ce n'est point un traité rédigé à une époque où ces rites étaient en vigueur, où l'on voulait en assurer l'observation en les consignant par écrit; mais il répond parfaitement à ce que Sse-ma-tsien nous dit de la reconstitution des rituels sous les premiers Han; chacun rapportant ce qu'il en avait retenu. Ce fragment a également disparu des éditions critiques.

Un seul passage présente quelque importance; c'est celui où il est dit relativement aux sacrifices royaux:—

Au grand sacrifice royal offert à tous les ancêtres du souverain,

les rois constituaient comme objet principal du sacrifice, celui de qui leur fondateur provenait (Wang-tche 禘 Khi-tsou-tchi-so-tse 出, i Khi-tsou 配 之), et faisait de ce fondateur l'associé du premier ancêtre. (Voir S. i. 9).

Il n'est toutefois pas un mot de ce livre qui puisse faire préjuger de son origine.

La même chose doit être dite du livre xiv., très court et très peu important, malgré son titre prétentieux de *Ta-tchuen*, ou "grand exposé." Il a pour objet principal la place et les titres des aïeux et aïeules, des parents dans le temple ancestral.

Le livre xv., *Shao-i* (petites règles de convenance), est, comme le xiii^e, composé de préceptes les plus divers, jetés sur le papier sans ordre ou lien. Il s'agit d'abord de ce que l'on doit dire en faisant une visite, puis des dons faits par un ministre à son prince, puis de l'entrée des équipages dans le temple ancestral. À cela succède des règles concernant le deuil, l'endroit où l'on ôte la chaussure, les termes signifiant "balayer," la divination, etc., etc.

Ce ne peut être encore qu'un recueil de souvenirs fait à l'époque où l'on cherchait à reconstruire les rituels, de mémoire, c'est-à-dire sous les Han.

Le premier mot du texte 聞 *auditum est*, indique clairement que l'auteur a recherché les traditions anciennes auprès de ceux qui en avait conservé quelque souvenir. En outre ces prescriptions entrent dans des détails si menus, si circonstanciés qu'ils ne peuvent être, en grande partie, que des fruits d'imagination.

Notons encore que le fondateur de la dynastie des Tcheous y figure comme l'un des trois Wangs. Cette expression indique suffisamment une époque tardive. Du reste, il n'y a rien dans ce livre qui se rapporte à la religion.

Le livre xvi., *Hio-ki* (Mémorial des écoles), est au contraire un petit traité méthodique. Il commence par démontrer l'utilité de l'instruction, puis expose le système suivi dans l'érection des écoles et des collèges, et dans le programme des études; mais ce qu'il nous fait connaître c'est le système ancien (§ 4) que l'auteur voudrait voir suivi de son temps.

Cependant l'emploi de l'expression, les trois Wangs, indique comme précédemment l'époque des Ts'in ou des Han. Il en est ainsi et plus encore de cette phrase du § 16 fin: "Les Ki (Annales historiques) disent: les trois rois et les quatre dynasties n'ont été que ce qu'étaient leurs instituteurs." On ne peut indiquer plus clairement que la dynastie des Tcheous appartenait déjà au passé comme les deux précédentes, en outre la quatrième dynastie ne peut être que

celle des Ts'in. Shun n'a jamais été considéré comme constituant une dynastie, ni celle des Shang comptée pour deux.

Les livres xviii. et xix. ne contiennent que des règles relatives à l'ensevelissement, aux funérailles et au deuil, règles énoncées avec la même absence d'ordre que celles des autres parties de l'ouvrage. Il y en a certainement dans le nombre qui remontent à des temps très anciens à côté d'autres qui appartiennent à l'époque de la rédaction du recueil; mais celle-ci ne peut remonter bien haut, puisqu'il y est plusieurs fois question de Kong-tze et de ses disciples dont les paroles sont rapportées comme dites dans un passé plus ou moins éloigné. Ainsi le § 29, S. ii. p. 1 nous apprend qu'anciennement tous les hommes portaient le bâton de deuil, et que l'usage contraire date de *Shu-sun Wu-shu*, grand de Lou, qui vivait au commencement du v^e siècle. Plus loin (§ 44) nous voyons Szeng-shen, disciple de Yen-tze, recevant les leçons de son maître, ce qui nous reporte jusqu'après la mort de l'un et l'autre, c'est-à-dire jusqu'au iv^e siècle.

Bien mieux encore, le § 11 de la S. ii. p. 2, rappelle ce qui se passa à la mort du prince I-liu, ministre de l'état de Lou, et affirme que la coutume de se tenir au côté des mourants date de cet événement. Or cet I-liu était ministre de Mu, prince de Lou, qui mourut en 377 A.C. Il en résulte que la composition du livre qui contient ces renseignements ne peut être plus ancienne que le iii^e siècle. Cela n'est point contestable et nous dispense de toute autre observation. Toutefois avant de passer outre, recueillons dans ces longues dissertations une phrase qui confirme l'explication donnée par Kong-tze aux sacrifices des faubourgs. C'est le § 24, S. ii. p. 2, où il est dit que le sacrifice du solstice d'hiver est offert à Shang-ti.¹ On a vu plus haut que les princes de Lou s'étaient arrogé ce droit souverain.

Le livre xx., Tchi-fa, ou loi du sacrifice, est composé en partie d'extraits du *Koue-Yu*, recueil de mémoires historiques rédigé au plutôt au commencement du iv^e siècle.

Ce livre est, du reste, peu estimé des Chinois. Les quatre cinquièmes (§ 1-8) ont été retranchés des éditions expurgées. Les commentateurs y trouvent beaucoup de choses qu'ils déclarent "contraires aux Kings et impossibles à expliquer; plusieurs passages sont évidemment faux."² Ainsi nous y voyons au commencement que les souverains de Hia associaient Khuen au sacrifice du Kiao.

¹ Lit. au solstice du premier mois est le temps convenable pour s'occuper du service de Shang-ti. (Voir f° 84 R°).

² *Tchu-King wu so kien, to yeu-tso-i.*

Or Khuen est le ministre coupable d'avoir bouleversé la nature que le Shu-king nous montre banni et puni sévèrement. De son côté le Koue-yü, va jusqu'à dire que le prince de Yü, associa Shun au sacrifice; or ce prince de Yü n'est autre que Shun lui-même. On le voit, la source ne vaut pas mieux que ce qui en est découlé. En outre l'auteur du livre xx. emploie des termes inusités; il parle de 5 et 7 dynasties; il est le premier et le seul qui mentionne le sacrifice au soleil et à la lune,¹ lequel dans le Tso-tchuen même n'est encore mentionné que comme pratique des Fang-shi et cela au v^e siècle A.C.²

Le Tchi-fa a encore d'autres assertions hétérodoxes. Nous y lisons, par exemple, que les Ta-fous, lorsqu'ils voulaient honorer leur arrière grand-père ou leur premier ancêtre, devaient élever un autel à cette fin et y offrir le sacrifice; que les ancêtres intermédiaires devaient être laissés à l'état de *Kuei*, d'esprits abandonnés et méchants. Cela n'était certainement pas dans l'esprit de l'antiquité chinoise, et ne fut jamais pratiqué, je pense bien. Passons donc sur ce livre d'une authenticité et d'une autorité si médiocres.

Le livre xxi. porte pour titre *Tchi-i*, "Règles de convenance du sacrifice."³ Il traite d'abord du sacrifice aux parents défunts, des sentiments que l'on doit y apporter, des règles à y suivre, puis des qualités du souverain et des princes. Il parle en passant du sacrifice à Shang-ti, et reproduit la phrase du livre ix., *Tchu-ji* (il fait une attention spéciale au soleil); puis de celui que l'on offre au soleil et à la lune. Ici l'auteur se met en contradiction avec celui du *Tchi-fa*; à l'en croire, le sacrifice au soleil se faisait à l'est sur un monticule, celui à la lune avait lieu dans une caverne à l'ouest. Comme le remarque très justement, Legge, dans une note

¹ Il est bien parlé du soleil au § 2 de la sect. ii., livre ix., et Callery traduit ce passage : C'est le soleil qui est le principal (des adorations). Mais Legge rejette avec raison cette interprétation impossible : *tchu-jih* 主日 ne peut signifier cela. La traduction de Legge : *the sun was considered as the resting-place for the spirit of heaven*, ne me semble pas plus admissible. Si l'on prend *tchu* dans le sens de "tablette," il faut traduire : "on faisait une tablette représentative du soleil." "On tablettait le soleil." En tout cas, il ne s'agit nullement d'un culte d'adoration ou autre rendu au soleil. Le souverain, au solstice d'été, allait contempler le lever, l'arrivée du soleil, du plus long jour de l'année; de la grande chaleur, dit le rituel de Kien-long. C'était ce jour qui occupait alors principalement l'attention. C'est là le seul sens possible de *tchu-ji*. Aussi les commentateurs l'entendent-ils de cette manière et n'y voient aucun acte du culte. "Le principal est dans le saluer l'arrivée du long jour *tchu yü ying tchang ji tchi tchi* 主於迎長日之至. Cf. *Matwan-lin*, liv. 69, fo 2.

² Voir mon étude : *La Religion chinoise dans le Tchün-tsiu et le Tso-tchuen*.

³ Et non "Sens du sacrifice," ce que n'autorisent ni les termes, ni le contenu du chapitre.

de sa traduction, il n'y a nulle part ailleurs de trace d'hommages rendus au soleil, au grand sacrifice de Shang-ti au faubourg du sud.¹

Dans cette première partie Kong-tze est mentionné sous la simple dénomination de *Tze*, "Le Maître" (§ 19), comme ailleurs encore du reste. Ce qui prouve surabondamment que l'auteur était un disciple avoué du grand philosophe.

La seconde partie commence par une dissertation sur le composé humain, et ses deux principes vital et intellectuel, qui, bien que mise dans la bouche du Maître, accuse des idées tout à fait étrangères et postérieures à Kong-tze. Pour celui-ci *Kuei* est l'âme des morts (Voir Lün-yü, ii. 24, xi. 11); *Shen* est un esprit; *Kuei-shen* sont les esprits humains et célestes. Ici l'auteur distingue dans l'homme le *Shen*, l'âme spirituelle, et *Kuei*, l'âme animale, qui va en terre avec le cadavre et s'y dissout. Il en est le même de la théorie du *Khi* qui forme le *Shen*, et du *Pe* qui provient du *Kuei*; tout cela est de beaucoup post-confucéen.

L'époque resterait toutefois incertaine si l'auteur n'avait pas lui-même trahi son âge en employant pour désigner le peuple chinois le terme *Kien-sheou*² au lieu de *Li-sheou*. Or ce mot et le caractère correspondant n'ont commencé à être employés dans cette expression qu'au temps de Shi-hoang-ti des Ts'in, c'est-à-dire tout à la fin du iii^e siècle A.C. (221-209).

"Conformément à l'essence des choses, on a statué avec une suprême intelligence qu'il y a le *Kuei* et le *Shen* afin que cette distinction soit la norme pour "les têtes-noires," afin que le peuple soit plein de crainte, de respect et que tous restent parfaitement soumis."

Ce langage, par lui-seul, témoigne d'une époque bien éloignée du docteur du Lün-yü et du Ta-hio; de plus il est entièrement emprunté aux *Kia-yü*, ou entretiens familiers de Kong-tze, qui doivent leur origine à des disciples très lointains du Maître.

Dans la suite du livre xxi. l'auteur parle des champs du souverain, de l'élève du vers-à-soie, de la musique et des rites en général et de beaucoup d'autres choses; nous y trouvons des dialogues où interviennent non-seulement Kong-tze et ses disciples, mais les adhérents de ces derniers tels que Kong-ming-i et Yo-tchang-tchun disciples de Tseng-tze.

¹ Encore moins à la lune que notre auteur associe ici au soleil. Rien ne prouve mieux la fausseté de ses assertions.

² 黔 au lieu de 黎. Le *Shuo-wen* presque contemporain des Ts'in, porte : "Les Tcheous appellent le peuple *Li-sheou*, les Ts'in l'ont appelé *Kien-sheou* à cause des bonnets que les gens du peuple portaient."

Le livre xxii. *T'chi-t'ong*, "Vue générale du sacrifice," expose l'origine, le but, l'importance, les règles sommaires du sacrifice avec des détails parfois assez intéressants ; les conditions requises pour l'offrir convenablement, ses différentes espèces. Toutefois il n'y est question que du sacrifice aux ancêtres. Comme l'a remarqué Legge très justement, c'est l'œuvre d'un lettré de Lou, très ardent patriote qui se plaît à relever les privilèges prétendus et les grandeurs de son pays. Il termine en affirmant que ses princes ont les mêmes droits que le Fils du ciel, et quant aux corps de musique, et quant aux sacrifices ; que ce privilège n'a point été perdu jusqu'à présent, illustrant ainsi la vertu de Tcheou-kong et élevant la grandeur de son état.

Legge en conclut que ce dithyrambe a été composé avant la chute de l'état de Lou qui périt en 248 A.C., tout en reconnaissant que les meilleurs commentateurs déniaient l'existence de ces prérogatives. Il nous semble peu probable que l'on ait pu afficher ainsi solennellement des prétentions que tout le monde savait être fausses. Il paraît plus probable qu'il n'y a là qu'un accès de patriotisme qui s'est donné libre carrière sans aucune gêne parce que son pays, ayant perdu ses princes, de semblables prétentions n'offusquaient plus personne et ne pouvaient plus être démenties par les faits. Le neud de la difficulté est dans les mots *T'chi yü kin, puh fei so i ming Tcheou kong tchi teh*, que Legge traduit : "et jusqu'à présent cela n'a pas été aboli, montrant par là," etc., et qui peuvent signifier simplement : "Et jusqu'aujourd'hui ce qui illustra la vertu de Tcheou-kong . . . n'a jamais défailli." Ce peut être aussi une antedate trompeuse pour faire croire à ces privilèges dans le passé. Quoiqu'il en soit le livre xxii. ne peut être reporté au delà du iii^e siècle A.C.

Le xxiii^e livre composé de neuf paragraphes seulement, ne contient guère que quelques sentences sur la nature et les vertus propres de chacun des six premiers grands kings, puis quelques dissertations vagues et banales sur le bon gouvernement et les rites.

Il porte en lui-même sa date en ce qu'il disserte des six kings, or c'est seulement sous les Han que la consécration officielle a porté à ce chiffre le nombre des livres canoniques. Ce fut l'œuvre de Wu-ti, qui régna de 140 à 86 A.C. Ce qui nous reporte jusqu'au dernier siècle de l'ère ancienne.

Cela n'empêche point l'auteur de mettre son élucubration dans la bouche de Kong-tze, nous montrant ainsi ce que valent ces mises en scène du grand philosophe, combien elles sont généralement tardives.

Avec le livre xxiv. nous arrivons à une longue série d'entretiens dont Kong-tze est le principal personnage. Ce sont d'abord les réponses du philosophe au prince Ai de Lou, le dernier que Kong-tze vit sur le trône (L. xxiv.), puis celles qu'il donna aux questions posées par ses disciples, lorsque, retiré de la cour, il vivait tranquille et sans affaires en son logis privé¹ (L. xxv.), ou se reposait chez lui² (L. xxvi.), devisant avec son cher Tze-Hia. Après cela vient tout une suite de sentences mises dans la bouche du Maître (Tze),³ en un livre (L. xxvii.) qui porte le titre de *Fang-ki* ou "Traité des digues," c'est-à-dire des digues morales ou règles qui gardent le cœur contre le dehors et l'empêchent de s'y répandre ; puis en un second de formation identique, intitulé *Piao-ki*, "Traité de l'exemple" (L. xxix.),⁴ et un troisième (L. xxx.) qui sous le nom de *Sse-i*⁵ traite de matières gouvernementales.

À ces livres nous joindrons le trente-huitième, où nous voyons de nouveau Kong-tze en présence du prince Gai de Lou, et lui expliquant, à sa demande, quelle doit être la conduite d'un lettré.⁶

Il serait superflu d'observer que cette intervention du grand docteur chinois fixe la date terminale de ces parties du Li-ki. Malheureusement elle ne nous assure point de l'authenticité de ces relations qui restent grandement et justement douteuses. Legge les tient en grande suspicion et non sans motifs.

Le livre xxiv., l'entretien avec le prince Ai, se retrouve en partie dans le livre des rites, dit Ta-tai-li, que les Chinois et Tchou-hi spécialement qualifient eux-mêmes de plein d'erreurs et de choses extravagantes,⁷ et en grande partie dans les Kia-Yü, mais avec des variantes et des suppressions. Ainsi quelques mots sont changés aux premiers paragraphes ; le 11^e ne s'y trouve qu'en partie, le 12^e y est en entier mais cela s'arrête⁸ là. Le commencement est de la même façon au *pien* i. 6^e *ti*.

Les livres suivantes sont condamnés par les Chinois eux-mêmes comme apocryphes, et nous ne pouvons que nous ranger à leur avis lorsqu'ils jugent un langage, des idées ou des actes étrangers, contraires au parler ou aux habitudes de leur maître et docteur. Du

¹ C'est là le sens des deux mots, *Yên-tchü*, qui forment le titre du livre.

² Sens de l'expression *Lieu-tchü*, employée de la même manière.

³ C'est-à-dire Kong-tze.

⁴ Nous passons le xxviii. qui n'est autre chose que le Tchong-Yong rangé parmi les *Sse shu* ou les quatre livres confucéens.

⁵ "Habits noirs," titre assez inexplicable, sans rapport avec le sujet et pris de deux mots qui se trouvent au second paragraphe.

⁶ *Ju*, terme ordinaire, désignant les lettrés de l'école orthodoxe.

⁷ Cp. la préface de l'*I-li* complété de K'ien-long.

⁸ Voir le Kia-Yü, i. 4.

reste, l'examen minutieux du style de ces livres confirme leur décision. Ce n'est certainement point Kong-tze, au langage concis et réservé, qui aurait commencé une explication comme il est dit au L. xxv. § 9, que nous traduisons ainsi mot pour mot : *Attente audite vos tres homines illi. Ego enarrabo vobis ritus*¹ *quomodo habentur novem.*

Les disciples auditeurs des discours du grand homme ne s'exprimaient pas non plus comme l'auteur du même livre lorsqu'il dit en terminant : "Les trois disciples ayant ainsi entendu les paroles, furent éclairés par le maître comme s'il avait dissipé les ténèbres" (de leurs esprits). Nous en dirons tout autant de la tournure du § 19, où Kong-tze répond à une question de Tze-tchang par cette interrogation emphatique : "Maître, est-ce que vous croyez que d'avancer les bancs et les nattes, de monter et descendre, de remplir et présenter les coupes, de porter la santé et boire en retour (doivent être indiqués d'abord), et puis qu'après cela seulement on puisse parler des rites ?"

Il suffit d'ouvrir le Lün-Yü pour s'assurer que cela n'entrerait point dans les usages de son héros.

Nous pourrions aussi signaler certains mots, certains caractères qui n'étaient point usités à cette époque ; mais cela nous entraînerait trop loin. Notons seulement cette qualification de Tze, "maître," dont Kong-tze gratifie Tze-tchang dans notre passage et qu'il ne lui aurait certainement point accordée. Nous ne retrouvons point non plus au Li-ki cette prodigalité de particules explétives qui caractérisent le style confucéen.²

Un autre fait que l'on ne doit point perdre de vue en cette question, c'est que ces livres ont subitement apparu au ii^e siècle sans que l'on ait jamais pu signaler un indice même de leur existence antérieure. Bien plus, les historiens chinois nous apprennent que tout ce fatras a été écrit de mémoire lors de la résurrection des lettres, et l'on sait combien les doctes auteurs de ces temps étaient féconds en créations d'imagination, en compositions antidatées. Avant eux déjà les Tchuang-tze et les Lie-tze faisaient dire et faire à Kong-tze tout ce qui leur passait par la tête sans se préoccuper du non-sens de leur œuvre. Mais nous n'avons que trop insisté sur un fait³ d'une

¹ La même phrase se retrouve au *Kia-Yü*, au chap. 27, qui commence par les mots servant de titre à notre livre xxvi. du Li-ki. Là, ils se trouvent au livre xxv. ; tout cela a donc été pris au *Kia-Yü* ; le chap. 27 des *Entretiens familiers* a pour titre *Lün-li* discours, dissertation sur les rites.

² Voir notre article : *Le Style Confucéen*, au *Tong-pao*.

³ Notons encore toutefois cette sentence profonde que l'on n'attribuera pas sans doute à Kong-tze : "Si les nattes n'avaient leurs bouts supérieurs et inférieurs, il y

minime importance au point de vue où nous nous sommes placés, puisque ces livres ne nous apprennent rien au sujet des croyances chinoises. Ils s'occupent, en effet, principalement des pratiques gouvernementales ou de considérations du genre de celle-ci :

"Il y a trois choses qui n'ont pas d'existence positive.¹ Ce sont la musique sans son, les rites sans corps, le deuil sans vêtement. Les vers du Shi dans lesquels il en est parlé de la manière la plus rapprochée sont les suivants.

"Du jour et de la nuit la nature et l'ordonnance sont dans l'espace obscur et mystérieux" (Shi iv. 2, i. 6). C'est la musique sans son.

"Majestueux et digne, plein d'affabilité toujours égal à soi-même, sans rien qui entraîne."² C'est le rite, la contenance, la règle sans corps (S. iii. 1, 3).

"Chez tous ceux chez lesquels survient un deuil j'irais rampant sur mes genoux pour les aider" (i. 3, 10. 4). Voilà le deuil sans vêtement.

Mais ce n'est point tout, quand un homme supérieur pratique ces choses il en surgit encore cinq autres.

"La où se trouve la musique sans son, le souffle et la volonté ne sont point en opposition.

"Où règnent les rites sans corps, la dignité, la majesté, restent calmes et sans précipitation, il y a compassion intime et vaste pitié. La musique sans son est entendue constamment dans les quatre régions du monde. Les rites sans corps avancent chaque jour et progressent chaque mois. Le deuil sans vêtement nourrit, entretient tous les états."

Et cela continue ainsi toute une longue page. Si quelqu'un a le courage d'attribuer sérieusement ce langage à Kong-tze, nous n'aurons point celui de le combattre, mais passerons outre sans plus, nous contentant de le renvoyer à la comparaison de ces discours diffus et alambiqués avec les sentences brèves, simples, et si justes en général des entretiens authentiques du grand philosophe.³ Le livre xxix, *Piao-ki*, en plusieurs endroits annonce expressément qu'il rapporte des paroles jadis prononcées par le

aurait trouble parmi ceux qui sont assis dessus ; si les chars étaient sans droite et gauche, il y aurait trouble dans les chars ; si l'on marchait sans se suivre il y aurait trouble sur les chemins ; si l'on se tenait arrêté sans ordre de rang, il y aurait trouble dans les positions" (L. xxv. § 19).

¹ *Wu*, lit. les trois non.

² *Com. sun* = *tsih*. "Qui ne choisit rien, qui n'attend pas l'influence des objets extérieurs pour agir."

³ Nous ne discuterons pas d'avantage l'authenticité du livre xxx. d'un style tout anti-confucéen.

maître : *Tze-yin-tchi* (§ i. 29, 34, etc.); c'est même par ces mots qu'il commence. Il traite des rites privés, du service du prince, mais s'écarte également du genre confucéen.

Remarquons, en passant, ces paroles : "Les anciens n'osaient point servir Shang-ti selon leur propre jugement" (xxix. § 90).

Le livre xxx., *Tze-i*, est condamné par les Chinois eux-mêmes comme d'un style de mauvais goût et de pensées communes. Son auteur présumé Kong-sun-ni-tze est cité dans les catalogues officiels comme ayant précédé immédiatement Meng-tze, c'est-à-dire comme appartenant à la première moitié du iii.^e siècle A.C.¹ Il aurait vécu, selon Fang-tze, sous Wu, prince de Tcheng.²

Les cinq livres suivants (xxxi. à xxxv.) sont consacrés à des questions concernant les funérailles, les cérémonies et pratiques du deuil. Rejetés des éditions expurgées, ils sont conséquemment d'une origine très suspecte et bien que leur textes ne présentent pas de point de repère pouvant servir à déterminer l'époque de leur composition, ou ne peut leur attribuer une date ancienne. La première rédaction du Li-ki ne les contenait probablement pas. Le livre xxxv. termine par une décision de Kong-tze.

L'atéthèse dont ces livres ont été frappés ne nous permet pas de les considérer comme des témoins fidèles des usages régnants. L'époque à laquelle se réfèrent leurs auteurs doit être la fin de la dynastie des Tcheous puis qu'il y est parlé des princes feudataires. Le dernier toutefois de ces petits souverains ne périt pas avec la dynastie de Wu-wang. Il se pourrait donc que ces sections du Li-ki fussent plus récentes encore. On ne doit point oublier non plus que le but affiché des lettrés de Han était de remettre en lumière les rites observés avant les Ts'in. Il est donc tout naturel qu'ils se soient occupés exclusivement des temps antérieurs à l'usurpation complète de ces princes. Mais passons sur ces livres apocryphes dont aucun n'intéresse notre sujet principal.

Les deux suivants (xxxvi. et xxxvii.) y sont encore plus étrangers. Le xxxvi^e décrit le vêtement ordinaire porté par les gens comme il faut; le xxxvii^e explique un jeu consistant à lancer des traits dans un pot.

Le xxxviii^e dont il a déjà été question ci-dessus, nous montre Kong-tze expliquant au prince Ai de Lu les qualités, les grandeurs du lettré. Le style diffus et empoulé exclut toute paternité confucéenne; c'est une œuvre de décadence.

Ce n'est point Kong-tze qui aurait dit en parlant de lui-même : "Qu'on cherche à l'ébranler par la richesse et les objets précieux, ou

¹ Cp. Legge, Introduction, p. 46.

² *Tcheng-Wu Kong-tchi-shi*.

à le corrompre par la musique et le plaisir, le lettré voit ces biens et ne manque pas pour cela à sa vertu intègre.

Qu'on le violente par le nombre ; qu'on le retienne par les armes, il voit la mort et ne change point ses résolutions.

Les oiseaux de proie, les animaux féroces peuvent le saisir de leurs serres, de leurs griffes, il ne tient pas compte de leur force, de leur férocité.

Il soulève les vases les plus lourds sans regarder à sa faiblesse. Le passé est pour lui sans regret ; l'avenir il ne le prévient pas. Il ne répète point une parole fautive ; il laisse tomber les bruits méchants ; ses desseins, ses conseils n'ont pas besoin d'être éprouvés.¹ Telle est la position unique qu'il occupe."

Et cela continue ainsi l'espace de dix pages.

On doit remarquer en outre que le mot *Jou* n'était point encore employé dans le sens de notre livre, au temps de Kong-tze. Le *Lün Yü* parle des *Jou*, hommes du commun, *Siao-jin*. C'est dans Meng-tze que nous le trouvons pour la première fois avec la signification de philosophe, lettré orthodoxe.

Le 5^e chapitre du Pien I. des *Kia Yü* est aussi intitulé *jou hing*, "Manière d'agir des Lettrés," et l'on y retrouve des parties du livre xxxviii. Mais la scène est toute différente. Kong-tze est au pays de Wei et parle à son petit-fils. On voit que ce sont uniquement des lieux communs.

Les livres xl. à xlv., très courts du reste, ont tous un même but, une même idée fondamentale exprimée par le mot "signification, portée, valeur." Ils traitent, à ce point de vue commun, des principales cérémonies de la vie privée ou sociale, la prise du bonnet viril (xl.), le mariage (xli.), la cérémonie du vin, du banquet à boire offert par les préfets aux vieillards et aux personnages méritants de leur district, pour encourager la vertu (xlii.), les concours de tir² (xliii.), les banquets à la cour des princes (xliv.), les envois d'ambassades entre les différentes cours (xlv.).

De nombreux traits épars dans ces livres se rapportent au temps où la féodalité existait encore, c'est-à-dire avant la fin du iii^e siècle. Plusieurs passages sont empruntés à l'I-li.³

Ce dernier fait ne permet guère de supposer une rédaction antérieure à la reconstruction de ce dernier livre sous les Han : en outre il est difficile de croire que des traités aussi incomplets, aussi

¹ *Com.* Il dit ses plans et on peut les exécuter, on n'a pas besoin d'attendre l'épreuve pour penser à les mettre en pratique.

² Voir plus haut.

³ Je les ai signalés dans ma traduction de ce livre, L. i. ii. vi. vii.-xii. xv.-xviii.

décousus que nos six derniers livres aient été écrits *ex professo* à l'époque où régnaient ces usages, pour les régler et les expliquer. Il est bien plus probable qu'ils ont vu le jour lorsqu'on cherchait à rétablir, à ressusciter l'antiquité, par des efforts de mémoire auxquels se joignaient ceux de l'imagination.

En tout cas l'intervention de Kong-tze et de ses disciples dans ces explications ne permet pas de reporter leur composition au delà du iv^e siècle, époque où l'on a pu, tout au plus, commencer à les faire ainsi parler au gré de chaque auteur. Ce n'est point tout encore.

Des analogies tirées aux cheveux, des explications alambiquées et presque ridicules,¹ des expressions telles que les trois luminaires désignant autre chose que le soleil, la lune et les astres (xlii. 5), tout annonce l'époque des Wen-tze et des Lie tze, c'est-à-dire de la dynastie des Han ou des Ts'in; tout au moins la fin des Tcheous.

Nous arrivons enfin au quarante-sixième et dernier livre dans lequel nous retrouverons tous les caractères de ceux qui l'ont précédé : le désordre, la subtilité des analogies.

L'auteur de ce dernier fragment revient encore sur le deuil, spécialement sur les vêtements des temps de douleur.

Il nous apprend, dès ses premiers mots, que "le deuil a pour effet principal de personnifier, de symboliser le ciel et la terre. Il tire sa loi des quatre saisons, sa règle d'imitation du Yin et du Yang; il est conforme à la nature humaine, c'est pourquoi on l'appelle rite. Celui qui y trouve à reprendre montre qu'il en ignore l'origine car tout y est parfait.

Les rites ont des lois différentes selon qu'il s'agit de joie ou de douleur, ainsi ils ne sont point en lutte l'un contre l'autre parce qu'ils reçoivent en eux les principes du Yin et du Yang. Les vêtements de deuil ont quatre formes parce qu'il y a quatre saisons, etc."

Quant à la date de composition de ce couronnement du Li-ki on ne manque point d'indices probantes.

D'abord il est postérieur au Hiao-king puisque ce dernier livre est cité au § 9, or il est justement tenu par les lettrés chinois comme de beaucoup postérieur à Kong-tze.

En outre une partie du *San fu tze ki* se retrouve dans le Li-ki composé par Ta-tai sous les Hans et une autre dans les *Kia Yü* (au 26^e Ti ou 5^e chapitre du Pien v.), que l'on sait être du iii^e ou

¹ Quand l'instruction des hommes, est-il dit au liv. xli. 121, n'est point florescente, les opérations du Yang n'arrivent pas à leurs fins. Cela se montre dans le ciel, le soleil est éclipsé. Le manque de soumission des femmes produit les mêmes phénomènes et fait éclipser la lune, etc.

du ii^e siècle de notre ère. Les commentateurs que suit le Dr. Legge dans sa traduction, attribuent une partie de ce livre comme du précédent au lettré Tai-shang, qui ajouta ces fragments à l'œuvre de Ta-tai, à cette œuvre que les Chinois eux-mêmes trouvent inepte et pleine d'erreurs.

Nous arrivons au terme de cet examen que plusieurs, peut-être trouveront bien détaillé, mais que nous eussions fait plus minutieux encore si nous n'avions craint de fatiguer nos lecteurs. Il nous reste à en réunir les résultats obtenus successivement et, par leur groupement, à en faire voir les conséquences dernières.

Voici donc, en un tableau, les dates certaines de la rédaction des différentes parties du Li-ki, où les époques au-delà des quelles il est impossible de reporter ses limites extrêmes en remontant les siècles.

Livre i.—Fin de la dynastie Tcheou, époque des Han, iv^e–ii^e siècle.

Livre ii.—Commencement du iii^e siècle.

Livre iii.—l'an 164 A.C.

Livre iv.—vers 230 A.C.

Livre v.—iii^e siècle.

Livre vi.—ii^e siècle.

Livre vii.—iii^e ou ii^e siècle.

Livre viii.—iv^e à ii^e siècle.

Livre ix.—iv^e ou iii^e siècle.

Livre x.—même date.

Livre xi.—iv^e siècle.

Livre xii.—iii^e siècle.

Livre xiii.—iii^e ou ii^e siècle.

Livre xiv.—même date.

Livre xv.—iii^e siècle.

Livre xvi.—iii^e siècle.

Livre xvii.—dernier siècle A.C. ou i^e siècle P.C.

Livre xviii.—iii^e siècle.

Livre xix.—id.

Livre xx.—ii^e siècle P.C.

Livre xxi.—Fin du ii^e siècle ou i^e.

Livre xxii.—iii^e ou ii^e siècle.

Livre xxiii.—dernier siècle A.C.

Livre xxiv. à xxix.—longtemps après Kong-tze.

Livre xxx.—iii^e siècle.

Livre xxxi. à xxxv.—livres apocryphes.

Livre xxxvi. et xxxvii.—Voir page 28.

Livre xxxviii.—ii^e siècle P.C.

Livre xxxix.—iv^e siècle.

Livre xl. à xlv.—fin des Tcheous, iv^e à ii^e siècle.

Livre xlvi.—ii^e siècle A.C.

IV. CONCLUSION.

Des faits que nous venons d'exposer il résulte ces conséquences qui s'imposent, et que nous exposerons aussi brièvement que possible.

1°. Le travail qui aboutit à la composition du Li-ki commença vers la fin du ii^e siècle A.C. et finit au ii^e siècle P.C., lorsque Ma-yong y eut ajouté les trois livres que nous avons désignés ci-dessus. Pendant ce laps de temps, il subit divers remaniements aboutissant tous à en rejeter, de plus en plus, les parties suspectes.

2°. Des livres ou fragments nombreux qui le composent, la majeure partie, les trois quarts même, ont été écrits au iii^e ou au ii^e siècle avant notre ère, ou plus tard encore. Quelques uns datent du iv^e siècle ; mais c'est là, la limite extrême ; tous sont de beaucoup postérieurs à Kong-tze par leur rédaction.

3°. Non-seulement le Li-ki n'a point échappé à l'influence confucéenne, mais il en est tout pénétré. Une grande partie du recueil lui est directement attribuée, presque tout a été écrit par des lettrés de son école, qui le proclament partout leur maître (Tze).

Quelques passages ont été inspirés par les théories bien moins anciennes que les doctrines, les enseignements du grand philosophe.

Cela ne doit point étonner ; à cette époque (iii^e à i^e siècle A.C.) les idées taoïstes s'étaient emparées même des lettrés orthodoxes, et plusieurs d'entre eux cherchaient à concilier les enseignements des deux écoles. Ceci nous ramène à cette expression brève mais exacte de la nature du "Mémorial des Rites :"

Le Li-ki est l'œuvre des lettrés des Han et reflète principalement leurs idées propres, leur conception propre des doctrines antiques ; conception vraie parfois, mais très souvent erronée.

Leur témoignage ne peut donc être accepté que lorsqu'il ne contredit en rien les monuments de l'antiquité ou seulement, comme expression des usages, des idées régnant à leur époque.

III.

THE FOLK-SONGS OF LADAK AND BALTISTAN.

BY

THE REV. H. HANLON,

Of St. Peter's Mission, Leh, Ladak.

THESE folk-songs have been until now unwritten. In collecting them from the people, the work has been a curious one. No one could recite the words of any song. Each one had to be sung and the words written out as the song proceeded. In many cases musicians had to be called in to play over various airs, and thus call the songs to mind. Some few of these ballads are ancient, others comparatively modern. They are all in use at present. Among them are two series: one for the marriage festival, and the second for the drinking of chang,—a sort of beer made from fermented barley. This chang-drinking, when rightly performed, is quite a ceremony, lasting for hours. There are eight songs to be sung with slowness and deliberation. I believe the Chang series originally was restricted to the marriage festival, of which it still forms an important part; but it is now used separately at friendly gatherings. There are miscellaneous songs for various occasions, viz., in praise of Lamas, monasteries, kings, queens, and their palaces; of prime ministers, and other potentates and nobles; in praise of villages and mountains; songs of conquest during the time of the Rajahs; others sung at assemblages of friends, at family gatherings, at polo and other sports, and love-songs in plenty.

In the present collection¹ there are a hundred and forty-eight songs. No doubt others exist, but they are not much known. The advantage of permanent residence at Leh has enabled me to gather up the folk-songs from people of distant villages, who journey for days together to this capital. Being of a cheerful disposition, they often spend their evenings, and even days, chang-drinking and merrymaking. Many ballads are thus well known among them.

¹ The MS. Tibetan text as exhibited at the Congress.

Baltistan is represented in nearly one-third of the present collection. The former little kingdoms of Purik, Chang-thang, Tangskar, and Nubra have given their quota. Thus if this collection is not entirely complete, it is fairly representative of Ladak and Little Tibet.

The translations here given are *ad literam*. If I have versified a few, they are still fairly accurate, or at least as faithful a rendering as I could have given in prose to be intelligible. The verse, moreover, when there is time to compose it, has the advantage of leaving out connecting words which one is obliged to supply in prose. The present translation, whether in verse or prose, being strictly literal, is necessarily somewhat broken and awkward.

Of the dates of many I can get no information. Others having been written during the reigns of kings and queens, and during the administration of prime ministers, whose names are celebrated in the ballad, I shall be able to get a fairly accurate date for them later on, having at present a manuscript history of Leh, and being promised the Gyal-raps, or list of kings and chief events during their reigns. So far I can date but one or two, and these are each over two hundred years old, referring to Kings Singe-rnam-gyal and De-ldan-rnam-gyal, who ascended the throne in 1620 and 1671 respectively.

Though the language is, for the most part, pure Tibetan, I find many words not contained in Mr. H. A. Jäschke's large Tibetan Dictionary, nor in Captain H. Ramsay's *Ladaki Spera*. Hence from this collection of folk-songs several more words can be added to the known vocabulary.

Among other curiosities that may be noticed, there is the estimation of women as given by themselves in their songs. Then there is the surprising names the people bear, such as "accumulation of beauty," "powerful child leader," &c., for females, and "long life of finished excellence," "Buddha's perfection," &c., for males. Of the names occurring in the songs I give a translation. These are not poetical names merely, assumed for the song, but the common names one still finds among the people. It seems to be the practice in very many songs to commence by praising the Lamas or the king, or both, this frequently taking up one-third, or even one-half the song. As in many other ballads, so in these of Ladak and Baltistan, there are frequent repetitions; the second line being but a slight augmentation of the first, or sometimes but slightly changed by merely supplying the real name for the descriptive.

The translation has often obliged me to inquire for detailed information respecting the manners and customs of the people. I need

not, however, lengthen this paper with the many interesting details of these matters; but I shall add in explanatory notes any information necessary to the correct understanding of the specimens I subjoin.

The first song of the book, like many of the songs themselves, begins with the Lamas. The following are parts of a translated song which is sung to a Lama who has left his monastery and returned to the world. It is supposed to be sung by another Lama who has been in similar circumstances.

Stanza 10th.

Now Buddha's truth I shall embrace,
And worshipfully pray
My transmigrations to efface
And cleanse my sins away.

In imitation of the wise
And all the learned kind,
I'll read the book where wisdom lies
And concentrate my mind.

The fev'rish cares of trade and mart,
The pleasing ways of stealth,
Hide mis'ry from the worldly heart,
Allured by growing wealth.

But in the end in hell's deep gorge
The worldly learn, too late,
What heavy chains in life they forge
Who take the tempting bait.

The happiness awaiting a life of prayer described.

As restless as the waves at sea
Is sorrow's endless misery;
The cream and essence of all things
The earth can give from copious springs
Are nothing to religion's food,
The nourishment of all the good,
Perfection's wonderful reward,
When all you wish attends your word,
When all desires by truth instilled,
Where'er you be, are all fulfilled,
The choicest fruit of honey-flower,
Sweet juice in essence, is your dower.

A song to King and Queen, sung by inhabitants before Palace at Leh.

As a firmly planted pillar
 Of the race of *Puramshingpa*,¹
 As a pillar's rigid planting,
 Nytret-tsanpa's worthy offspring,
 To the snow-land's mighty nations,
 Working out their transmigrations,
 You are the resplendent gleaming
 Of our rising sun's great beaming.
 In whatever way we view you,
 Beauty's lustre shines out from you.
 'Midst the men throughout this region
 The most high of our religion,
 Life, mind, body, Lha² incarnate,
 Rde-skyong-rnam-gyal³ gives the mandate,
 Feet in flowers of circled curls,
 Steadfast for a hundred worlds.

To the Queen.

Speech like sacred music thrilling,
 Heard as precepts throughout *Chiling*;⁴
 All your manners and your dresses,
 Beauty's ornament and graces.
 Incarnation of a goddess,
 Captivating all men's senses.
 Abundant is your tea and chango,
 Queen⁵ and Lady *Putritwangmo*.⁶
 As fish that swim in hemmed-in waters,
 Never straying o'er their borders,
 So your retinue, your minions,
 Happy in your great dominions.

6.

The following figurative song is sung in praise of a country and its inhabitants:—

There is a new abode built among flowers, a very forest of flowers. The interior of the new abode among the flowers is a very magnificent garden of golden flowers. Here the kidney-shaped lilies of all varieties are in bloom. Here the white lotus-flowers of all species flourish to adore and worship

¹ Sugar-cane.³ Protector of the nation.⁶ Lha-lchan, lady-queen.² Lha here used for good spirit.⁴ The four quarters of the world.⁶ Powerful child leader.

Konchhoksum, to worship by giving alms to the poor, blind, and afflicted. Here the sweet-smelling harvest increases to worship. Here the *three good works*¹ prosper and grow luxuriantly to worship.

7.

This song is for a gathering of a few select friends.

For a Ghol-ghol-choches or private jollification.

The faultless man has abundance of tea, chang, and milk. The greatly happy man has a plentiful supply of tea, chang, and nectar. In the primitive times each one had the notched arrow for the knotted scarf of blessing (*i.e.*, each one had a pure white soul within him). In the primitive times, &c. (*repeated*). Hail! the scarf of blessing has passed through the indented arrow-head (this signifies perfect peace and union). The knotted scarf of blessing² has been placed in the indented golden arrow. The soul of a happy man is near (*i.e.*, with all his friends), dispelling all clouds as the rising sun. The happy man dissolves all clouds from his own heart as the rising sun.

10.

This song is from Baltistan.

Sung before Rajah's Palace.

On the confines of the Lha country and the Lhu country³ there is a lion's palace. If you ask whereabouts it is, we think it is between the Lha country and the Lhu country; we think it is in Shakari-shabrok (*i.e.*, a country in Purik, near Dras). Let us dance and laugh and make merry, let us make merry before the great illustrious and beautiful leader. Let us, friends, rejoice before the great Malik.

12.

Pangri-g-Lu, or song for naming-feast when a child is one month old.

Away up in the Lha country a boy was born to a certain mother (*repeated*). To the mother, Gokzo, a son was born. What is the name we

¹ "The three good works," *i.e.*, to adore Konchhok, to give alms, and to serve and reverence Lamas.

² "The knotted scarf of blessing" is used at weddings to denote union of husband and wife; at friendly meetings, to signify the amicable reconciliation of all present, if there has been a breach of friendship; if not, to cement the bond still closer, all differences being forgiven and forgotten. The scarf of blessing represents the female, the notched arrow the male.

³ The Lha country they believe to be in mid-air and the upper regions. The Lhu country, in the lower regions under the sea. The Lhu sends rain and thunder. In the farms of Ladak one meets a small square whitewashed structure in one of the fields; this is the Lhu-brang or Lhu-house; it is about three feet cube. They build it to propitiate the Lhu lest he destroy the crops.

shall give this boy? The name we shall give this boy is Lekspoe-tondrub (*i.e.*, beautiful excellence). If Lekspo is not beautiful, then what is beautiful? If Tondrub is not excellent, what is excellent?

13 and 14.

The mother's dream. (Song of Baltistan.)

To-day I saw in a dream, O hail, hail, my clever young boy! that you, that you would obtain all the great and small palaces. It was a feast day's dream. I saw that you, my clever young boy, would obtain the highest story of all the palaces in the world. To be the great ruler in the highest palaces in the world, who do you think will be worthy to obtain it? You, my clever young one, will get it. Shabash! I turn my hands with joy and reverently worship.¹ Whom do you think has the hope of securing the hand of the excellent Drugu? You have the hope of securing the excellent spouse. Shabash!! My delight and my heart's pleasure! Oh, you clever young boy! I turn my hands with joy and reverently worship.

18.

Sung by a wife in praise of her husband. (Song of Baltistan.)

Amidst the splendid wood of Marcha,² on the height of the golden wood of Shiringmarcha, in the mid-summer time, the singing-bird pipes out. In the mid-summer season the singing-bird speaks tunefully. In the summer-time it is not the singing bird that sings sweetly, it is the husband, during this life of me his wife, with his sweet flageolet³ from his girdle. It is not the sweetly singing bird speaks tunefully in the summer-time; it is my beloved Monin, whose music is crystal sugar to my palate.

24.

A maiden's song.

If you arrive on the hill-top in the happy and most ancient country, on the hill-top of the country where happy fortune abounds, you will meet the single hut⁴ of the teaching Lama. We few friends will go and see the single hut of Stanpayangphel (*i.e.*, the teacher ever increasing in blessings), we near and dear friends. Let the prattling do-nothings say what they

¹ Turning of hands round and round one over the other is a common gesture of prayer among the women.

² Marcha and Shiringmarcha is the name of the house.

³ The flageolet here referred to is made of one piece of wood hollowed out; in shape it resembles a common whistle-pipe of Europe. It has seven notes on the front and one at the back; every herdsman carries one in his girdle.

⁴ The single hut means a hermitage.

please ; let the talkative idlers talk as they like. Only what is comely and beautiful comes before the eyes of our teaching Lama. We are near and dear friends.

25.

A boy's song.

I, a boy, am not born from a mother. I was born in the heavens. I am equal to the strong and kingly eagle. Yes, I am equal to the strong and kingly eagle. I, Ldoré, am even equal to what I say.

26.

On the summit of the snow mountain, whence happiness is born, there is a little white monastery, a small vase-shaped conch (*all repeated*). In it lives a Lama—a Lama whom all females reverently worship—the hermit Konchhok Trinlas (*i.e.*, the good work of God). There are very many Lamas who knot the amulet, but the Lama who unties the knot of religion (*i.e.*, who can expound the books) is the Lama revered by me, Tangmo (the good). There are many Lamas in this country who eat the fresh apricot ; but my lama is he who swallows the pebbles.¹ In this country there are many who ride out on fine horses. In this country there are many young Lamas who ride out on fine horses ; but the Lama revered by me is he who rides his own soul on the winds.²

30.

(Date about 1630.)

Sung by a young man in praise of his parents, i.e., first the king, parent of his country, and next his natural parents.

Upon all the high hills I have hoisted religious flags.³ I have hoisted them for the Great Ruler of all mankind. For Nyeema-rnam-gyal (*i.e.*, the lion-king), the religious king, I have erected these prayer-flags. Thus all the hill-tops are as a beautiful generation, equal to a threading of the mané beads (Buddhist rosary). On these summits green grass and gardens

¹ "Who swallows the pebbles." This signifies mortification. A small pebble is swallowed with their scanty repast, and until this pebble is evacuated no more food can be taken. It is washed and re-swallowed as before.

² "Rides his own soul on the winds." This points to the belief that when a Lama has gained full mastery over his passions he holds himself under full control, and can do all things—as they say, "ride on the winds."

³ "Religious flag," "prayer-flag." They are made of gauze ; on them is written the mané prayer in large letters ; by one end they are attached to a small twig and left free to the wind, offering the prayer by every flap of the wind like the mané wheel.

abound, (which are) like the termination of the chaplets. There every species of flowers is in bloom, like the much-holding aphorism of the golden chaplet.¹ I, who for nine or ten months was borne, can never compass the debt of gratitude I owe to my parents, to whom I am under the greatest of all obligations; (without them) it were as difficult for me to care for myself as for the mané bead to get its colour.

32.

A Balti woman going to village festival sings of her fidelity to her husband.

Having put on the lovely veil (of Mahometan women), I will go to the harvest festival of the village (*repeated*). My great and noble husband, Gyalmalik, I shall not forget. The great Gyalmalik, who carries the Koran which fills his lap (*i.e.*, he squats reading his Koran, which is the pledge of their marriage), you will not cast away your Leksom (*i.e.*, accumulated beauty). Upon my head and neck are silver ornaments. But these head and neck ornaments are nothing. My good man is of happy fortune. If the blue waters³ surround you, let me bear it. I shall not forget you. If the inimical salt waters flood round about you, let me bear it. My excellent husband will not cast away his Leksom.

43.

Song of a courtier about his own office.

When the exalted ruler of the world arises seated on his golden throne, when the religious king Nyeema-rnam-gyal ascends his golden throne, I, a youth, am before him like the best golden turban (*i.e.*, hold first rank). I, Gyamthso Malik (Malik of the Sea), of the nobility, am before King Nyeema-rnam-gyal like the best golden turban. When the exalted ruler of the world, &c., mounts his steed to amble about, I am before him, his horseman, as the red guiding light to his way. I am Gyamthso Malik, the horseman before him as a guiding star. When the exalted ruler, &c., goes afoot to walk round the mané, I go before him like the terminus bead of the hand mané (rosary); I, the son of noble parents, am before him like the concluding bead of the mané chaplet.

¹ "Much-holding aphorism," *i.e.*, "Om Mané Padme hum," the meaning of which, the people are taught, is so great and mysterious that no living man could ever attempt to understand or explain it. Thus it is like the flower holding much beauty and sweetness in itself, as in this song.

² "If the blue waters," &c. This is an expression signifying troubles and anxieties of life; the wife offers herself to bear them in his stead. "Flood of inimical waters" denote disease, possession, harm, and misfortune of every kind brought on by evil genii. She offers herself to perform all the exorcisms and drive away the evil spirit from her husband.

45.

A servant sings of the blessings received from his master.

In my infancy I was a poor boy, O good master! In childhood Tsang-tsang (*i.e.*, beggar) was poor, O Tsewangtondrub (*i.e.*, powerful and perfect life). You clothed me with red garments, O good master! You clothed me in a velvet cap, O Tsewangtondrub! You girded me round with a silken girdle, O Tsewangtondrub!

48.

In praise of village storekeeper of Charasa, Nubra.

When you behold the high roof of the great palace on the hill of variegated precious stones, as high as the heavens (*all repeated*), it is the exquisitely formed palatial residence of the exalted ruler of mankind. It is the surpassingly excellent palatial abode of the Pasha Nyeema-rnam-gyal.

All other villages can heap up a great harvest-hill from their barley and straw. All other men can build up their harvest-hill from their barley and straw; but in our village we can pile up our large harvest-hill from our golden corn alone. In our little village of Charasa we can heap up the harvest pile from pearl-barley alone. In the good days of the golden age all men stacked up good stores from a splendid harvest. So our storekeeper, Lozangstanzin (*i.e.*, the firm holder of an excellent mind), has indeed stored up well.

53.

In praise of a snow mountain in Tibet.

The white snow mountain on the right side is a holy pyramid not built (by hands of man) (*repeated*). It is deeply rooted and immovably firm. It is greater than the ancient pyramid of man's erection. It is firm and stable for ever (*repeated*). It is deeply rooted and unchangeably planted. On the left is the water Mapam (*i.e.*, unfailing). It is the religious vessel of offering¹ not offered (by hands of man). It is firmly placed and everlastingly offered.

56.

Originally sung by the Queen when the King was setting out on a journey.

Now commonly sung by other women whose husbands frequently have to make long journeys.

Thou, noble, learned, and courageous king, art setting out to the Lhayul of the north. Thou, Lord, thou precious flower with power of constant

¹ "Religious vessel of offering." There are dozens of small brass and silver cups in each monastery. These cups are daily filled with fresh pure water and placed as offering about the images of Buddha. They are offering to Konchhok, holding pure nectar, and have a purifying influence on the soul of the donor.

transmigrations, art going to the Lhayul of the north. When you behold the goddesses of the spirit-world, do not cast aside your wise and prudent wife Truguma (*i.e.*, child-mother). When you hear the sweet guitars (voices) of the goddesses, do not forget your wise and prudent Truguma.

62.

Maiden's song, No. II.

There is the high spirit world, the blue heavens. The blue heaven is the dwelling-place of a Lama. It is the abode of Sangsgyas (*i.e.*, one who has purged away all sin and accumulated all virtue). There is the golden palace without joint or piece, and not built (by hands of man) (*repeated*). The Lama is a cenotaph of white crystal which sin or stain has never sullied. The purity of his soul resembles the whiteness of the moon, so pure and chaste that it surpasses the purity of the scarf of blessing.

The speech of evil-minded men has been cast at me. The speech of straitened and ignorant souls has been whirled at me (who am) an arrow-flag. The purity of my soul's nature is unchangeably steadfast. The stability of the chaste soul shall never be changed.

73.

A song of repentance.

Hail! thou Lama, who art the meditation crown¹ upon my head. Hail! thou Buddha! Hitherto I have not offered my worshipful respects! I promise in future neither to insult nor calumniate you. I, Alima, shall keep this promise as the apple of mine eye. I, a female, shall keep this promise as my own hair. Hail! my good parents! for nine or ten months I was born. Hail! you who have blessed me and made me happy! Hitherto I have not offered you my dutiful services, bringing wood, water, and fire. I shall do so in future, and never accuse you, nor say any wrong word about you. I shall keep this promise as the apple of mine eye and as my own hair. Oh, my neighbour who lives within hearing (of my house), to whom I have not lent water and fire,² I shall do so in future, and never say anything behind your back, nor make any accusation. I, Alima, shall keep this promise as the apple of mine eye. I, a female, shall keep this promise as mine own hair.

¹ "Meditation crown." A Buddhist, when meditating, constructs in imagination a most beautiful picture of heaven, Buddha, &c. Still in imagination, with closed eyes, he places this scene as a crown upon his head, and thinks upwards during the time of his prayer.

² "I have not brought water, wood, or fire." Here is a touch of customs and manners. It is a common sight to see a woman carrying a handful of smouldering horse-dung or cow-dung. She borrows it from her neighbour to light her fire. It is like carrying live-coals.

76.

*Wedding song (very old).*¹

Now let us pray for a blessing! Call for a blessing! Aye, aye, call for a blessing! Of the high heavens call for a blessing. Aye, aye, of the high blue heavens call for a blessing. Both sun and moon are free from clouds! call for a blessing! All the moving stars are present! call for a blessing. Call for a blessing! the blessing of the four corners of the religious house (gonpa, or monastery). Of the heaven-leading Lamas, whose feet are immovably firm amid flowers (*i.e.*, surrounded with blessings), call for a blessing! call for a blessing! Of the youth and aged in the monastery together, among whom religious manners thrive, call for a blessing! call for a blessing!

Call for a blessing! call for a blessing! of the high king's palace (*repeated*), of the great ruler of the highest rank, call for a blessing! Of all the other leading men together among whom power and wisdom flourish, call for a blessing!

Call for a blessing! (*repeated*) from the four corners of the centre room (*i.e.*, the principal apartment of the house), from both father and mother, whose body and soul are firmly planted, call for a blessing! Call, &c. Of all relations and their children, whose every thought is fulfilled, call for a blessing! Call, &c., &c.

77.

Marriage song, No. II.

Call for a blessing from the east; call for an entwinement of blessings! Of the eastern god Dorsjesampa, call for a blessing! Call for a threefold entwinement of blessing. Call for a blessing from the south! of the southern god Rinchensjungldan call for a blessing (*repeated*). Call for a blessing from the west! of the western god Snangwathayas call for a blessing! Call for a blessing from the north! of the northern god Tonyoddrubpa call for a blessing!

Let the dance commence with the mother's daughter, and call for an entwinement of blessings! Let the dance commence with Skalzangsdrolmo (*i.e.*, the drolmo, or goddess of good destiny), and call for a threefold entwinement of blessings.

86.

A girl praises her young brother.

Among the assembly of one hundred kings, amidst the gathering of one thousand Prime Ministers, the darling child of the whole kingdom is my

¹ During the evening the relatives have all met together, all preparations have been made, and they are ready for a few days' singing and feasting and dancing. As day dawns on the first morning, the party burst out in unison.

only brother. He is the flower of them all, my young brother Shesrabstan (*i.e.*, firm and holy knowledge).

88.

Song of a lover thinking of his beloved.

The maiden who wears the pearly necklace it is not in my power to obtain. The maiden wearing the golden neck ornament I cannot secure. I will call on my Ayonkhatunbo (*i.e.*, Ayon of agreeable speech), and draw her to my fancy by the strains on my guitar. I will call her to the tenderest fibres of my heart by the strains of my guitar.

90.

Love-song, sung by a former King of Ladak (now a common song among the people).

I, a young man, having mounted the top of a hill-side path, saw my native place and fatherland (*i.e.*, Chushot, near Leh). I saw my father, Chos-ldor (interpreter of religion; *i.e.*, his father-in-law *in spe*), I saw him walking round his house and grounds. My heart was filled with great joy. On the day when I met my father, Chos-ldor, it is like a wedding-feast. [Thus explained: whenever he met his father-in-law, it made him think of his bride, and he probably got a glimpse of her.]

91.

Answer of the bride.

My eyes to see and my heart to conceive are always with you, my lord. My body alone is here. I am without life; my soul and mind is with you. I am crouched like a beggar in this narrow hut. I am withered away and lifeless, like a beggar crouching under a shady bower. Oh, my dear one, whose happiness is always increasing, let the cords binding you to me be drawn out and never severed (*lit.*, to your noble person you must attach a long tail). Oh, my dear one, whose life is always growing sweeter, the cords binding me to you must be drawn out and never snapped.

99.

The customary song of offerings and meats, &c., sung when a large crowd has assembled at the marriage.

(*Very old.*)

The Dorjedan in the East of India, the water-monster Pata, is the birth-place of wealth. Let us offer to Konchhok wealth held in such high esteem. Let us offer to Konchhok this principal wealth held of such great account. The Indian Dorjedan of the South is the birthplace of riches, grain of all species. Riches of such account let us offer to Konchhok; let

us offer to Konchhok these principal riches, held in such high esteem. The Indian Dorjedan of the West is the birthplace of fortune, spices, balms, and medicines. Let us offer such estimable riches to Konchhok. Let us offer these goods of chief value to Konchhok. The Indian Dorjedan of the North is the birthplace of crystals, glass, salt, and sugar. Let us offer such excellent gifts to Konchhok. Let us present these priceless gifts to Konchhok.

O thou demon, Wangpogyachin, of the upper world, come and eat !

O thou demon, Jokpo, of the lower world, come and eat !

O thou demon Yamagyalchin of mid-air, come and eat !

We make offerings to the Lha residing in the pinnacle of the palace.

We make offerings to all the Lha residing on hill-tops of every country.

We make offering to the Lha residing in this strong house.

O thou demon, enemy to all who hurt us, and protector of us near brothers, come and eat !

97.

Sung at wedding when presenting arrow encircled with scarf of blessing.

Hail ! may the happy blessing be accomplished ! (*repeated three times*). May the head of our valley be like the blessing-bearing snow-mountain ! May the small gold (*i.e.*, the sun) rise up to melt the snow-mountain ! May the pure snow waters flow into a sea of blessings ! May this sea form into straight and unbroken channels ! May these channels completely flood even the largest fields ! May all the fields be clothed with verdure ! May this verdure be grain of all sorts ripening together like brothers and sisters ! May this ripe grain fill up the corn measures ! Let the arrow encircled with scarf of blessing be planted in the midst of the filled-up measure of corn ! (this is the joyful symbol of a splendid harvest). The fire-coloured flag on the arrow is our friends and relations. The ankle-bones¹ and finger-rings are our brothers and sisters. All other men and women, young and old, are not to be touched with the blessed arrow, but only the darling son of the good father and mother.

98.

Sung when putting on the bonnet and other head-dress of bride.

Hail ! may the happy blessing be accomplished ! (*repeated three times*). The heavenly head-dress roofs the sun and moon. On the roof of sun and moon the moving stars are attendant ornaments. This head-dress is the

¹ Ankle-bones being the boy's common toy, stand as boys' insignia ; the ring for girls ; similarly the arrow for youths, and the white scarf of blessing for maidens. The above song is a very true expression of the heart's desires of a people to whom rain is scarcely known, and who must depend on water flowing from snow mountains to irrigate their fields.

cover of sun and moon ; you cannot obtain it ; it cannot be presented before you. The head-dress of the religious house roofs the heavenward-drawing Lamas. The Lamanistic disciples are the attendant ornaments on the roof (head-dress) of the Lamas. The head-dress is the cover of the Lamas who draw people heavenward. You cannot obtain it ; it cannot be presented before you. The head-dress of the palace roofs the great man (*i.e.*, king). The young nobles are the attendant ornaments on the roof (head-dress) of the king. This head-dress is the cover of the great and noble one. You cannot obtain it ; it cannot be presented before you. The white felt bonnet is roofed with red cloth. White-flowered cloth is the attendant ornament on the red cloth roof. The white flowery ornament is bordered with sable hide. This is the proper dress of the bride. This she shall rightly obtain ; this indeed shall be presented before her.

100.

Customary song before pouring out chang.

Away up there at the head of the happy valley, happy little male children come toddling along, their right hand bearing a golden bottle, filled to overflowing with life-giving chang, their left hand bearing a silver bottle, filled to the brim with the chang of blessing. By drinking the life-giving chang, your life will be prolonged. By drinking the chang of blessing, your blessings will greatly increase. Mingle the life-chang with chang of blessing, and drink them mingled together. Pour not out to the idle fawning crowd. To-day, as is proper, we pour out to men of account. To-day, as is fitting, pour out to the darling youth Olatar (*i.e.*, flag of the high pass).

101.

Answer sung by men to whom chang is offered.

This chang is clouded with three sorts of pollution. Cleanse it of these impurities and I shall drink. Uncleansed of these impurities, I shall not drink it.¹

102.

Customary song of the person drawing the chang ; description of how chang is made well.

Now, like the three brothers, mountain peaks, the three stones of the tripod were laid. Like the blue heavens (resting on mountain peaks), the great caldron was set. Like the inexhaustible ocean, the water was poured

¹ Explained thus : (1) Take away the intoxicating powers which bring two other evils : (2) a drunken man will kill an animal for food—this is strictly forbidden to Buddhists, though, by the way, when Bots are on the road and hungry, it is understood that one of them will give a sheep a sly push down the precipice ; it is hauled up dead and eaten—(3) a drunken man will do this and that.

in. Like the multitude of stars, the barley was set. Like red-flashing lightning, the fire was kindled. Like the spine of the heavens (*i.e.*, the milky way), the stirring stick stood. Like curly black clouds the sackcloth was spread (on this they spread the grain). The good six spices were mixed as balm. Like the triangular constellation, the shoulder-blade (instrument for mixing) was moved to and fro. In the small black sack the ferment was put to sleep. In the small red earthen jar the ferment arose. The chang was made. It was gurgled into the large brass jug. Pour not out to the idle fawning crowd. To-day, as becomes us, pour out to the holy man. To-day, as is fitting, pour out to the darling youth Olatar.

103.

Parleying over chang.

Refusal: I shall not drink this chang; scatter it to the heavens. If you can obtain it from the lap of heaven, then I shall drink.

Remonstrance: Those who get it from heaven's lap are the sun and moon. You, my friend, are not equal to the sun and moon. No, young man, you are not equal to the sun and moon. Don't say, my friend, that you equal sun and moon; but drink this sparkling liquor. Don't say, young man, you equal sun and moon; but drink this sparkling chang.

Ref. I shall not drink this chang; cast it on the rock. If you can drive a peg into rock, then I shall drink chang.

Rem. The driver of pegs into rock is the Lama who leads people heavenwards. You, my friend, &c. &c., drink this sparkling chang.

Ref. I shall not, &c.; sprinkle it on the green sward. If it (now) causes flowers to bloom, I shall drink chang.

Rem. Flowers are caused to bloom on green sward by the three summer months. You, my friend, &c. &c., drink this, &c. &c.

Ref. I shall not, &c.; cast it on the waters. If it can curl curls, I shall drink it.

Rem. The curler of curls in the water is the fish with golden eyes. You, my friend, &c. &c.; drink this sparkling chang.

Ref. I am the son of a wild yak; wild yaks never throw cut straw into their mouth.

Rem. When the weary mountains are covered all round with snow, the yak must eat provender from the manger. You, my friend, &c. &c.

Ref. I am the son of a wild mule; wild mules never drink water out of a vessel.

Rem. The water flowing under the snow, the melted snow water flowing down the mount, the water from the spring—these three in winter are ice-bound under the snow. If the wild mule drink not from vessels, what can it drink? You, &c. &c.

Ref. I must have a knee-table made of red cedar-wood; if you have one so costly, I shall drink chang; if you have not one so costly, I shan't drink chang.

Rem. Our clever uncle the carpenter has a knee-table of red cedar-wood ; if I go to fetch it, the road is long ; if I go to buy it, the price is dear. You, my friend, &c. &c.

Ref. I must have a nutmeg white flour bowl ; if you have one so costly, &c. &c.

Rem. Our clever uncle the carpenter, &c. &c. ; road long ; price dear.

Ref. I am a man from the happy valley ; if you have a pale yellow golden bowl, I promise I shall drink chang. I shan't drink chang out of the weary brass bowl.

Rem. Our uncle the great merchant has a pale yellow golden bowl. Road long, price dear. You, my friend, &c. &c.

104.

Now let us worship ; offer body, speech, and soul (*repeated three times*) to the Lama of holy thought, in whose power is (the giving of) the much desired and pleasing rain ; to the fulfillers of our desires, Wangchuck (rich in power), Chos-skyong (protector of religion), and Shrungma (the guardian), I offer as food the all-necessary five things (*i.e.* five senses). By their favour all my desires shall be fulfilled. May I and all my kith and kin in our past, present, and future life never be separated from Konchoksum ! May we ever worship Konchoksum ! May I enter in the perfect works of Konchoksum. May I never be separated from and always worship Konchoksum, most exalted and worshipful here and hereafter. All these suitable offerings I present to you and the saint your son (Buddha's son). May I and all my kith and kin make our offering with pleasure ! May we enter on the blessed way of possessing the food of profound meditation !

105.

Oh, thou spirit, ruler of the four quarters of the country, and all thy attendant spirits, drink this nectar which I offer thee, and grant to Snalyor (*i.e.*, saint, sage, miracle-working Lama), and to the almsgiver of this feast (*i.e.*, the master of the house), the fulfilment of all desires, and grant increasing aid to the holy religion of Sangsgyas !

106.

Oh, you eight classes of spirits of the upper and lower world, and you crowd of foul sprites, similar spirits, rulers of the world ! do us no evil for a single moment. Let our desires be fulfilled according to religion.

107.

Having offered these five verses there follows the drinking-song preceded by rubrical verses.

Having filled the three bowls with chang and barley-meal,¹ fix the butter ornaments on the rim.² In the centre plant an upright branch holding scarf of blessing or strip of gauze. Both the right line and the left line of men from beginning to end having mixed the first and second strength of pure chang, must drink the pleasant mixture and sing the customary song for taking chang from the hand of a friend.

The bowl is received, the bowl is received, on the ends of ten fingers the bowl is received. The bowl is tasted, the bowl is tasted; with the tongue, the knot of the flag, the bowl is tasted. The chang is swallowed, the chang is swallowed; down the throat by Adam's apple, like a string of mané beads, the chang is swallowed. It has entered the stomach as a pond; it has entered the stomach through the upper part of the body to the four quarters of the spirit-house (the trunk); it has entered as in a pond. The chang is scattered, the chang is scattered; through the hundred and eighty small veins the chang is scattered. The chang is absorbed, the chang is absorbed; by the fading, unstable, and rented house (*i.e.*, the body), the chang is absorbed. Thus singing, drink your chang.

108.

Now drink your chang slowly and propose enigmas.

(There are six riddles and their answers in the song. I give one as specimen.)

3.

The blue waters are a sheathless sword; who sheaths this sword and who unsheaths it? The sheathless sword of the blue waters is sheathed by the three winter months, and unsheathed by the three months of spring. (Needless to say this refers to frozen and unfrozen rivers.)

¹ "Fill it with barley meal." This is the staple food of Ladakis. They roast barley (*nas*.) When roasted it is called *yos*. It is then ground to fine meal, called *snampé*; this they put into the cup half filled with water, chang, or milk and mixed with their finger, when it is eaten as a paste. Mahometans never mix it with chang; their religion forbids it. If a Bot can afford it, he uses chang or milk, or tea boiled with butter as Chinese. As most people are poor, water is mostly used. When this paste is mixed they term it *kollak*. They carry balls of it when making a journey; it thus becomes half dried, and has the colour and appearance of so much balm or yeast; it is then called *zan*.

In the above song reference is made to the *chang-kollak*.

² "Butter ornaments on rim." Buddhists call the heavens a blue bottle. The stars are its ornament. According to this, it is common to see in the monasteries large bowls and vases called *burr*, or bottles; they are filled with water or whatever liquor is to be offered up and the rim decorated with pea-like balls of butter—these represent the stars. At marriage-feasts and great chang-drinkings all the vessels are decorated with a necklace of this beady ornament of butter.

111.

He wearing the helmet of pure gold proceeds first in the dance (*repeated*). Acting as king, he is a great personage. Acting as prime minister, he is of somewhat less importance. The kingly and great prime minister of prime ministers proceeds first in the dance. The great prime minister Padmatsering (*i.e.*, flowery long life) proceeds first in the dance.

113.

The A-lo-lo-tse or lullaby motion dance-song.¹

The song :—The golden arrow of turquoisey decoration (*i.e.*, king), sing the A-lo-lo-tse. The prettily decorated turquoisey arrow (*i.e.*, queen), sing the A-lo-lo-tse. Offer the golden arrow of turquoisey decoration to the high king's palace and sing the A-lo-lo-tse. Offer the prettily decorated turquoisey arrow to the towering place (*i.e.*, palace of great city Leh) and sing the A-lo-lo-tse. The bamboo arrow of three joints, sing the A-lo-lo-tse (*repeated*). Cast it at the wrathful enemy and sing the A-lo-lo-tse. Cast it at the inimical mischievous demon and sing the A-lo-lo-tse.

117.

A boy sings of his pious intentions.

I am a boy who in the three summer months in succession take the three advancing strides (makes an essay in each month). I, a darling boy, have hopes to reach the high holy place. I, a darling boy, have hopes to reach the everlasting snow-land. I have a desire to be cleansed of all bodily stain. I, a darling boy, have the fervent wish to be free from all pains and sufferings.²

118.

A girl sings of her pious intentions.

At the long mané³ I shall walk round, keeping the right turn (*repeated*) (keeping mané to the right is a sacred observance). I, a girl of religious

¹ This is sung at weddings. The dancers stand in long lines, one person behind another; each one places his hand over the shoulder of the person immediately in front, and they rock to-and-fro as in a lullaby. The word *a-lo-lo-tse* is rightly translated by lullaby. It may be sung as expressive of the desire that the new couple may have children to rock to sleep. Through polyandria and early immorality the case is often otherwise in Ladak. One often meets childless parents.

² This last refers to Buddhist doctrine, "all pain is caused by desire; when all desires are quenched, pain ceases and perfection begins."

³ "The long mané." A dyke or pile of stones 4 to 5 feet high, 6 to 12 feet broad, from 10 or 20 feet to nearly half a mile long. One at Leh is 2200 feet long. It is covered with small slabs, on each of which is inscribed the mané prayer. These slabs are votive offerings. If king or noble erects a mané, he supplies all the slabs, otherwise the people offer one or two as they can afford. This long pile of stones is supposed to protect the city or village, hence they are met at the approach of every village. It is a pious custom to walk round them as round a shrine.

desire, shall perform my religious duties (*lit.* shall let in religion by the gates, viz: the three gates, body, thought, and speech). I, Kunzom, of holy thought, shall go round the mané; it is the holy treasure of religion. On that side is the land of the juniper tree; on this side the land of the perfumes (*repeated*). All my bodily stains I cleanse away. I, Kunzom, pleased with cleanliness, shall cleanse away all my stains (*i.e.*, by burning before me the religious perfumes and juniper wood).

119.

Song of union between husband and wife (sung by wife).

You are the saffron of Kashmir; I am the Indian peacock; we are not from the same native place, but we are united in the ever victorious-bottle.¹

120.

On the outside and the rim of the white china cup there are pictures of the eight lucky images.² If you say you can make a white china cup, you cannot paint the pictures.³

121.

Saddling the horse of Skushok (or Incarnation).

On the top of a bridge of turquoise saddle the horse of the Incarnation, the Skushok. All the golden-eyed fish beneath (the bridge) shall not experience the pains of hell (when they die). All the golden-eyed fish beneath the bridge shall be drawn up to heaven (when they die).

122.

A beggar's song at the door of his benefactor.

When you give an alms at the door, a manifold reward will return through the window. Wherever my lord and master go, may his storehouses be filled with all sorts of grain! Wherever my master Shakyagyamthse (the mighty sea) go, may his storehouses be filled with every species of grain!

¹ This "victorious bottle" is a brass vase carried by Lamas to heal the sick and infirm. It is filled with saffron and surmounted by a bunch of peacock-feathers. The Lama mixes saffron with spittle, anoints the affected parts, and after breathing on them, wipes them with peacock-feathers. Thus as the saffron and peacock-feathers are inseparable helpmates, so are the husband and wife in the above song.

² "Eight lucky images." 1. An umbrella or shade, symbolising the head. 2. Fish, symbolising the eyes. 3. Conch = teeth. 4. A flower = the lips. 5. Bottle = the throat or speech. 6. The monogram = the heart. 7. Gyaltsan, a sort of plume erected on every monastery. I am told it is Buddha's shade or hat; it symbolises the hand. 8. A circle = feet. It is lucky to meet these configurations on mountains.

³ The meaning of the above little song was thus explained to me. Every man can begin a good work for himself, but its perfection depends on blessing of Konchhok (very like Semi-Pelagianism).

124.

Baltistani song of conquest (an intestine war).

To the Saling flower palace an army of Cabul men laid siege (this is Cabul in Baltistan). The high God gave the command. Among the apples of the white rock garden the Cabul men cooked for themselves a feast. The sword of the leader Sodnam (*i.e.*, the fortunate) flashed with the fire of lightning. All the soldiers of Yarkand turned back and took (in flight) the road over the arrow-groove pass (Daldongla). The high God gave the commission. (The king of Skardo) wrote and gave an agreement, begging for mercy and saying, "Do not cut short my life." The sword of the leader flashed with the fire of lightning.

128.

In praise of a Mahometan chief. (Song of Baltistan.)

Oh, excellent king, whenever you set out to look above (*i.e.*, the high king never looks down), oh, noble Mirzasultan, whenever you set out to look above, at the peak of the snow-height the sun rises threefold, on the crest of the mountain a threefold glory shines forth! Oh, excellent king, your presence is beneficent! In a hundred parched valleys a hundred springs gush forth! on a hundred arid plains a hundred ripe crops of all sorts of grain bud forth! Oh, excellent king, your presence sheds beneficence! Oh, noble Mirzasultan, your footsteps are followed by blessings!

132.

Song to a protecting Lha.

There is a goddess lives at the head (end) of the village, at the ancient end of the village. She lives at the summit of Phokar, the ancient Chomo of Phokar. May this goddess guard the body of my good master. May she guard and protect the Kalon Tse-wang-chak-dor (*i.e.*, prime minister, the powerful life carrying thunder-bolt in his hand).

134.

In praise of the Dras country.

Having arrived on the summit of the indented arrow called the depression of the calf, I saw the suspended sea; it was not the sea, but Hembabs (Dras) as it were floating on the sea (*i.e.*, a flooded village). Hembabs, the border country (*repeated*). The Wazir is the great steel bolt of the gates of the border country. The commander of the army of Hembabs is the strength of the steel gates. No one can dispute with the steel bars of the city gates. No one can assail the steel bars of the city gates.

135.

Song from a village near Kashmir.

The rumbling and the crackling of the mighty rolling thunder, the subduers of the three regions, the conquerors of the inimical demon, ye set out in beautiful array. In the midst of Kashmir there is a day of sports. O Holla! what will the Brahmin say? There is a grand show of the yangzin flowers! what will the Brahmin say? O Holla! the female Brahmin's daughter is hypocritical! what will the Brahmin say?

138.

Ladaki song of the conquest of Rudok.

All the strong forces of Rudok (*lit.* companies of Garuda birds) are but a weak gate of tin (*repeated*). The good spirit's soldiers of Ladak are the strong door of steel. The exalted King Singe-rnam-gyal (victorious lion) is the firm bolt of steel. How happy we are beholding the strong, brave soldiers of Lha of Ladak! beholding Singe-rnam-gyal! All the strong forces of Rudok are the guns of Lahore (*repeated*). The Lha soldiers of Ladak are the powder and shot. How happy we are, &c., beholding exalted Singe-rnam-gyal! All the strong forces of Rudok are a great team of horses. The Lha soldiers of Ladak are the bridle and harness. How pleased we are, &c., &c.

All the strong forces of Rudok are the wool of a one-year-old lamb. The Lha soldiers of Ladak are the beautiful lamb-wool garments. How happy we are, &c., &c.

44.

The great men proceed to play polo.

The earth is quaking, the heavens thundering, and where is the great one setting out, I ask? To the sporting grounds of Lutuchiktangtrong in Chushot, the great man goes to play a great game of polo. Mounted on the great steed, the steed of a god, a noble man like the rising star at the dawn of day. Rising to the heavens mounted on his steed, the exalted Gyurepa, he looks like the great king Gesar of g-Lingpa, the flower of North Tibet (*i.e.*, a fabulous king).

126.

A wife sings in praise of her absent husband, who cannot be present at village sports.

At the Kartse palace of the gate there will be a large gathering of young men and maidens. At the high castle of the forest there will be high sports and feastings; and my husband not being there, the gathering of men will be dull. The good Alimir not being there, the sports will grow weary.

The great headman of the village will be in the gathering ; all the young men will be hunting the stags. Azamkhan will be at the meeting and join in the chase for the stags. And you, my husband, not being there, they will not be able to bring down the white stag. You, my good Alimir, not being there, the herd of stags will scatter and flee.

139.

A devout song sung by ladies of Ladak.

O Lama, root of grace, among all Buddhas of time past, present, and to come ; draw with the hook of mercy me, who pour out my heart-felt prayers. Those who hoard up good works are like the three summer months of the ornamented ocean (*i.e.*, like beautiful summer all over the wide world). If my righteous parents do not swerve, they will indeed be as the ornament of the three summer months (*repeated*). My little boy is as my own heart ; he is the white juniper sapling. Shesrab is as my very heart ; he is a white juniper sapling. May the juniper's leaves and branches greatly increase ! This is the prayer of this female. May they grow beyond their boundaries ! This is the prayer of Kungaspalzom (*i.e.*, the accumulated strength of all happiness).

On the top of the broad high trees there are birds and birdlings plenty (*i.e.*, in the great broad village there are plenty of prattling men, women, and children). We should not give this chirping prattle to the passing wind, but devote ourselves to the religion of the holy spirits. Not giving this chirping prattle to the passing wind, we should devote ourselves to the practice of the Mané's recital. To all men the present is an evil time ; the people of this present world commit many evil deeds. Having questioned your own soul to purify it, sift your five senses. Having purified and tranquillised your intelligent soul, sift your five senses. The habit of dreaming illusions is like the white brightness of the changeful moon. O Dorjesodnam ! draw upwards with the hook of mercy me, who am like the light of the clear pale moon !

141.

The lover's thoughts of his beloved.

On the hill-top in the east the powerful cool light rises (*i.e.*, moon = a maiden). The jessamine flower from the western garden, the lily of the flower-bed grows, the all-beautiful lily flower. Bound with the five colours of silk, I'll place it in my turban and pour out my prayer, thinking of the time when we two shall be one. Her countenance is like the bright clear moon of winter ; broad blue (colour of Buddha's hair) curls surround the right side. The hand and five fingers and that left eye ! This appearance is returning again and again to my thoughts ; though in body I am abroad, my mind with her remains. The beautiful and loving Chungtri (the sweet little one), I pour out my prayer that in this life we two may be one !

142.

The wife's complaint of her husband's long absence.

By the blessing of the spirit's powerful command the wayfarers of this world are protected. By the same powerful command this beautiful female was born in the garden of the best variegated flowers (*lit.* flowers used on pictures). During the high gay time of singing and dancing (*i.e.*, during wedding festivities), I decked myself with my pretty flower (*i.e.*, I was with you, my husband). But he was not always her ornament; quickly her beauty had fled from her. This year and to-day people are turned backward like the windmill (*i.e.*, I have enemies). I am not distressed, neither am I happy, except by the kindness of the holy offspring of the sun (*i.e.*, husband). In the most beautifully warm months of summer the geese swim round in the lake; if the banks of the lake are frozen, they return to their home in the south (*i.e.*, if your heart has turned cold towards me, I shall return to my parents' home).

145.

Sung by a woman when accused of gadding about among neighbours.

On the verdant plateau of Lamayuru of the lions, I met with my sister-in-law. In all the goodness of her soul she gave me three words of advice. From the fulness of my happy heart I spoke to her three kind words.

V.

HOR C'OS BYUN.

GESCHICHTE DES BUDDHISMUS IN DER MONGOLEI, IN
TIBETISCHER SPRACHE.

VON

GEORG HUTH, DR. PHIL.,

Privat-Dozent an der Universität Berlin.

MEINE HERREN!—Gestatten Sie mir, Ihre Aufmerksamkeit auf ein Werk der tibetischen Litteratur zu lenken, dessen Ausgabe ich hier vorlege, und von welchem ich auch eine deutsche Uebersetzung nebst zahlreichen eingehenden Erläuterungen und Einzeluntersuchungen in kurzem zu veröffentlichen gedenke. Es führt den Titel Hor c'os byun, "Geschichte des Buddhismus in der Mongolei," und behandelt ausser dieser in der Einleitung auch die politische Geschichte der Mongolen. Das Werk wurde auf Veranlassung des Zam-t'sa, eines lamaistischen Grosswürdenträgers, von dem hohen Geistlichen 'Jig-med nam-mk'a im Jahre 1818 in bKra-šis dga-ldan bśad-sgrub glin verfasst. Als Quellen dienten für den ersten Teil, ausser anderen mongolischen Geschichtswerken, namentlich das des Sanang Setsen und für den Hauptteil die tibetischen Biographien der grossen lamaistischen Geistlichen, Sendboten und Kirchenfürsten.

Wie sich nun schon aus diesem letzteren Umstande entnehmen lässt, bietet uns das Werk—gleich dem des Tāranātha—an vielen Stellen lediglich eine Aneinanderreihung von Lebensläufen der durch die Verbreitung und Förderung des Buddhismus in der Mongolei berühmten Lamen, und so erhalten wir nach dieser Richtung eine sehr grosse und wichtige Bereicherung unserer Kenntnisse. Allein dies ist keine Geschichtsdarstellung in unserm Sinne, weder in Rücksicht auf die äusseren Ereignisse, noch hinsichtlich der inneren Entwicklung. Wir vermissen die Erwähnung mehrerer aus andern Quellen uns bekannter historischer Ereignisse, welche auf die Gestaltung der Geschehnisse und der äusseren Verhältnisse der lamaistischen Kirche von grossem Einfluss waren, und

ebenso ist es andererseits unmöglich, aus der blossen Lectüre des Werkes zu erkennen, welche Bedeutung die einzelnen Kirchenfürsten und hervorragenden Lamén für die Fortentwicklung der Lehren, des Kultus, des religiösen Unterrichts, der hierarchischen Ordnung und aller übrigen Verhältnisse des Lamaismus hatten. Selbst bei bTsoñ-k'a pa, der hervorragendsten Persönlichkeit der neueren lamaistischen Religionsgeschichte, geht der Autor von seiner Darstellungsweise nicht ab, so dass wir aus seinem Werke keinesfalls unmittelbar und mit hinreichender Deutlichkeit erkennen können, worin im einzelnen die für die Entwicklung der lamaistischen Kirche so bedeutsame und folgenreiche Thätigkeit des grossen Reformators bestand, und welcher Art und Bedeutung die Zustände und Verhältnisse waren, welche den Gegenstand seiner reformierenden Bestrebungen bildeten. Nur aus ganz äusserlichen Momenten der Darstellung, aus den der Biographie dieses Mannes beigefügten Einleitungen und Anhängen, so wie namentlich aus seiner häufigen Bezeichnung als "zweiter Buddha," vermögen wir auf seine ausserordentliche Bedeutung zu schliessen.

Diese Eigentümlichkeit muss uns zunächst zweifellos als eine grosse Schwäche erscheinen; und doch wird dieses Urteil wesentlich modificiert werden, wenn wir eine weitere Eigenschaft des Werkes ins Auge fassen, welche zugleich vom Standpunkte der wissenschaftlichen Forschung aus seinen Hauptwert ausmacht: nämlich die ausserordentlich zahlreichen Erwähnungen von inneren Verhältnissen und Einrichtungen aus den verschiedensten Gebieten des religiösen und kirchlichen Lebens, die uns nur höchst ungenügend oder gar nicht, meist nicht einmal dem Namen nach, bekannt sind. Nun werden zwar alle diese Dinge, deren genaue Kenntnis für das klare und vollständige Verständnis aller Einzelheiten des Textes erforderlich ist, in diesem nicht ausführlich dargelegt und erklärt, sondern als bekannt vorausgesetzt, so dass wir genötigt sind, uns aus anderen Quellen über dieselben zu unterrichten; jedoch die erste Kunde von diesen zahllosen bisher unbekannten Einzelheiten, die Direktive für ihre genaue Erforschung und den Einblick in ihre Bedeutung und den Grad ihrer Wichtigkeit für die verschiedenen Seiten des lamaistisch-kirchlichen Lebens verdanken wir dem vorliegenden Werke selbst. Ferner wird uns auch, wenn wir uns auf die bezeichnete Art die erforderlichen Einsichten und Kenntnisse verschafft haben werden, der Wert desselben als religionsgeschichtliche Darstellung weit grösser als zuvor erscheinen, insofern wir dann im Stande sein werden, aus den in den einzelnen Biographien enthaltenen Angaben die für die verschiedenen Epochen geltenden

Zustände und Verhältnisse auf den mannichfachsten Gebieten der lamaistischen Kirche, so wie eine wenn auch nicht vollständige Reihe wichtiger äusserer Vorgänge zu erschliessen und auf diese Weise indirect zahlreiche wertvolle Beiträge zur Geschichte des Buddhismus in der Mongolei zu gewinnen.

In erster Reihe nun ist es die innere Entwicklungsgeschichte des Lamaismus, deren Kenntniss im einzelnen in hervorragendem Masse durch das vorliegende Werk gefördert wird: zunächst in allem, was die Geistlichkeit, speciell ihre Ausbildung und ihre Organisation, angeht. So erfahren wir genau, was für Studien die Personen geistlichen Standes in den verschiedenen Lebensjahren, von der frühesten Jugend bis zum reifen Alter, betrieben, und in welchen Klosterschulen und Klassen, resp. Facultäten dies geschah; welche Stufen ihrer Carriere sie nach ihrer jedesmaligen geistlichen Thätigkeit erstiegen; wo und wann sie Predigten hielten, und auf welche Gegenstände sich dieselben bezogen. Auch ersehen wir, dass es verschiedene Arten der religiösen Belehrung gab: dbaṅ "Weißen;" sdom Auferlegung von "Verpflichtungen;" rjes-gnaṅ, luṅ, k'rid, gdams-naḡ, vier Nüancen des Grundbegriffes "Unterweisung," wenn nicht luṅ vielmehr als "Ermahnung" aufzufassen ist. Ferner lernen wir die den Geistlichen verschiedenen Ranges zukommenden zahlreichen Titel und respectvollen Bezeichnungen kennen, kurz wir gewinnen einen Einblick in das ausgedehnte und komplizierte Gebäude der mongolisch-lamaistischen Hierarchie.

Des weiteren erhalten wir mancherlei wertvolle Aufschlüsse über die Formen des Kultus und über das Zaubrerwesen und erkennen dabei an einem Teil der Namen der bei den "Weißen" in Betracht kommenden heiligen oder göttlichen Persönlichkeiten, die ein durchaus untibetisches Gepräge haben und zum Teil auch durch die schwankende Schreibung ihren fremden Ursprung verraten, den Einfluss des Kultus eines Nachbarvolkes, resp. daneben vielleicht auch die Einwirkung der älteren, übrigens auch heute noch zum Teil in Tibet in Uebung befindlichen Bon-Religion.

Aber nicht bloss die innere, sondern auch die äussere Geschichte des Lamaismus findet in manchen Parteeen wesentliche Erhellung und Aufklärung durch das Hor c'os byuṅ. So können wir auf Grund desselben, um nur einige der wichtigsten Momente anzuführen, Köppen's Zusammenstellung der Dalai-Lama's in mehreren Punkten berichtigen und eine entsprechende Reihenfolge der Paṅ-c'en rin-po-c'e's konstruieren, was ihm noch nicht möglich war. Sehr wertvoll sind auch die Nachrichten über die Verbreitung des Buddhismus bei den einzelnen mongolischen Stämmen und die

dadurch veranlasste Gründung von Klöstern in uns bisher selbst dem Namen nach unbekannten Gegenden, so wie über die Feindseligkeiten einzelner Fürsten gegen die lamaistische Lehre und über einige Religionskriege.

Uebrigens gewährt uns das vorliegende Werk auch auf anderen Wissensgebieten neue Aufschlüsse. So erfahren wir mit Bezug auf viele Einzelheiten der politischen Geschichte der Mongolen sehr viel Neues, wie z. B. über die Söhne und Enkel Cinggis Khan's, Nachrichten, welche theils von Sanang Setsen's Darstellung abweichen, theils gänzlich bei ihm fehlen; ferner wichtige Mittheilungen über die Genealogie der Fürstengeschlechter der einzelnen mongolischen Stämme, die von den in Schmidt's Abhandlung "über die Volksstämme der Mongolen" (*Mémoires de l'Acad. Impériale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg*, 6. Sér., Bd. II.) enthaltenen zum Theil sehr stark abweichen.—Auch bezüglich der Geographie und Landeseinteilung der Mongolei erhalten wir zahlreiche Belehrungen im einzelnen.

Sehr reich ist ferner die litterarische Ausbeute. Der Autor citirt nämlich mit grosser Vorliebe zur Bekräftigung, resp. Erläuterung seiner Darstellung Stellen analogen Inhalts aus berühmten Religionswerken und führt ausserdem an vielen Stellen die Titel uns völlig unbekannter Werke an, sodass wir dadurch wenigstens die Thatsache ihrer gegenwärtigen, resp. vormaligen Existenz kennen lernen. Gerade diese Angaben sind recht geeignet, uns eine Vorstellung zu ermöglichen, wie umfangreich, entgegen unser bisherigen Annahme, auch die *original*-tibetische religiöse Litteratur ist, und wie winzig der Bruchtheil, den wir, sei es auch nur dem Namen nach, kennen.

Wie die Litteratur, so hat auch die Sprachwissenschaft Anteil an dem aus dem vorliegenden Werke zu ziehenden Gewinn. Zunächst kommt hier natürlich das Tibetische in Betracht, dessen Dialektkunde, Sprachschatz, Etymologie und Orthographie nicht minder grosse Bereicherung im einzelnen erfahren als die Grammatik und die Lautlehre. Namentlich betreffs dieser letzteren erhalten wir sehr interessante und wichtige Belehrungen. Uebrigens sind dieselben, da sie sich auf die tibetischen Transcriptionen von Eigennamen und sonstigen Wörtern aus dem Sanskrit, Mongolischen und Chinesischen gründen, zum Theil auch für die Kenntniss der Lautlehre dieser Sprachen von grossem Wert. Interessant ist—worauf schon Schiefner (*Mélanges Asiatiques*, 1851, p. 423 ff.) aufmerksam gemacht hat—dass einerseits der von Kowalewski verworfene Laut ö sich in der Aufzählung der Laute des

angeblich von O'os-kyi od-zer im 14. Jahrhundert vervollständigten mongolischen Alphabetes findet, andererseits aber in den Wörtern, welche nach Schmidt's Transcription ein *ö* aufweisen, in unserem Werke weiches *u* steht, sodass es den Anschein gewinnt, als ob *ö* in neuerer Zeit aus der Sprache ganz verschwunden sei. Die Transcription des *ö* und des harten *u*, welche beiden Vokale dem Tibetischen fehlen, durch untergestelltes *w* mit darübergesetztem *e*, resp. *o* ist für die Kenntniss des Lautwesens beider Sprachen von Wichtigkeit. Betreffs des Consonantismus macht Schiefner (l.c. p. 424 fg.) darauf aufmerksam, dass einerseits in der Regel mongolische *tenues* durch tibetische *aspiratæ* und mongolische *mediæ* durch tibetische *tenues* wiedergegeben werden, andererseits aber diese Regel häufig durchbrochen wird und in einigen Fällen sogar ein und dasselbe Wort sich in verschiedener Transcription findet. Dies gilt übrigens nicht bloss hinsichtlich der Consonanten, sondern auch der Vokale; so wird z. B. in der ersten Silbe in Khubilai *u* sehr häufig durch untergestelltes *w* mit darüber stehendem *o*-Zeichen wiedergegeben, hin und wieder jedoch durch letzteres allein; dasselbe gilt von der letzten Silbe von khutuktu; beise wird bald durch peise, bald durch peisi transcribiert. Wenn nun Schiefner, nach dem Vorgang von H. C. von der Gabelentz, dieses Schwanken als einen Beweis dafür ansieht, dass "die Schrift der Sprache, auf welche sie übertragen worden, nicht ganz angemessen sei," dass also das Mongolische gewisse schwankende, durch das tibetische Laut- und Schriftsystem nicht genau wiederzugebende Laute besitze, so ist dieser Schluss zwar an sich schon plausibel und wird ausserdem durch die oben angedeutete Verschmelzung von *ö* und *ü* zu einem einzigen Vokal, dem weichen *u*, bestätigt. Andererseits aber ist die Möglichkeit nicht ausgeschlossen, dass zum Teil auch auf Seiten des Tibetischen eine Ursache mitgewirkt hat, nämlich etwa eine gegenseitige Anähnlichung ursprünglich verschiedener Laute. Haben wir doch auch dafür eine Bestätigung in der Umwandlung der anlautenden *mediæ* in *aspiratæ* in den central- und osttibetischen Dialekten. Auf diese Ursache dürften vielleicht Transcriptionen wie Galcigwo, statt des nach Analogie anderer Fälle zu erwartenden Halcigwo, = mongol. Khaljighu, ferner umgekehrt T'aritai, statt des zu erwartenden T'aritt'ai, = mongol. Darittai, zurückzuführen sein. Ueber einige andere sprachliche Beobachtungen auf Grund des vorliegenden Werkes, bezüglich des Mongolischen. Schiefner, l.c. p. 425 fg. Sehr interessante Ergebnisse liefert auch eine Untersuchung der tibetischen Transcriptionen der chinesischen Namen, Ergebnisse, die zugleich von grosser praktischer Bedeutung für die lamaistischen Studien sind,

da sie uns wichtige Anhaltspunkte bieten für die Entzifferung chinesischer Namen, Appellativa, Bücher-Titel und ganzer Citate, die sich in tibetischen Werken finden.

Die vorstehende Uebersicht dürfte genügen, um die hohe und vielseitige Bedeutung des Hor c'os byun für die Kenntniss des Lamaismus, sowie der Geschichte, Litteratur und Sprache der demselben anhängenden Völker darzuthun. Ausführliche Untersuchungen über diese hier kurz angedeuteten Gegenstände gedenke ich im Anschluss an meine in kurzem erscheinende Uebersetzung dieses Werkes zu veröffentlichen.

V.

JAPANESE MODERN LITERATURE.

BY

WALTER DENING.

WITH REMARKS BY F. VICTOR DICKINS.

THE article contributed to the pages of the *American Encyclopædia* on Japanese literature in 1874 by the most indefatigable student of this subject that has ever existed, Mr. Ernest Satow, is marked by the thoroughness and scholarly accuracy which characterises everything undertaken by this writer. We have met with nothing worthy of comparison with it for fulness of information and lucidity of arrangement. It is worthy of a wider circulation among specialists than it can possibly obtain in its present form. Mr. Satow divides Japanese literature into four periods. The *first* commences far back in the age which preceded the introduction of Chinese literature and writing, and extends down to the end of the ninth century of our era. During this period the only purely Japanese literature consisted of poetry and sacred liturgies, the Chinese being adopted as the vehicle of all other forms. The beginning of the *second* era is marked by the preface to the *Kokin-shin*, and the period ends with the later romances, extending thus from the early years of the tenth to the end of the thirteenth century. This is the age of classical prose. The *Tsurezure-gusa*, though composed in the fourteenth century, after earlier models, belongs properly to this period. Up to this time learning had been confined to the vicinity of the court. The *third* period extends over the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries. This was the dark age of Japan as regards literature. The domination of the military class put an effectual stop to its general cultivation. As in Europe, so here; learning was during this time confined to

the clergy. With the seventeenth century begins the *fourth* and modern period of literary culture. It was inaugurated by Feyasu, the first of the Tokugawa Shōguns, who, after reducing his fellow-barons to the position of vassals, devoted himself to the collection of manuscripts. The art of printing seems to have been introduced in the thirteenth century, but it had not yet been turned to much account, and the rapid multiplication of books by its means dates from the seventeenth century.

Mr. Satow, it will be observed, gives no detailed account of modern literature. He does not try to conceal his contempt for its style. He speaks of the language of to-day as a "corrupt literary dialect, formed on Japanese word-for-word translations of the Chinese, which bids fair to become permanent, in spite of its awkward inelegance."

There is doubtless a good deal to be said for Mr. Satow's view of the demerits of modern literature. It is not for a moment to be expected that an age of transition, such as that in which Japan finds herself at present, should be productive of great literary works. Where men's minds are undergoing a thorough change as to the comparative value of different kinds of knowledge and the best methods of diffusing it, and where the language which is the vehicle of men's thoughts is itself in a transitional stage, their writings become to a large extent literary experiments in one direction or another. Few of the books of the first part of the Meiji era will be read ten years after their publication, and no writing could be more ephemeral than that published in the hundreds of small volumes which week by week are poured out from the printing presses of the great cities. The temptation to run into print in Japan is great; labour and paper are cheap, and the literary standard is low. Shallowness of argument, deficiency of knowledge, and narrowness of view are frequently concealed under a certain flashy brilliancy of style that gives to the literary production an air of profundity. It has often been observed by discerning students of Chinese, that in the power of saying very simple things in a very imposing manner, the language of the Celestials has no equal. It seems hardly credible to any one reading the Chinese classics that the simplest ideas should receive from the tongue in which they are expressed such an air of sublimity. But it is a fact that they do, and the same may be said of most of the Japanese literature of the present day. It is barren of original thought; and even the borrowed thought is in too many instances stated in exaggerated forms, showing how little its significance has been apprehended.

While these remarks apply to contemporary literature, considered as a whole, there are happily a great many exceptions. These I think worth noticing. A few general observations will perhaps make the details that are to follow more intelligible. Though from a purely literary standpoint the literature of the present age affords a less inviting field of research than that of any previous one, yet, as a study in mental philosophy, the spectacle of a nation adopting new ideas in a wholesale manner, and moulding its tongue so as to make it adequate to the task of giving them full expression, is fraught with deep interest. Though it is true that we live in an age when the publication of a book which is neither a translation nor a compilation, but the result of the author's study and reflection, is extremely rare, it is equally true that we live in an age when translations and miscellaneous writings are revolutionising thought, are imparting breadth of view and liberality of sentiment with a rapidity and to an extent unprecedented in the annals of the nation. The medium by which the new ideas are percolating every phase of modern life—the language of the day—may not be all that is desired, but it does its work fairly well. When skilfully used, it conveys thought much more accurately than an outsider would imagine possible. There is no article that appears in our foreign journals, on however abstruse or technical a subject, that may not be made thoroughly intelligible to the educated Japanese by a skilful translator. The interest that is attached to modern literature is this: it is moulding the thought which is to govern a future generation. Modern books, despite their inelegance of style, are year by year imparting to thousands of minds thought-germs whose development will usher in a new era for the nation.

It is a satisfaction to know, however, that Japanese scholars are impressed with the necessity of taking some steps to check the wild growth of literature by the application of a process of weeding and pruning. A society exists, consisting of some of the principal writers of the capital, which undertakes to pronounce on the merits of each new book or periodical that appears. Its criticisms are published month by month in a magazine called the *Shuppan Geppyō* (出版月評), or *The Monthly Critique*, the first number of which appeared in August 1887. This journal contains a record of all native publications and of the principal foreign ones printed in Japan. Its criticisms are, of course, by no means always trustworthy, as unfortunately there are no iron gates that will keep pettiness, spite, and jealousy—vices that are no less prominent in this country than in others—from the field of criticism. The *Geppyō*

is, however, a valuable addition to literature. An attempt to establish a standard, though it may not be altogether successful, is to be welcomed as a distinct advance from the state of mind which is content to be without any sort of standard whatever. Literary criticism, like many other things of the kind, being still in its infancy in this country, too much reliance is not to be placed on the decisions come to by the writers of the *Critique*; but their papers, taken as a whole, are the best thing of their kind, and, if not always impartial, are full of valuable information. The *Critique* is valuable, too, as a record of contemporary literary effort, and as showing the tendency of modern taste and the style which is most popular. To this publication we are indebted for a large amount of digested material, and for accounts of books which we have had no leisure to peruse.

I do not propose to give in this review of contemporary literature anything like an exhaustive account of modern books. I shall confine myself to jotting down my own impressions as to the leading features of the literature of recent years, only noticing in a particular manner works whose subject-matter or style seems to have something special to recommend it.

1. *History*.—To begin with history. The time has hardly arrived for the appearance of a history of Japan that will bear comparison with modern standard histories of the more advanced European countries. Historical criticism has had, and to a large extent still has, obstacles to contend with that do not surround any other subject of investigation. But a gradual sifting of material has been going on, and dissatisfaction with the stilted and dry records of antiquity has led to the production of several works whose publication marks an era of progress. Such are Mr. Mozume's "History of Civilisation" (in Japan), published by the Imperial Household Department, and containing a preface written by Count Ho. This work aims at giving a history of the people as well as of the rulers, at tracing the progress of science, literature, and commerce, as well as of politics, and in this respect resembles to some extent our deservedly popular Green's "History of the English People." The design is excellent. The only drawback connected with it is the absence of the critical spirit in the author. There is no criticism of sources; hence, though the work is interesting, it can hardly be pronounced trustworthy. Miyase's "Important Events of History," and the *Nihon Tsugan* (日本通鑑), by Sugiura Jugo and several assistants, are works of the same class.

Two more recent books on history are the *Nihon Shikō* (日本

史綱) by Saga Seisaku, and the *Nihon Teikoku-shi* (日本帝國史), by Matsui Hirokichi. These two works are extremely elaborate, but written altogether on the old lines. In plan and contents they so much resemble each other that the author of the *Teikoku-shi* has been accused of wholesale plagiarism. No competent critic can regard such books with anything but regret that so much valuable time should have been spent in elaborating and dressing up in historical form mythological data. Unless I am very much mistaken, such works as the *Nihon Shikō* and the *Teikoku-shi* in another ten or fifteen years will descend to that literary Hades into which so many of the old-world spirits have already passed. Among histories on special subjects, I must not omit to mention Professor Naito's exhaustive "History of the Japanese Navy," a work well worthy of the attention of specialists, and full of facts of interest to the general reader. A book by Hamada Henjirō entitled "Ancient Currency of Japan" (日本古代通貨考), a "History of Ancient Japanese Commerce" (日本古代商業史), by Shimana Sosuke, and a "History of European Music and Dancing," by Ho Nakamura, are less pretentious, but useful works of the same class.

A book of considerable value and interest has just been issued, entitled "The History of Thirty Years." It embraces the period between October 1838 and December 1867. The author is Mr. Kimura Taishyu, a *Hatamoto* under the Bakufu, who subsequently filled the post of Kaigun Bugyō, or Minister of Marine. The object of the work is to throw light upon the events which led to the opening of the country to foreign intercourse. Hence a large number of original documents appear in the form in which they were drawn up. Letters and memorials on the opening of the country, of whose existence few people were aware, are published in this volume. Some idea of the value of the book may be gathered from a quotation from the preface, written by Mr. Fukuzawa, the accomplished and popular editor of the *Times*. "Mr. Kimura had a taste for books from very early days, and was always a most diligent student. When he reached maturity, he displayed great insight into political affairs. The ardour with which he pursued his studies never flagged, and, engrossed as he was in his literary pursuits, old age overtook him unawares. In reference to the events which transpired during the period reviewed by Mr. Kimura, a number of false impressions are current. In order to correct these, Mr. Kimura, by the aid of his intimate personal knowledge, has compiled a minute account of the chief events of those times. It is of immense importance that the precise character of the foreign

intercourse inaugurated under the Tokugawa régime should be known to modern politicians. Hitherto there has been no trustworthy standard to refer to. The publication of Mr. Kimura's work will enable all lovers of accuracy to correct their own mistakes and those of others." The book gives a minute and vivid account of the many difficulties which beset the Bakufu in its declining days, and the struggles through which the country passed prior to the Meiji era. Some of the chapters contain information hitherto unpublished, and others present in a new light facts already known. Not the least valuable part of the work is that which relates the impression made on Ikeda Chitsugo-no-Kami by Western civilisation. It will be remembered that this ambassador was so influenced by what he saw in France, that he returned to Japan and informed the Shogun that he could no longer be the promoter of a policy involving the closing of the country to foreign intercourse.

The greatest living authority on Japanese history is Mr. Shigeno Anski. For over ten years this aged scholar has been engaged in collecting and arranging material for a new history. Numbers of old family records, which during the supremacy of the Tokugawa Shoguns were carefully concealed by successive barons, have during the past twenty years been brought to light. The trouble with the official records of past generations has been that they were cooked so as to show to advantage the antecedents of the men in power. It is hoped that to a large extent the errors which the history-makers (as they have been called, in contra-distinction to history-writers) have circulated will be replaced by solid, incontrovertible, impartial facts in the volumes which Mr. Shigeno is about to publish.

2. *Philology*.—Among modern dictionaries we have a revised edition of the well-known Chinese dictionary called the *Hōki-jiten* (康熙字典), by Mr. Watanabe On. This book has taken seven years to prepare, and contains over seven thousand corrections. A new edition of the *Gagen Shūran* (雅言集覽), originally the work of Ishikawa Masamochi, an incomplete but an extremely valuable dictionary of classical Japanese, has appeared. Among minor works, Mr. Takahashi Goro's *Troha-jiten* and a syllabic dictionary by Mr. Mozume may be mentioned. On language generally the late Mr. Kondo Makoto's *Kotoba-no-sono* has attracted some attention. But such works appear puny when compared with the treatises of Motoori Norinaga, Hirata Atsutane, and Arai Hakuseki. Japanese scholars are now-a-days far too absorbed in their foreign studies to find time to write elaborate philological

books on their own tongue. It is highly improbable that our age will be enriched by any such magnificent monuments of literary research as were bequeathed to their fellow-countrymen by the scholars of the last century. The *Wakan Shiori*, by Tonigawa Shisei, has never been surpassed for minuteness. The first part (45 vols.) contains some 18,000 words, with numerous examples; the second part (30 vols.) has about 12,000 words. It is, of course, the examples that constitute the chief value of such a work, and that render the preparation of it so arduous a task. But it must not be overlooked that modern lexicographers have a function to perform of which their predecessors never dreamed, and which demands a different order of talent. The finding of Japanese equivalents for the numerous foreign terms which the introduction of Western civilisation renders necessary, has taxed the ingenuity of modern lexicographers to the utmost. Among Japanese and English dictionaries intended for general use, I grieve to say that we have nothing more elaborate than Dr. Hepburn's work. Excellent as this is as far as it goes, that it does not fulfil the *beau idéal* of a dictionary the author himself would readily admit. The obstacles to the publication by a committee (for by no single individual could the work be successfully accomplished) of a tolerably exhaustive work, though a matter the great importance of which was fully recognised by the late Viscount Mori when Minister of Education, are so formidable, that it is a question whether it will be undertaken in this country, unless, as in the case of the publication of Dr. Legge's Classics, private munificence comes to the rescue.¹ Among English and Japanese dictionaries, on the whole, I much prefer the *Yei-wa Ji-i* (英和字彙), by Shibata and Koyasu. The *Wayaku-yei Ji-i* (和譯英字彙), prepared by Y. Shimada, and revised by Sugiura, J. Inouye, and A. Manase, stands next. This latter work claims to contain over 80,000 words. A knowledge of Chinese characters is essential to the use of the best modern dictionaries; being principally designed for use by Japanese, the placing of *kana* by the side of the characters is not deemed necessary in most cases.

A dictionary of Chinese-Japanese words, compiled by Mr. J. H. Gubbins, Japanese Secretary of H.B.M.'s Legation in Japan, the last volume of which has recently appeared, supplies a long-felt want. I confess that I have the greatest admiration for any foreigner who has the courage to attempt lexicography in Japan. The difficulties

¹ The Hon. Joseph Jardine subscribed a large sum towards the publication of Dr. Legge's Chinese Classics. *Vide* preface to the work.

attending it, owing to the rapid changes which the language is undergoing, are so great, that only two out of a score of advanced foreign students of the language have essayed the enterprise. Those authors who, despairing of attaining the best, are content with the next best, deserve the thanks of the public. Were all sinologues fearful of staking their reputation for scholarship on works that fall below the highest standard, we should have no dictionaries and no grammars in Japan. One of the schemes of the late Viscount Mori, which he never lived to see put into operation, was the compilation of a dictionary by a committee of specialists, each collecting words on that branch of knowledge with which he was best acquainted, the labours of each to be revised by the whole committee. The plan was a good one, and perhaps when the Japanese begin to feel the need of an exhaustive dictionary more than they do now, we may see it acted on. In the meantime, such works as that of Mr. Gubbins are invaluable. Mr. Gubbins was one of those who, three or four years ago, when the *Rōmaji* craze was prevailing, foresaw that the extent to which *Rōmaji* could take the place of Chinese characters must be very limited; that the difficulty of making homonyms intelligible without the ideograph was likely to wreck the whole scheme. These premises, in which several other Sinico-Japanese scholars shared, have proved to be quite correct. The *Rōmajikai* still exists, and the *Rōmaji Zasshi* is still published, but both have proved signal failures when gauged by the programme with which they set out. Those who, for convenience, would have used Roman letters instead of ideographs anyhow, *Rōmajikai* or no *Rōmajikai*, have done so, but the bulk of the nation keeps to its old method of writing, and steadfastly maintains that to replace it with any form equally convenient and accurate is impossible. There were men who, when Mr. Gubbins commenced to prepare his Dictionary, predicted that long before it was completed the use for it in its present form would be to a large degree rendered unnecessary. Mr. Gubbins had studied Sinico-Chinese too long to be influenced by any such visionaries. He knew that the connection between the sign and the thing signified was far too close to yield at once to such an influence as that wielded by the *Rōmajikai*. After all that has been said in favour of the *Rōmajikai*, the fact remains that not one of the great daily papers of the metropolis, and not one of the great weekly or monthly periodicals, is published in anything but Sinico-Japanese. The necessity to study the ideographs in order to understand the literature of the day is as great as ever, and hence Mr. Gubbins is to be congratulated on the production of

a work whose utility may increase to any extent, but never can decrease.

The following dictionaries are worthy of mention :—A work called *Uta no Shiori*, a guide to poetry, by Tasaki Nobutsuna, which gives the special meanings of poetic words and phrases.

The *Yokioku Tsūkai* (經世新報) by Owada Keiyu, a book of seven volumes, which gives the meaning of words used in operatic songs, a work greatly needed for an intelligent appreciation of *Nō* performances, and the *Genkai* (Sea of Words), by Otsuki Fumihiko, an official of the Educational Department.

3. *Law and Political Economy*.—Whether it is owing to the connection of this subject with the revision of the treaties, or whether it is due to the special proclivities of the minds of modern Japanese, I am unable to say, but there is no denying that a very large proportion of modern literature consists of works on law. Books on law published in recent times have consisted almost exclusively of commentaries on the new codes, or translations from foreign works of material likely to prove conducive to a better understanding of these codes. The laws of Japan are now divided into six sections : (1.) the Law of the Constitution ; (2.) the Civil Code ; (3.) the Code of Civil Procedure ; (4.) the Commercial Code ; (5.) the Criminal Code ; and (6.) the Code of Criminal Procedure. With the exception of the Civil and Commercial Codes, the above laws are already in operation. Many of the commentaries published on the laws now in force will doubtless serve a useful purpose. But since the Diet has recommended the postponement of the operation of the Civil and Commercial Codes with a view to their thorough revision, much of the literature on these Codes will, it is likely, become useless. Lawyers seem to have concentrated most of their attention on these two Codes, judging by the number of commentaries published. There are no less than fifteen commentaries on the Civil Code, and some fourteen on the Commercial, while those on the other Codes do not exceed some five or six each.

Turning to Political Economy, it is important to note that Mr. Fukuzawa was the first to point out the paramount importance of this study to Japanese, and two students of his school, the Keio-giku, have been the chief writers on this subject. These are Mr. Taguchū Ukichi, the Japanese advocate of free trade, and Mr. Inukai Ki, the champion of protection. For many years they conducted two monthly periodicals, in which they ventilated their special views. But recently one of these has been discontinued. All our best foreign works on the subject, such as those of Adam

Smith, Mill, and Fawcett, have been translated into Japanese. Among recent original works on this subject, a course of lectures by Nakagawa Isunejirō, entitled *Keisai-jitsugaku Ko-gi* (經濟實學講義), and the *Keisaigaku Tai-i* (經濟學大意), by Hamada Kenjirō, have attracted a good deal of notice. The magazine known as the *Political Economist* is extremely well conducted, and is fulfilling a useful mission in its own line.

A book of reference of immense value to Japanese politicians has just been issued by the Hakubunsha. The compiler is Mr. Abe Okitō, a member of the Diet. The work entitled *Zaiser Shimatsu* (財政始末) is a history of Japanese finance during the past twenty-four years. Prefaces penned by Count Okuma and Marquis Hachisuka speak in the highest terms of the book. Mr. Abe observes in the introduction that his main object in the publication of this work is the furnishing to members of the Diet material for forming a correct estimate of the nature of the financial policy of the Government in the past. In the absence of such a book of reference no adequate idea of the financial difficulties overcome by the Government since the revolution can be formed. No measures designed to benefit the country in the future can be of value unless founded on a minute study of the past. Mr. Abe informs us that the present volume, which consists exclusively of statistics, will be followed by another discussing the financial principles which Japan should follow in the future. In the forthcoming work Mr. Abe proposes to point out the particulars in which, in his opinion, the country has gone astray in the past, and to indicate clearly in what direction the path of future wealth lies. The arrangement of the vast collection of statistics which the book contains is all that could be desired.

4. *Medicine*.—Owing to the labours of the Dutch, and the natural aptitude of the Japanese for the study, medicine has received more attention than any other subject. For a full account of the results of Dutch teaching, Dr. Whitney's paper read before the Asiatic Society (vol. xii.) should be consulted. The books now in use are mostly translations. Of original productions, that of Dr. Sato Susumu on "Surgery" is a most elaborate work, and is used throughout the country as a reference book. Dr. Miyake's book on "Diseases," and Dr. Taguchi Hazuyoshi's work on Anatomy, the latter consisting of fourteen volumes, are worthy of mention. Dr. Imata Tsukane has published a work on Practical Anatomy, which is widely known, and Dr. Matsumoto's "Remedies," designed for the use of persons who are unable to consult a competent medical man, has had a large sale. Dr. Baelz has published in German and

Japanese the first volume of a complete work on Special Pathology and Therapeutics. As the author observes in his preface, it is the first attempt to compose a work on pathology with special reference to Japan. "We have," says Dr. Baelz, "no lack of text-books; hardly a text-book can be published at home without being forthwith translated into Japanese. . . . But the European pictures of disease cannot be made use of in Japan without some alteration, for the climate, manner of life, food, dress, and clothing, bring about important modifications, and we find that diseases which are common in Japan may be rare or unknown in Europe, and the descriptions of such diseases in European text-books are therefore quite inadequate."

Dr. Baelz's long experience in Japan, and his eminence as a medical man, afford grounds for hope that his work will subserve wider interests than those of one country and one time; that it will throw a new light on some of the still unsolved problems of disease, and thus benefit the whole of the civilised world.

The students who annually go up for examination, exclusive of those in the University, number some 400. Not more than 200 or 300 of these succeed in passing. One reason for the popularity of medicine as a study is that, as a means of making a living, the medical profession offers more inducements than any other.

5. *Science*.—It would be impossible to do justice to the works published on this subject in this paper. Suffice it to say that Physics and Chemistry have received most attention. Next to these rank Botany, Zoology, and the like. The students of Astronomy and Geology are very few. Works on Engineering and Agriculture are not numerous, and most of those published are small. The subjects do not prove interesting to the ordinary Japanese mind. The agricultural student finds no sphere for his labours in Japan after the completion of his studies, lacking as he does the means to farm on his own account after foreign fashion.

6. *Miscellaneous Works*.—Among modern writers, some few have succeeded in producing books that have taken the reading public by storm, and marked an epoch in the progress of public opinion. Such were Mr. Fukuzawa's early works; such was Mr. Nakamura Masanao's translation of "Smiles' Self-Help," and such was Mr. Yano's *Keikoku Bidan*. These books all uttered truths which the thinking part of the nation had begun to feel urgent. Hence their popularity. But that which gave them their prominence—their subject-matter—places a limit on their usefulness. They met a transient need, but, with the progress of thought and events, they

are doomed to oblivion. It is questionable whether even in ten years' time any of them will be read.

The *Shōrai-no-Nihon* ("The Japan of the Future"), by Mr. Tokutomi Choichirō, though in some respects resembling the works mentioned above, is more philosophical in conception than most of them, and is surpassed by none of them in point of style and verse. This work in the short space of two years ran through five editions, and competent Japanese critics on all hands pronounce it to be one of the most remarkable books of the age. The hopeful tone, the youthful vivacity which characterises the *Shōrai-no-Nihon*, the brilliancy with which the writer expresses the prevailing sentiments of the rising generation of Japanese, are quite sufficient to account for its popularity. To the author the present age seems to be remarkable for the importance attached to illustrious ancestry and for the reliance placed on physical force. These characteristics, he predicts will at no very distant date give place to a high regard for commerce, industry, and popular government. I am not concerned with the correctness of Mr. Tokutomi's views. It may be that they are a little too sanguine, but that, as a literary work, his book is entitled to rank high among modern works, seems to us beyond question. It may interest some to know that the writer is a Christian. His religious belief displays itself now and again in his method of discussing certain questions. The volume consists of 229 closely printed pages. Briefly stated, its contents are as follows:—The first twelve pages are devoted to tracing the law of change. This chapter is entitled "Flood must follow flood," and the author points out that when once the law of evolution commences to work, it must continue its course through a number of stages. Change must succeed change. One reform is destined to beget another. The interesting point in reference to Japan is: Whither are the changes? Judging from the past and the present, what is the future likely to be? The next ten pages are devoted to answering the question, Upon what does the life of a nation depend? The maintenance of national life being of necessity the primary object in view, to determine the conditions of national life is to decide on the nation's future career. Taking for granted that it must depend on the possession of the means of defence, the author decides that by development of commerce and industry, and the maintenance of efficient land and sea forces, the future prosperity of the nation may be ensured. He admits that the principle of war and the principle of commerce and industry are antagonistic to each other, but argues that the preservation of both

is essential to the life of a nation. In endeavouring to determine what will be the character of the nation's future career, the author says we must take into consideration: (1.) the state of neighbouring countries; (2.) the natural endowments and prevailing tendencies of modern Japanese society; (3.) the special environment of the Japanese nation; and (4.) the present condition of the nation. These subjects he discusses in detail, and they form the main divisions of the book. Under the above headings the writer has two chapters entitled "The world of force;" three on "The world of peace;" three on "The rise and progress of democratic principles;" one entitled "A commercial nation by nature." Two chapters are devoted to describing the Japan of the past, and two to the Japan of the present, while the last chapter discusses the Japan of the future.

Of the style of the book it would be impossible to speak in too high terms. It is a style rarely attained by Japanese modern authors. Reason and emotion are combined with exquisite taste, and the effect is charming. Numerous are the readers who, after taking up the book, have felt unable to leave it unfinished. The language used is the popular language of the day, the language of all the chief journals and magazines. Every subject, however dry in itself, becomes interesting when fired with the author's energy. Any one who is of opinion that the language of to-day is inadequate to the growing needs of the nation, or is likely to be soon replaced by an entirely new tongue, should read some of the more powerful passages of Mr. Tokutomi's volume. Granted a clear head and a skilful pen, and there is no thought, however abstruse or however sublime, but may be expressed fully in the Sinico-Japanese of the present day.

But while praising the style, and speaking in the highest terms of the prevailing tone of the book, I should hardly be acting the part of a fair critic did I omit to point out that the depth and subtlety of the author's thoughts are by no means equal to the brilliancy of his style. The difficulties that lie in the way of the future progress of the nation, though not altogether passed over, are not considered in sufficient detail to make the picture altogether a satisfactory one. The pervading tone of the book is that of optimism. A thoughtful reader, while carried away with the grace of diction which characterises the work, cannot but long for a little more display of the *via media* of thought than the author's sanguine temperament allows of. But in speaking of the Japan of the present the author observes, "The work of reform is not yet half finished.

Don't think that old Japan is gone. The chief elements that control modern Japanese society are those of ancient Japan. If you doubt it, appeal, I pray you, each one to your own inmost soul." This passage forms an exception to the optimistic tone of the work. Mr. Tokutomi's *Shin Nippon no Seinen* ("Young Men of New Japan") has, like the work I have just been reviewing, obtained a deservedly wide circulation.

Among works which have stirred up a spirit of enterprise by describing what is going on in other parts of the world, the *Nanyō-Jiji* (南洋時事), or "Times in the Southern Ocean," by Shika Chōkō, occupies a prominent place. The *Nanyō-Jiji* is a very pleasantly written account of the author's observations in the principal islands of the South Pacific Ocean. The commerce carried on in Australia, New Zealand, and in the Fiji and Polynesian Islands is described. Mr. Shika tells us that he was very much impressed, wherever he went, by the way in which the coloured races are outdone by the whites. He makes this the text of an earnest warning to his fellow-countrymen. He is of opinion that they are still unprepared to enter into active competition with Europeans. Such books have, in my opinion, contributed in no small degree to produce the antipathy to treaty revision which is so manifest at the present time in the minds of certain Japanese. The growing conviction of a number of Japanese seems to be that the nation is not prepared for the ordeal of competition with Westerns, and that it is in the interests of the country to delay the hour of trial as long as possible. Our mode of acquiring dominion in India, our long occupation of Egypt,—a policy said to be based on our monetary interests there,—and the history of the way in which we have acquired vast tracts of territory in the Southern Ocean, fill a certain class of patriotic Japanese with grave apprehension as to the results of mixed residence and free competition in this country. Whether we agree with the inferences Mr. Shika draws from his observations or not, there is no denying that his work is a valuable contribution to literature. It has given the Japanese some idea of the mettle of which our English colonists are made, and has helped to impress on the minds of leading native merchants the importance of endeavouring to establish a trade between this country and the islands of the Southern Pacific. The parallel that Mr. Shika draws between the physical peculiarities, the surroundings, and the openings for commerce of New Zealand and Japan is very interesting. The seventeenth chapter of this book is on the Loochoo Islands, which, as the author observes, have

a special interest for Japan, there being, when he wrote, a community of two thousand Japanese there, and regular communication having been established between the two countries.

It is but natural that in an age of transition like the present a large amount of learned literary effort should be expended in either defending the old beliefs of the nation, or in advocating something entirely new. Mr. Nishimura's works on Ethics and Mental Philosophy and Mr. Inouye Yenryō's "Revival of Buddhism" are books of this class. The conservative spirit which characterises such writings has been the subject of a good deal of adverse criticism. Mr. Inouye's proposed plan for revivifying Buddhism is held up to ridicule in a very severe manner by Dr. Miyake in the pages of the *Shuppan Gepppyō*. Many of the attempts to combine new things with old in psychology and ethics have been grotesque in the extreme. Mr. Kikuchi Kumatarō's *Shindōtoku-Ron* (新道徳論), or "New Theory of Ethics," while professing to be thoroughly scientific, is disfigured and rendered hopelessly unintelligible by the introduction of the Buddhist doctrine concerning the 三世因果法, or "Law of the Causes and Effects of the Three Worlds" (past, present, and future). We might quote many other instances of the same kind. Mr. Kato Hiroyuki's attempt to fall back on supernaturalism as a basis for the morality taught in the schools, while acknowledging that to scholars generally such a basis is most unsatisfactory, is one among a number of caricature systems, devised by minds hovering between the new and the old, and hoping to blend them into some kind of harmony.

The only writers who can hope for real success are such as, while writing on Western lines, have adapted their books to local needs. In Mr. Nose Yei's "Education," *Kyōikugaku* (教育學), we have a work that exactly fulfils these conditions. I have met with no book whose perusal has given me such real pleasure as this volume. It has already been adopted as a text-book in a large number of schools, and the author seems likely to make a small fortune out of it. The *Kyōikugaku* covers no less than 719 pages. The work is original in design as well as in many of the opinions and theories advocated. It is only within the last few years that Japanese educators have turned their attention to the science of teaching, or pedagogy, as it is technically called. One of the results of their interest in the subject was the appointment a few years ago of a German professor (Hausknecht) of pedagogy to the Imperial University. Hitherto the principal English text-book on pedagogy in use in Japan has been a work called "Principles and

Practice of Teaching," by one James Johonnot (an American). This book, though containing some valuable hints, is decidedly defective in arrangement, and altogether unsuited as to its subject-matter to serve as a text-book in Japanese schools. Mr. Nose, it seems, when acting as a teacher in Fukushima some years ago, felt the need of a good text-book on the art of teaching for use in normal schools throughout the country, and determined to do his best to supply the want. In one of the many tours of inspection that the late Viscount Mori made, he discovered Mr. Nose, and was so struck with the originality and correctness of his ideas on educational matters, that he invited him to Tōkyō, and made him an official of the Educational Department. Mr. Nose was thus constantly brought into contact with the late Minister of Education, and hence became thoroughly conversant with the leading features of the Viscount's educational policy. So that Mr. Nose's book, in addition to its other merits, has a special interest attached to it as being, to a considerable extent, the embodiment of the late Minister's ideas on the proper order in which, and the proper means by which, the moral and intellectual powers of the Japanese may best be developed. The book is especially designed to remedy the defects of the system of teaching hitherto pursued in this country, and it has the advantage of being based on sound physiological as well as psychological principles.

The subject is divided into six parts, as follow:—I. Introduction; II. General remarks; III. The education of the intellect; IV. The comparative value of subjects of study; V. Physical education; VI. Moral education. Mr. Nose starts with the assertion that the majority of things in the world only move when set in motion by forces acting on them, and that the human mind is no exception to this rule. The amount of energy it possesses depends on the forces that act on it. These forces, arranged according to their original elements, he affirms to be of three kinds: 1. Natural (in the sense of physical); 2. Social; 3. Individual. I. Under natural influences are included: (1.) Temperature; (2.) Climate; (3.) Natural productions; (4.) Physical peculiarities of the country (*e.g.*, mountainous or otherwise); (5.) Fertility or non-fertility of the soil. II. Under social influences Mr. Nose shows that early education takes its character from social environment. In the following particulars there are manifest differences between the minds of the inhabitants of one country and another, and one place and another: (1.) Thinking power; (2.) Forethought; (3.) Co-operation; (4.) Self-control; (5.) Curiosity; (6.) Liberty; (7.) Regard for others;

(8.) Honesty. A child's future is moulded to a considerable extent by its surroundings in its most impressible days. The community into which it is born makes indelible marks on its character, and determines to a large extent its subsequent capabilities. No amount of after teaching will make up for inferior social influences in early youth. III. Included among individual influences are various kinds of hereditary mental powers, namely, the power of (1.) calculation, (2.) abstraction, (3.) tracing cause and effect, (4.) comprehension of natural law. In all these particulars the children of highly developed and civilised nations are born with powers the most elementary stages of which the African or Red Indian finds the greatest difficulty in reaching. The foregoing facts, Mr. Nose maintains, must be borne in mind by the educator, and must decide his policy. There are certain things that it is useless to attempt. Mental powers can only be evolved gradually, and heredity has to lend its aid. No great leap can be taken. To make a first-class mathematician of an Aino is an impossibility. The ultimate aim of educationalists, then, should be to elevate the character of the physical, social, and hereditary influences which mould the destiny of the rising generation.

Mr. Nose's book is based on the idea that, to educate successfully, the teacher ought to be versed in the principles of modern psychology and physiology. The author is strongly of opinion that successful training of the mental faculties demands a knowledge of the nature and requirements of these faculties. After defining what education consists in, specifying its main features and objects, and fixing its limits, he passes on to consider its methods. This leads him to analyse the human mind and to determine the kind of development each faculty or emotion needs. The intellectual powers stand first in order, and are defined by Mr. Nose in a clear and accurate manner. The Chinese equivalents for our various psychological terms are excellently chosen. Then come the moral faculties, under which the training of the will and the various emotions are discussed. This part of the volume contains an interesting chapter, designated *Nihon-no-koku-toku* (日本ノ國徳), "Japanese National Virtues." The main purport of the views expressed in this chapter is that the natural endowments of the Japanese in respect of virtue are by no means of a low order, and that, unlike those of many other nations, the high esteem in which all that is good is held is neither directly nor indirectly the result of religious belief.

To the ordinary reader, perhaps, the appendix will be found to be

by far the most interesting part of Mr. Nose's work on education. In this he describes Japan's situation in regard to the physical, social, and hereditary influences which determine the capabilities of the minds of men. These he pronounces, as I think quite correctly, to be of a mixed character—some favourable, others the contrary. The temperature, the climate, the physical characteristics of the country, the fertility of the soil—these are all conducive to high development. But unfortunately for the three hundred years that preceded the Meiji era, the beneficent effects of these physical influences were counteracted by the baneful nature of the social and individual agencies at work. Mr. Nose maintains that it was hardly possible to find an atmosphere less congenial to mental development than that which existed under the grinding despotism of the Tokugawa Shoguns. All forms of original thought, all attempts to encourage independent investigations, were suspected and suppressed. It was not otherwise with the practical arts of life. Those engaged in them followed suit, and did everything in the prescribed manner. The various classes of society occupied for the most part the relation of oppressor and oppressed, and all were too accustomed to the existing state of things to even hope for a change. Mr. Nose is of opinion that it will take some generations to eradicate the evil effects of the social influences of old Japan. They are still to be traced in the fundamental ideas of the agriculturist and the mechanic; they account for his lack of enterprise and for the fatalistic manner in which he clings to his environment as though it were unalterable. Not less are the effects of these influences manifested in the lives and thoughts of the learned classes of society. With the majority, learning is no more than a pastime. It is pursued with no practical end in view, and is valued more as a polite accomplishment than as an organ of enlightenment and a means of ameliorating the condition of suffering humanity.

Mr. Nose points out how habitually the mass of modern *Shizoku* avoid agriculture, industry, and trade, and devote themselves to the study of law, medicine, politics, and the like, and argues, with Mr. Fukuzawa and many other discerning men, that so long as this continues, it is impossible for the nation to amass wealth at a rapid rate. As matters now stand, we have, speaking generally, the attention of the most intelligent part of the nation concentrated on abstract subjects, while the immediate sources of wealth—the mines, the farms, the manufactories, and the trade—are to a large extent confined to the tender mercies of the non-educated or the semi-educated. Until the idea gains ascendancy that there is nothing

degrading in any of the occupations by which a livelihood is to be lawfully gained, and that the choice of an occupation should be determined exclusively by the circumstances in which one is placed, progress must inevitably be slow. The wide breach between the learned world and the working world in Japan must, Mr. Nose maintains, be healed, and that rapidly, in order that the youth of the present age may in early days become subject to the many subtle and powerful influences exercised by the learning that works hand in hand with art, industry, and commerce. The mental qualities which, according to Mr. Nose, need most cultivation in Japan are tenacity and stability of purpose, a determination to bring to a consummation that which has once been commenced. A volume which points out in each detail the precise position occupied by the Japanese mind in the present stage of development ought to prove an invaluable guide to those engaged in training the rising generation.

Among modern books I must not omit to mention the romances which have been written in imitation of our Western novels. Though, doubtless, these books afford some amusement to the student class, there is nothing either in their style or subject-matter worthy of approbation. As may be supposed, they are extremely poor imitations of even the most inferior of our works of fiction. They have sensational titles, and are profusely illustrated in a manner that accords neither with Japanese nor foreign taste. Many of them are full of students' slang, and hence somewhat unintelligible to ordinary readers. The authors seem to labour under the impression that the introduction of English words, like *rabu* for love,¹ on every page gives to the book an air of scholarship. The English words introduced are generally such as have excellent Japanese equivalents; but, as was the case with our pro-Latin pedants in the Johnsonian days, foreign terms seem to these young authors to savour of profundity.

With a short notice of the daily newspapers and the magazines, I will close this brief review of modern literature. First as to the five great dailies, it may interest some readers to know when they were established, and the circulation they obtain. The figures given are taken from the *Naimushō* (Home Department) report issued a few years ago. The circulation has largely increased during the past two years.

¹ This is the nearest approach that the untrained student can make to our English word. Such phrases as "*kono onna watakushi wo rabu suru*" frequently occur in modern novels.

Names.	Established.	Average Daily Circulation.
The <i>Mainichi Shimbun</i>	April 1871	1,171
The <i>Tōkyō Nichi Nichi Shimbun</i>	February 1872	10,665
The <i>Yūbin-Hōchi Shimbun</i>	March 1872	13,059
The <i>Chōya</i> (插倬) <i>Shimbun</i>	August 1873	6,724
The <i>Jiji Shimpō</i>	March 1882	8,622

The names and dates of establishment of less important dailies, in as far as I have been able to obtain them, are as follow :—

Names.	Established.
The <i>Yomiuri Shimbun</i>	November 1874
The <i>Chūgwai Shōgyō Shimpō</i> ¹	1874
The <i>Haishin Shimbun</i> (改進新聞)	1883
The <i>Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun</i> (東京朝日新聞)	1883
The <i>Miyako Shimbun</i> ²	1884
The <i>Yamato Shimbun</i>	1886
The <i>Tōkyō Shimpō</i>	December 1888
The <i>Heisei Shimpō</i> (謡曲通解)	1891
The <i>Nippon</i>	February 1889

I have no statistics at hand of the dailies published in the provinces: each large town, however, possesses two or three at the very least.

The magazines, like the newspapers, are far too numerous. A new magazine in this country usually enters the field of literature with no small degree of *éclat*. It flatters itself that it is going to strike the golden mean, and its first numbers are, as a rule, full of promise. But after the lapse of a few months, its stock of special contributions becomes exhausted, and it has to depend on the efforts of raw students, or at the best of extremely young and half-educated school or college teachers, the number of really able writers being lamentably small. The swarms of journals on every conceivable subject now in circulation are only kept afloat by the efforts of a host of shallow scribblers. It is the decrease, then, and not the increase, of magazines that all lovers of Japanese literature desire to see. If some dozen writers of diverse attainments would but apply themselves to the task of making any existing magazine—or a new one, if that be preferred—a thoroughly efficient and popular organ; if articles that demand special research met with adequate remuneration; if originality invariably commanded the highest

¹ *Home and Foreign Commercial News.*

² *The Metropolis.*

price, this class of journalism would enter on a new era. As matters now stand, Japanese magazines, like the *jinriksha* men, are killing each other. Their insipidity and superficiality in some cases, their prosiness and excessive technicality in others, are bringing periodical journalism into general contempt. Even on subjects the knowledge of which is necessarily very limited, such as education, for instance, the Japanese are not content with less than some five or six different organs of discussion.

I cannot pretend to give an exhaustive account of existing magazines in this short summary. But I will jot down the principal ones, giving the subjects treated, where the name of the publication does not indicate them. The most popular magazines now in circulation have sprung into existence during the last ten years. Among thoroughly established organs, the most widely known and read are the *Toyo-gaku-gei Zasshi* (東洋學藝雜誌), established in 1882, a literary and scientific organ, but chiefly scientific; the *Rikugo Zasshi* (*The Universe*), a Christian organ, established in 1880; the Sanitary Association's Magazine, established 1884; the *Political Economist*; *Home and Foreign Medical News*; the *Buddhist Philosophical Journal*; the *Japanese Philosophical Society's Magazine*. The above have all been in circulation some years. More recent periodicals of merit are the *Tensoku* (天則), a monthly started by Mr. Kato Hiroyuki, the President of the University; the *Kokka-gakkai-Zasshi* (國家學會雜誌), which originated with the ex-President of the Imperial University, Mr. Watanabe Kōki; the *Kokumin-no-tomo*, edited by Mr. Iokutomi Choichirō; *Bun* (文) (*Literature*), edited by Mr. Kikuchi Kumataro; the *Miyako-no-Hana* (*Flower of the Capital*), a journal for light literature, and the *Futsū Kyōiku*, both published by the *Kinkōdō*; the *Shigakukai Zasshi* (*The Historical Magazine*); the *Tōkyō Shōgyō Zasshi* (*The Commercial Magazine*); the *Chishiki-no-Senjo* (智識ノ戰場); *The Battlefield of Knowledge*; the *Zugaku Zasshi* (*The Artist's Magazine*); the *Bijutsu-yen* (*The Fine Arts' Flower Garden*); the *Tōkyō Semmon-Gakkai Zasshi* (*The Tōkyō Special Science Magazine*); the *Kojun Zasshi* (交詢雜誌), established at the commencement of the Meiji era by Mr. Fukuzawa; the *Kwaiten* (回天), a political journal, commenced last year. The *Fuzoku-gwaho* (*Customs*), started in 1888; the *Horitsu Seiki* (*Law*), established in 1888; the *Hogaku Shimpō* (*Law*), 1890; *Asia*, a weekly publication; the *Kyūji Shimon roku* (*Record of Antiquarian Investigations*), 1890. Among lighter literature, the *Jogaku Zasshi* (*Woman's Magazine*); the *Shōnen-yen* (*A Flower*

Garden for the Young); the *Seinen Thikai* (史海), (*Youth's Sea of Thought*); the *New Novelist* (新小説); the *Scholar* (生徒), the *Shōgaku-no-tomo* (*Friend of the Young*); the *Tsuzoku Gakugei Shirin* (通俗學藝志林), literally "A Forest for those Interested in Popularised Learning," are worthy of being recorded.

The opening of the Diet has given a new impetus, to literature as well as to oratory. The debates which take place in the two Houses will perhaps do more to stereotype the language, both spoken and written, than anything that has occurred in the present era.

REMARKS BY MR. F. VICTOR DICKINS.

With the greater part of Mr. Denning's valuable and interesting paper—the first ever published on the subject—I am in full agreement. But I am unable to pass by without dissent some of his remarks upon the question of romanisation. He condemns romanisation as a "craze," and the *Rōmaji-Kai* (Society for Promoting Romanisation), together with their organ the *Rōmaji Zasshi* (Miscellany in roman), as "signal failures." He further refers to the difficulty of "making homonyms intelligible without Chinese ideographs," and finally declares that it is impossible to replace the existing system by any script equally accurate and convenient.

The existing language of Japan, taken as a whole, is neither Japanese nor Chinese, but a jargon made up of Japanese and mispronounced, and often mis-used, Chinese; for the most part, a mere physical mixture of the two, not a chemical compound of its elements. For my present purpose I shall, however, regard it as made up of an ear-language, which may be understood when read, spoken, or heard, and an eye-language, mainly intelligible only when read, and then to, or rather through, the eye alone. Chinese itself stands more or less in the same position, and so do, in a greater or less degree, most of the languages which, like Korean, Annamese, &c., have adopted the Chinese script. These ear- and eye-languages are not marked off from each other by any definite boundaries; the ear-language contains many thoroughly assimilated Chinese words, and in the eye-language, even in the absolutely pure Chinese style, the Chinese elements very often are aided by Japanese non-presentive expressions.

As to the ear-language, there is no difficulty of any moment in romanisation. Pure Japanese is much more easily written and read in roman than in any form of, or derived from, Chinese. In my

romanised text of the *Taketori no Monogatari* there is not a sentence or a word that presents the slightest difficulty or doubt, apart from such linguistic difficulties, &c., as are intrinsic to the language. The same facility of romanisation may be predicated of all the *monogatari*, of the rituals and ancient poetry, of nearly all the so-called classical literature of the Japanese. The mixed Japanese, containing numerous well-assimilated Chinese compounds of ordinary literature, novels, itineraries, travels, diaries, &c., and of common speech (*Zokugon*) is almost, if not quite, equally intelligible to the ear, and therefore equally capable of being written down upon a phonetic system.

There remains to be dealt with the eye-language, with which, for present purposes, may be regarded as co-extensive what the Japanese call *Kan-go* or Chinese Japonicised in pronunciation and designated by Chinese ideographs. Thus *Tōkiō* may be regarded as *Kan-go*, being written 東京 (the characters here are to be read from left to right), in Chinese Tung-King (Tonking is written with the same characters), and signifying the Eastern (Tung or Tō) capital (King or Kiō). Most Chinese characters, by the way, are not ideographs at all, but artificial developments of an originally pictorial script, chiefly phonetic in value, but often preserving some trace of ideography in the collocation of their elements, as in the character 姦 (*Kan*), made up of the elements (女), each signifying "a woman," the whole having the meaning of "false" or "illicit"—a time-honoured slander, which I venture to reproduce as one proof, among many, of the universality of man's selfish misconception of woman's nature—and again in 間 (*Kan*), a "crevice," made up of "door" and "sun" (or possibly "moon"), involving the idea of a crack or crevice revealed by the light shining through it. But this, the ideographic scintilla, is not perceived by one person in ten thousand in Sinesia, and is entirely neglected by all. It is practically all that is preserved in preserving the Chinese script, which has become a huge collection of some 40,000 symbols or diagrams, an immense alphabet or syllabary, for the most part designating sounds connected with particular groups of ideas, but not depicting, symbolising, or revealing these save after an occasional, uncertain, obscure, and practically useless fashion. Further, these characters in *Kan-go* are rarely used by themselves, but almost always in couples, the so-called *juku-ji* (熟字) (ripe or complete words) or dissyllabic compound expressions, to the meaning of which, again, the meanings of the elements very commonly give an extremely enigmatic clue, often of an antithetical (analytical) and synthetical nature.

Now the only difficulty that romanisation presents exists with regard to these *juku-ji*, among which are many groups of homophonous expressions. But the number of such expressions in each group are few; in most groups not more than two or three. To take an instance; *kan* and *shō* are very common Sinico-Japanese vocables, but in Mr. Gubbins' Dictionary there are only five *Kan-shō*, 干涉, 姦商, 感賞, 痼症, 簡捷, signifying respectively "interference," "contraband," "praise," "a malarious disease," "easy." The context would surely always show which *Kan-shō* was meant as effectually as it does among ourselves which among the various significations of "box" is intended by the writer. There are, besides, modes of mitigating this difficulty, such as it is, which space does not allow me here to particularise.

On the other hand, the resort to eye-language by newspaper writers is bringing Japanese speech into a condition of chaos. Sign combinations unchecked by ear-speech are possible without end, and the *Kan-go* of one generation will in great part be nearly unintelligible to the next. I find modern newspaper articles more and more difficult to understand. Romanisation would put a stop to this riotous and ruinous license, and might have the further excellent result of compelling authors to use Chinese less and Japanese more. Otherwise the gulf, already wide enough, between the written and spoken languages will become well-nigh impassable. This latter remark leads me to the declaration that romanisation is very far from being a question of merely linguistic interest. It is impossible that Oriental populations should ever attain the level of the West in education so long as they retain their imperfect and difficult scripts. Consider what a Japanese has to go through to enable himself merely to read with ease the ordinary literature of his country. He has first to master two syllabic alphabets of nearly fifty characters each. In one of these alphabets each character has four or five variants on an average. He then has to master some four or five thousand Chinese characters, each with from two to five variants. Nor is this all: these characters are sometimes to be read as Chinese according to one or other of two systems of pronunciation, sometimes to be translated into one of half-a-dozen or more Japanese expressions, sometimes again to be read in a purely conventional manner as parts of place-names or personal names, and in other ways also. I said long ago, and I say it still, that the most important of all the reforms that Japan can adopt is the delivery of the Japanese people at large from their bondage to the Chinese script. Orientalists possibly will not agree

with me. The mere difficulty of textual decipherment has for many of them a strange attraction. The truth is, that many, perhaps most, Oriental tongues are easy enough of acquirement for the purposes of literary investigation when once the script is familiar—far easier than Greek or Latin, German or Russian. But the script bars the way of the learner. Even the easy scripts are difficult compared with plain, definite, analytical roman. Take Hebrew, for instance; long practice is necessary to read with any fluency or pleasure what may be read with perfect ease in a week when properly romanised. Indeed, of all languages, Hebrew is the worst taught. The grammars usually begin with a hundred pages or more of phonetic introduction, the greater part of which presupposes an extensive knowledge of the language. The vocalic permutations, which constitute the main difficulty of a purely grammatical order, can be much more easily learnt *legendo scribendo*, and offer no particular hindrance when Khatefs and Khatuphs are abandoned for simple roman vowels and vocalic combinations. The detailed study of the Khatefs, accents, &c., can be undertaken at a later stage by those who desire to acquire a full scholarly knowledge of the language. I must, however, add, that romanisation is not always wisely ordered. The late Professor Jarrett's romanisation of Hebrew was capable of considerable improvement. To me it seems of the first importance that roman should dispense with all signs and accents, unless needed to mark peculiar stresses, as occasionally in Spanish. With the orthodox romanisation of Japanese, the only fault I have to find is the use of the marked *ō*. I think the distinction between the long and short *o*—one of paramount importance in Japanese, and equally in *Kan-go*—may be otherwise and better indicated. No universal system of romanisation should be attempted, for ordinary purposes at least. Experience has taught me that such different languages as Hebrew, Russian, Chinese, and Japanese can be romanised without marks or accents, with only slight modifications of and additions to the Italian alphabet. We need not write *dsch* to represent the sound of the English *j*.

It is true that the Rōmaji-kai has not had the success it hoped to attain, but it is not a failure; it exists, and its continued existence is a partial success. The *Zasshi* I read constantly, and with infinitely greater ease than any newspaper. It suffers from the multiplication of *Kan-go* words in the eye-language, some of which, unstamped by the seal of public approval and use, it admits into its columns, perhaps unavoidably. Sometimes, too, the articles in the *Zasshi* wear an air of having been written in eye *Kan-go*, and after-

wards transliterated. Of course, if this become the practice, Rōmaji will, indeed, be nothing but a sham. No doubt the practical difficulties in the way of romanisation are very great. It is possible that, for the moment, they are insuperable. But they are not, as Mr. Denig appears to think, difficulties intrinsic in, but difficulties extrinsic from, romanisation; they are difficulties involved in the adoption of a reform that can scarcely be brought about without either some degree of compulsion or a universal acceptance, very much as the decimal system, which almost every one desires, but which, from its universal operation, finds practically great difficulty of acceptance.

That sooner or later the roman character will be adopted in Japan I cannot doubt. Japan cannot go on for ever contented with a mode of recording its highest thought that, translated into speech, would be unintelligible; for so far as *Kan-go* is intelligible when spoken, it is an ear- as well as an eye-language, and so far is, of course, susceptible of record by a phonetic script, and requires not the aid of Chinese diagrams. With their progressive political ideas, too, the Japanese stand in absolute need of a well-educated population, a need that by no possibility can be satisfied so long as it takes an intelligent youth several years' study to acquire the art of reading with anything like the fluency with which an English boy of twelve reads his lesson-books—documentary *Kan-go*, written or printed. Further, speeches are now commonly made in Japan, both in and out of Parliament, and public speakers must of necessity use a language capable of expressing their thoughts with fulness and accuracy, and intelligible to their audience—intelligible, therefore, when written down phonetically. And so, even the journalistic tribe, sinicised though they are to the backbone, will find themselves compelled to restrict their license of coinage, and we may hope to see the multiplication of illegitimate *Kan-go* eye-words brought within manageable limits.

VI.

RESULTS OF RESEARCH IN THE CHINESE LANGUAGE.

BY

THE REV. JOSEPH EDKINS, D.D.

NINETEEN years ago, in a paper read before the Oriental Congress, held then in London, I followed up the evidence of the progress language had made in the age when the Chinese began to write, and produced their first history and poetry. The fact that the Chinese have had a literature for four thousand years, and are still a powerful empire with an increasing population, points them out as a race whose language is likely to furnish us with important testimony upon the growth of language.

I. *Order of Evolution in Consonants.*

We learn from the history of the Chinese language that letters formed with the back of the tongue are found to have been adopted later than letters formed with the point and front of the tongue, and again, that letters formed with the front and point of the tongue are later than the lip letters. We also learn that sonants are older than surds, and that *s*, *sh*, *l*, and *r* are more recent than *d* and *t*. We thus reach the general conclusion that the letters of the alphabet are first labials, then tongue point, then tongue surface, and lastly, tongue back letters. From this we reach the conclusion that in general the evolution of letters may be represented by a cone better than by a plane. Such a letter as *r* is always a sign of recent change. So it is with the others. Our English *th*, for example, is not primeval. Hence we may conclude that the Semitic and European systems are not primeval because they possessed from the first *r* and *l*, *s* and *sh*. They have too full a register of letters to allow of their being so ancient in their growth as the Chinese. To this if it be added that the perfection of their

grammatical inflections argues a recent origin, it certainly seems that they must be the most modern of linguistic systems.

2. *Egyptian and Accadian Types are more recent than Chinese.*

Another result at which we arrive is that the hieroglyphic Egyptian, having a fuller supply of letters than Chinese, is more recent and altogether of a newer type than the Chinese. This need not occasion surprise, for China lies removed from the battle-fields of the world, while Egypt is necessarily exposed by its position to the attacks of conquering armies. Thus we obtain information which enables us to arrange languages in chronological order. The Chinese type is the oldest; then the nomad Tartar and the Egyptian are next; then follows the Semitic, which resembles them in many words and laws of order. The Semitic rests on the old Egyptian in several points, such as the existence of the feminine gender, the post position of the adjective, and the placing of the verb first. But it is chiefly Tartar.

3. *Laws of Order in Words may be Appealed to in Order to Determine the Age and Kinship of Languages.*

The laws of order in languages are a means of determining their age and kinship, keeping in view the marked effect of geographical contiguity. Thus Tibetan, Semitic, and Egyptian agree in placing the adjective after the substantive. These three families also agree in using a feminine suffix as distinct from a masculine suffix. The Semitic and the Tibetan agree with the Indo-European in changing the vowel of verbs to signify a difference in tense or mode. But it is not so with the Egyptian hieroglyphic speech. In that language, as in Chinese, there is no trace of this sort of internal inflection. The Tibetan language is not only distinguished by internal inflection from the other non-Semitic and non-Aryan languages; it also possesses many words used by the Semites. For instance, *rab* is chief, *yab* is father, *ama* is mother. There are many more such good Semitic words in Tibetan.

The importance of Tibetan as an intermediate type in investigating in the border-land of linguistic families is seen in the fact that the place of the verb in the sentence is distinctly Tartar—that is, it stands last, the place which every one who contends for a logical victory likes for himself. This shows that it rests on Tartar as its root, while it throws out its branches into the region

of inflected languages by modifying its medial vowel to make a past tense. Now how did this happen? The best theory to account for it is that it sprung up in Tibet and was borrowed from them by the Semitic people, who probably occupied Persia before the Persians. Then the Semitic people taught the Indo-Europeans to inflect their words. Inflection by the change of the vowel of the imperative mode to make a past tense is a feature common to the Tibetan, Hebrew, and Teutonic languages. I suppose it to have commenced first in Tibetan, but this is not certain. If Tibetan is extremely old, as is possible, it is probably the first instance known, and may be the parent of the same kind of inflection by loan to other languages, whether Semitic or Aryan.

Thus it appears that the Chinese type of language being incapable of inflection, we may learn from it that inflection was a phenomenon which appeared later. From the Greek language tones have vanished. In Chinese the empire of tones has always been advancing, and at the present time there exists in the national tones an extraordinary number of local differences. The internal verb inflection of Tibetan sprang up by a sporadic effort of language to increase its own grammatical power and range. Such was the origin of inflection.

4. *The Relative Antiquity of the Tibetan and Tartar Types may be estimated by comparing them with Chinese and Semitic.*

The antiquity of the Tartar and Tibetan type of language may be estimated by a fair consideration of Chinese facts. The Chinese word *tien*, "heaven," is, like all old classical words, known to have been in use for four thousand years. *Tingri*, the Mongol word for "heaven," is formed from it by derivation. It occurs as a trisyllable in Chinese history of two thousand years ago in the title of Turkish emperors of Tartary in that age. It is also found in Accadian, a language which also belongs, as it appears to me, to the Tartar stock, and is there spelled *dingira*. The three syllables all agree with the modern Mongol, but the letters vary somewhat. Here we have a testimony to the antiquity of Tartar words of a most distinct character. But if the polysyllable, lengthened from the Chinese monosyllable, was formed four thousand years ago, we learn that the conditions of life in Tartary are such that four thousand years really make no great impression on words. They outlast forty centuries easily in that part of the world, while, on account of wars and migration, the Accadians and their language in Mesopotamia have long since disappeared. This is a matter which ought to be care-

fully considered in estimating the age of the Tibetan language. Such is the inaccessibility of the country, that history says nothing of any change there in population. The Bod people, as they call themselves, may, so far as history and tradition tell us, easily have occupied their present territories five thousand years ago. If the polysyllabic growth of words in Mongolia took place more than four thousand years ago, the Tibetan grammar may be just as old, and there is no solid reason apparent why the verb inflection may not have existed as long ago as that. But if so, the ground becomes strong for believing that it was the Semites that were driven out of Persia by the Aryans. Otherwise, how could the Semite word *rab*, "chief," be in Tibetan, and the word *airiben*, "many," be in Mongolian? How could the Hebrew *amen* be so near the Mongol *mun*, "it is so?" Why also should the second personal pronoun in Semitic and in Tibetan prefer the letter *k*, while in Tartar, in Indo-European, and in Chinese the letters *d*, *t*, and *n* are the favourites for the same pronoun? Hence we seem driven by linguistic facts to the conclusion that, as the Dravidians occupied India before the speakers of Sanskrit, so the Semites occupied Persia and the banks of the Oxus also. Without this supposition it is very difficult to account for the facts of language. Tibetan, like Semitic speech, is to a large extent trilateral, and it always happens that languages alike in morphology are geographically contiguous. Besides, the later history of the Semites presents to our view several distinct languages with areas conterminous. The primeval mother speech of the Semites might very well be developed further to the eastward. Some features of Semite speech are common to the Egyptian, such as the feminine suffix in *t*, which must more probably have gone over to the Indo-European people when the Semites were in Egypt. But in regard to the inflection of the medial vowel in verbs, this may have been learned from the Tibetan people when they were living more to the eastward. Of course it is possible that this habit of inflection may have grown up in each family without collision of races. But when I remember the effect of the Norman conquest in weakening the aspirate in English pronunciation, I prefer the hypothesis of joint occupation of territory in pre-historic times to account for the vowel *a* being applied to the past tense both in Semitic and Aryan speech.

The fashions of grammar are like those of dress and furniture. They spread by imitation. In every case of joint occupation certain habits may possibly be imitated. This is the case especially when the cultured class are lords of the country.

5. *Origin of the European Substantive Verb "to be," and of the First Personal Pronoun in m (viz., me, my, mine).*

Light is thrown by Chinese on the European substantive-verb "to be," and also on the pronoun *me, my, meus, mihi*. Their origin can be traced to Tartary, and ultimately to China, while Japan, Tibet, and Egypt may be appealed to in illustration of what seems to have been their early history. China has *pi*, "this," "he," as an old demonstrative. *Ma* in Chinese is "what," and *mu* is "a certain person." *Mut* in Chinese is "a thing," and is a general term apparently of demonstrative origin. Such were the materials from which the Tartars formed their substantive-verb and first personal pronoun, that is to say, *buhu*, "to be;" *bolba*, "became;" *baiga*, "let it be;" *baiksan*, "having been;" *bi*, "I;" *manai*, "of me;" *mande*, "to me," and so on. They went on in Mongolian to make verbs by suffixing *boi* in the past, *moi* in the present; *alabai*, "he slew;" *bichimoi*, "I write." When this had been done, their neighbours the Aryans, nomads like themselves, in some part of the vast grassy plains of Russia, Tartary, or Siberia—we know not precisely where—adopted the same modes of verb-making, and the pronoun for "I" and "me." It is worth noting, while we trace this prehistoric history, that in Japanese *mi* is "self" or "body," and of course the reason why body and self are one word is because the speaker's hand pointing to himself suggests both. This is an important link in the long process by which the words in question were formed. A clearly sounded demonstrative, when once made, is made for ever. The Chinese adopted other words for "self" and for "body," but the Japanese took with them to their island home this word, and have retained it. The Mongols have *beye* for "self," and *mahabod* for "bodily elements." *Maha* is "flesh," and *bod* is our root. For "self" they say *uberon*, the Latin *ipse*, and in this case *r* takes the place of *s*, and this shows us that this Latin pronoun is in fact one with our own words *body, be, being, been*, while *me, meus, mei, mea*, are of the same kindred. Our etymology ought, then, to be extended to the Tartar languages and to the Chinese, for unless we do this, we can neither see clearly the family connection of many words nor trace their origin with correctness.

The Mongol *beye*, now heard *biyi*, "self," we can see in the last syllable of *egomet*. The vowel *e* is vouched for by the written Mongol word and the initial *m* by the Japanese. As to *t* in *egomet*, it is to be explained in this way. The *y* in Mongol stands for *d*, and this *d* occurs in *mahabod*, a favourite Buddhist word for fleshly

elements. The Buddhist lamas, when they are not telling stories to edify one another, talk Hindoo metaphysics, and they make much of this word, not thinking that they are by so doing helping the philologists of Europe to understand Latin etymology more thoroughly. At any rate, to explain *egomet* we have our Tartar word reduced to *mid*. Also here, in order to show how useful Japanese may become in European etymology, I shall mention *mizukara*, the common term for I, used by ladies of rank in Japan, who, of course, would not think of employing the same term that would suit a servant or even a shopkeeper. Every one must know his place in Japan and must use honorific words accurately, or he will give offence. *Kara* or *karada* is "body," the same with our *caro*, *carnis*. *Mizu* is *mid*, because *dz* in Japanese represents *d*. Thus Japan supports Mongolia in illustrating the demonstrative origin of *met* in *egomet*.

After the Japanese race had left the continent, the Turks, Tungus, and Mongols proceeded to extend the use of this root, and adapted for greater convenience the pronoun now in question declined with cases. Thus *mande*, "to me," *manasa*, "from me," with others, are heard in modern Mongol. They also made moods and tenses partly with the verb *to be*, and partly with other useful auxiliaries. They added syllables, or single letters, or dissyllables as it suited them best to do. They had not examples of inflection before them, and therefore they did not, like the Tibetans, inflect by changing the vowel unless in declining the participle. We call the addition of a single letter *n* an inflection, as we may do. When, then, we estimate the situation carefully, and consider that a declension with case suffixes agreeing exists in Tartary as in ancient Europe with a genitive, dative, accusative, instrumental, vocative, and substitutionary form of suffix, all in use; and when we also remember the Tartar gerund and supine and a preterite in *bai*, so suggestive of Latin grammar, we come to the conclusion that the Tartar grammar is wonderfully fitted to become the immediate source from which a large part of the Aryan forms might be imitated. A common nomad life, with commercial, political, and social bonds of connection, accounts rationally for this result.

6. Origin of Inflection.

Light is thrown by the Chinese, when compared with Tartar speech, on the origin of inflection. From the actual condition of the verb-tree in Tartar speech it is perfectly certain that inflection may occur in agglutinating languages. There is no essential barrier

impossible to be crossed between agglutinating and inflected languages. An inflection may grow out of an annexed syllable, or it may originate in a change of vowel, or in a prefix. In Mongol, "setting out to walk" is *yabajū*; but *j* is formed from *d*, and this word is then *yabadu*. *Yabad* is still heard among the people as one of the gerunds. What I contend for is, that in Tartary *d* being a gerund ending, capable of taking a past sense and competent to become a tense in the indicative if required, the origin of *loved* and *geliebt*, from *love* and *lieben*, is capable of explanation from Tartar sources. The participle *loved* is the parent of the past tense, which is also *loved*. We reduce it from a verb to a substantive ending, and then we recognise in it a demonstrative. English grammar would be better understood if the element of Asiatic philology were introduced into it. The reason why past tenses originate in a gerund is that it is difficult to make a past tense. To impart the idea of past time there is need of an adverb. With an adverb you can transfuse into a verb the past idea, but it could not be done in any other way till the Tartars made gerunds and participles. Each of these may be employed as ready-made material for any new indicative tense that may be required as preterite, imperfect, or aorist. For future tenses we also learn that we must rest on the imperative, and on any convenient agglutinating particles which may have become possessed of the sense of *shall* or *will*, or some amount of probability. The grammar of Mongol and Japanese shows that these distinctions in the origin of tenses really exist, and that such tenses as are used in these languages were gradually made in the way now described. Grammar is too often taught now as a schedule of forms to be committed to memory. There is no real need for this. The formation of the tenses and moods and the cases of nouns may be very well explained. Agglutination comes first, as it exists in Chinese; then we have the Tartar children surrounding the Chinese mother. A grammar of agglutinated forms is constructed by each of these children. Gradually inflection appears. After this grew up the Indo-European languages with inflection on a wider scale, but not by any means neglecting agglutination as a principle. Now it stands to reason that to explain the growth of grammar we must study it in the older types from which the primeval freshness and dew of archaic ages are not yet faded and dissolved. Then we shall assist the student to perceive that inflection is an auxiliary principle springing up to aid in expanding grammar, but never disjoined from the agglutinated forms which were before it in time, and from amidst which inflection sprang into life.

7. *The Old Words of all the Families.*

China has preserved the old roots of the Semitic, Aryan, and Tartar languages in a specially complete form. An agricultural race by preference, they have always been attached to the soil. This imparts a character of permanency, not only to their politics and social régime, but also to their language. This gives an advantage in explaining the origin of words. *Homo*, "man," the Mongol *kumun*, "man," is in Chinese *hiung*, *giung*, "brave," "masculine."

'Αῤῥην, "male," Mongol *er*, Manchu *eche*, male, i.e., *ete*, Jap. *otoko*, "male," Mon. *ajiraga*, the male of several animals. Welsh *gurrur*, "male," *gur*, "man. Origin in a staff or cudgel.

Witchcraft is of Tartar origin. *Witega*, "witch;" Iceland. *vitki*; Jap. *idzuna*; Heb. *yidgoni*. The word is used for a magician who casts out evil spirits, brings rain at will, and generally controls the weather. The Mongol *jada* (= ζεῖτ) means weather, and *jadachi* a weather-prophet able to bring on storms by wizard power. This is expressed by the words *jada bariho*, "hold the weather in control." This shows that weather, wizard, and witch are one word. The *j* in Mongol indicates that an initial *d* is lost from our word weather. The Latin *vates* is the same word. This is the source of the magic of North Europe. The Greek magic with poisons, caldrons, and fire is quite different, and is rather of Egyptian origin, where chemical transformations by use of the caldron were studied. In Chinese and in Greek the same root has become the physician *i*, and *ιατρος*. This is the case because in ancient times the source of disease was believed to be possession by evil spirits, and it was the office of the physician to cast them out. The word *Arzt* in German can be accounted for by reducing it to the root *dat* and identifying it with these words. In dim antiquity Goth and Teuton would be very likely to have the same idea of casting out evil spirits to save from sickness which the Tartars and the Chinese had. The old Russian word for witch is *volh* and *volshėbnich*.

8. *Improved Mode of Teaching Grammar.*

The admission of Chinese and its sister languages into the fold of European philology will pave the way for desirable improvements in the mode of teaching grammar. In the verb the imperative ought to stand first. The verb becomes a substantive and the infinitive and gerund are formed. Then the participle and past

indicative make their appearance, and the verb sense, which had been lost, is recovered. The Tartar languages show how the past tense is formed from the gerund. The future should be taught as a transformed imperative or infinitive. The pupil ought to be told that *loved* as a past tense is formed from *loved* as a gerund. The process is seen more clearly in the Tartar languages, because they were formed directly from the monosyllabic type.

9. *Origin of Races.*

Lastly, if the preceding classes of facts be well considered, the brachycephalic type of head, which is that of all the races of Eastern Asia, will assume its rightful place. This shape of the head is conjoined uniformly with yellow skin, black eyes, and black thick hair. The languages being older in that part of the continent, the type of man existing there is the oldest known type. The dolichocephalic is more recent than the head with a short index. But while the Chinese race is so old, it comes from the West, as its early history shows. Mankind originated in Western rather than Eastern Asia, but the type of primeval man is found in Eastern Asia now. The languages are one and the races one. The black and the white are modifications of the yellow, and there need not at first have been more than one human pair.

VII.

THE ACCADIAN AFFINITIES OF CHINESE.

By C. J. BALL, M.A., M.R.A.S.

“Les mœurs, les arts, les sciences et la religion des Chinois se rapportent très-bien aux mœurs, aux arts, aux sciences, à la religion des Babyloniens.”

FÉNÉLON, *Dialogues des Morts : Socrate et Confucius.*

ACCADIAN is the oldest of known languages. Five thousand years before our era it already possessed a system of writing, which the earliest existing documents prove to have been of pictorial origin. The little inscription of Sargon I., dating from about 3800 B.C., is engraved in that old linear character, which is already much modified from the primary hieroglyphs, though not to the extent of obscuring all resemblance. The language, however, of this and other documents of the same king and of Naram-Sin, who belongs to that period, is Semitic Assyrian, not Accadian. The earliest Accadian inscriptions, whose date can be fixed with some approach to certainty, are considerably later than the times of Naram-Sin and Sargon. The most important are those of Gudea, discovered at Tell-Loh by de Sarzec. The probable date of that sovereign is circ. 2800 B.C.; a date which curiously coincides with that of Fuh-hi, one of the traditional founders of Chinese civilisation, and reputed inventor of the arts of writing, numbers, and divination (2852 B.C.). A glance at these venerable monuments at once reveals the fact that the writing out of which the cuneiform characters of Babylon, Assyria, and other countries were developed, was originally disposed in vertical columns exactly like the writing of China; and that the symbols, which have been laid down on their sides in the derived script, must be raised again from left to right, if we would gain a just conception of their original form and pictorial significance. There are naturally no exceptions to this rule, upon which it is the

more necessary to insist, as in the splendid edition of these inscriptions,¹ the old linear forms are unfortunately laid down upon their sides, like ordinary cuneiform characters, in spite of the dumb protest of the statues of Gudea and numerous old Babylonian seals.

The purpose of this paper is to show that the progress of special inquiry must, if regard be had to facts and not to preconceptions, in the long run, convince the learned world of the truth of the theory that the Chinese writing had a western origin, and that the Chinese language is the nearest living representative of the ancient Accadian. Already in 1871 Edkins² could assert the probable consanguinity of the early Chinese with the "Cushites" of Babylonia, and could state that "many ancient customs point to a connexion once existing between Western Asia and China." That scholar, in fact, assumed, on the ground of resemblance in the principal elements of civilisation, and altogether independently of the special considerations which will be submitted in this paper, that the primitive Chinese were immigrants from the plain of the Euphrates, who entered their present country some five thousand years ago.

The suggestion of a possible relation between the Chinese and Babylonian systems of writing appears to have been made by such scholars as Lenormant and Lagarde, not to mention Pauthier and others; while since 1880 M. de Lacouperie has correctly identified a few of the characters. When one remembers how the Phœnician alphabet, which is not specially well adapted to the needs of Aryan languages, has gone the round of the civilized world, and how the writing of Mongolia and Tibet is a direct loan from the Syrian form of that alphabet, it does not seem a very violent supposition that the two or three leading systems of ancient hieroglyphic writing were connected at their source, however divergent they may have become in the course of their subsequent history. It is a supposition which is strongly confirmed by the geographical contiguity of Babylonia, Syria and Egypt, and by the fact of their immemorial intercourse with each other, which the recent discovery of the Tell al-Amarna tablets has set in so vivid a light.

In my papers on *The New Accadian* and *Ideograms common to Accadian and Chinese*, which appeared in the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology,³ I attempted to show that not only

¹ *Découvertes en Chaldée*, par E. de Sarzec, Paris, 1891.

² *China's Place in Philology*.

³ P.S.B.A., November, 1889, and in subsequent numbers.

is the Chinese writing directly related to the old Babylonian, but that the vocabularies of Accadian and Chinese are substantially identical. I have further noted that the regular phenomena of the principal Chinese dialects are parallel to those transitions and substitutions of sound in Accadian, which have stirred so much doubt in the minds of some prominent Assyrian scholars; and I have shown that certain simple changes, such as might be expected to occur in the course of thousands of years, will usually account for the existing form of a Chinese vocable. The main features of Chinese grammar also are similar to those of the oldest Accadian grammar; a fact of which I hope to exhibit some evidence in the sequel of this paper.

Perhaps the first thing that strikes one on a comparison of the two languages is the unusual number of common words. A few coincidences of sound would, of course, prove little or nothing, because such may be found in almost any pair of languages. The old Chinese *kot*, *kut*, is strangely like not only the Accadian *kud*, but also the English *cut*. But while we may leave such correspondences, in cases where they are few and far between, to the diviners of the one primeval speech, we can hardly do that in cases where the majority of words in both languages can be shown to be cognate or even identical. Number eliminates chance.

Again, no argument for near kindred or identity can be based solely upon Accadian terms like *aba*, *ama*, as compared with the old Chinese *pa*, *ma*, "father," "mother"; because such sounds may be paralleled from a multitude of tongues of every class and kind. The case, however, is different with such similarities as exist between the Accadian *sag* (*shag*), *zag*, "head," and the Chinese *sheu*, *sù*; between Acc. *shem*, *shab* (= *sham*), *shag*, *sha*, "heart," and Ch. *sām*, *sang*; between Acc. *shu*, "hand," and Ch. *sheu*, *shu*. Not much reflection is necessary to see that there must be a real connection between these common words, and that a fortuitous likeness of this kind is an improbable contingency. These coincidences, however, amount to hundreds, and practically exhaust the available vocabulary of Accadian. I do not forget that even in one and the same language phonetic decay or the processes of word-building may produce many instances of terms exactly alike in sound and spelling but quite different in origin and meaning. If I say that the *Mosaic* Law is a literary *mosaic*, I use two similar terms which have no relation to each other but an accidental agreement of this kind. *Moses* and *musa* are terms altogether unrelated. He would be a

bold man who should say the same of the following concordances of sound and sense between Accadian and Chinese. (Old Chinese sounds are starred.)

ACCADIAN.	CHINESE.
bad, body, skin	*bat, p'i
sun, su ,, ,,	shen, sín
sag, sanga } head	sheu, sù
zag, zang }	sang (forehead)
umun, face	mín, mien
su, beard (from sud, sug)	sü, *sut
igi(n) }	yen, ngan, ngè"
en (from gan) }	k'eu, kù
ka, mouth	*top (P. 314) (P. 238) ¹
mush-tub }	*ngit, *ngi, i; Amoy hi (from ki, gi)
gish, ge }	er
buru (= vur) }	*shep (R. 128)
shi(b), shu(b), ear	king, hiang, *gun (P. 827) *gu, heu
gun, gu, neck, throat	*pak, fok, fu; Jap. hara (from para)
bar, flesh, belly	tu
tu, belly	chek, tsek, tseh (*tek, *dzak)
tig, zag, side	*bak, pok, poh
bar, back	sheu, shu
shu, hands	*dok, *dak (P. 15), *dot, *dat
da(d), hand	t'ui, *t'ok, thigh, leg (*t'ut)
dug, dub }	tsuk, tsuh, leg, foot
zib }	kéuk, kièk, kioh, foot; firm
gir, foot; firm	*nuk, nièk, zhièk, zheu
nu(g), uzu(g), flesh	*git, hít; also
(g)ush (=gut, gud) }	sut, sü (P. 281)
gitu, sa(t) }	mít, mieh
mud }	*lung *git
lu-gud (lug + gud), clear blood	*dam, tan, red
a-dama, dark blood	

The mere presentation of these equivalents must surely convince any philologist, however unfamiliar he may be with either language, that there is a relation, and a very close one, between Accadian and Chinese.

THE ART OF WRITING.

Let us glance for a moment at another set of terms, expressing a very different class of things from those which we have just reviewed. The art of writing and associated ideas might be expected to be

¹ The references are to the "Phonetics" in EDKINS' *Introduction to the Study of the Chinese Characters* (London, 1876).

expressed by clearly related sounds, if that art was carried from Babylonia to China some three thousand years before our era. How then stands the matter? In Accadian *SHU* is "the art of writing," "the writer's craft" (*dupšarrūtu*), and "to practise that art," "to handle the pen of the writer" (*dupšarrūtu aḫāzu*). In Chinese we find the homophone *shu*, writings, to write, writer. Further, in Accadian *SAR* is to write, answering to the Chinese **sak*, **sik*, *sé*, *sié*. The transition, moreover, from *sar* to *sag*, *sak*, was not in this instance left for the Chinese to effect. It is seen already in *dubbi-sag*, tablet-writer, scribe (*dupšarru*). * *Dubbi-sag*, 𒌦𒍪, was a title of Nebo, the god who engrossed the decrees of heaven. *Dub*, *dubba*, *dubbi*, was the tablet on which people wrote; a term preserved in 牒 *típ*, tablets, 帖 *t'íp*, *t'iap*, written scrolls. The Accadian character *dub* was also read *diḡ*, and the primitive sounds were probably *dab*, *dag*; cp. the Chinese 札 **tap*, chat (for chap). 答 **tap*, chap, wooden tablets, documents (= the Semitic loan-word 𐤔𐤓 *daph*, board, page), and 𐤔𐤕 **t'ak*, *ch'ak*, *ch'ék*, *ts'ak*, tablets, to record.

But the god Nebo was also styled *dim-sar*, in much the same sense as *dubbi-sag*. It is needless to point out to those who are conversant with the ordinary changes of language that *dim* is only a double of *dub*. We see the same slight phonetic change in the Chinese 帖 *t'íp*, *chiam*, and other dialectical variants. This Acc. *dim* answers to Ch. 典 *tín* (P. 500), written books (Shu V. xiv. 19), written statutes, ordinances, documents; and the Acc. compound *dim-sar* has a modern parallel in 典史 *tín-sī*, *tien-shi*. Another Accadian compound *dim-men*, records, or memorial cylinders, such as were usually buried in the foundations of temples and palaces, appears to combine the same term *dim* with *men*, which properly denotes marks, ornaments, badges, symbols, and the like, and survives in the Chinese 文 *men*, *wen*, ornamental marks, characters. Chinese compounds like *men-típ*, despatches, *men-chéung*, essays, are analogous to the old Accadian *dim-men*.

It remains to note that the pen of the writer is in Accadian 𒌦 *ḡad*, *ḡud*, *muwat* or *mwat* (*mu-u-a-ti*); in Chinese 聿 *wät*, *yü-t* (CHALMERS, *Structure of Chinese Characters*, 1e). As a phonetic, this character has the values *ut* (= Acc. *ḡud*), *lut*, *dut*; and the Amoy pronunciation is *lut*. Now the Accadian 𒌦 was also read *lu(d)*; and a further correspondence is seen between 𒌦 𐤔𐤓

me, cp. also 迷 mi, to bewitch. Thus the Accadian roots bar, mu, me, tu, shib, all relating to the practice of divination and sorcery, are seen to survive in the Chinese dialects at this day.

To these may be added 筮 shi, from older shik (Edkins), to divine with millefoil (shik=ship); and the terms for lucky and unlucky in both languages. The Chinese 祥 siang, luck, good omen, may be compared with Acc. 𒌦 zi(g), zi(d), right, fortunate; just as siang, elephant, image, figure, may be compared with Acc. (ama) sig, elephant, and sig, figure, image. The second root in Acc. zag-shu, fate, destiny, appears to survive in Ch. shu, fate; as nam, fortune, especially misfortune, survives in nan, adversity (in both languages written with the symbol *bird*). The Acc. 𒍪 urun, urin, shis (= shin), means brother, and bad, hostile, harmful, unlucky; cp. 𒍪 erim, bad, enemy. The roots rin, rim, run, which in Accadian might be secondary forms of gin, gun (cp. 𒍪 gag, du, ru; 𒍪 gush, rush; 𒍪 gash, rash), suggest a relation to the old Chinese kong, gong, or king, ging, brother, and bad, malignant, unlucky, now pronounced hyung (hiüng). The characters as well as the sounds and meanings agree; for 兄, brother, and 兇, malignant, with its abridged form 𠂇, unlucky, sufficiently resemble the antique form of the Accadian 𒍪. The Chinese have modified this single symbol for two contradictory ideas, by treating the upper part as 口 *mouth*, in the case of brother, and 凵 *pit*, in the case of *enemy*; the vertical line in both cases being regarded as 乚 *man* (𒍪 is *man*). A further difference has been made by inserting 乚 in 兇; a figure which curiously resembles the Accadian 𒍪 KUR, brother, enemy (cp. 舅 *kuk, kiu, brothers, of a mother or wife; 咎 *kuk, kiu, evil, unfavourable).

The very common Accadian term ġul (from ġun?), bad, malignant, to harm, appears to supply a g-form of the root run, rin (cp. also gin, ga-n, to confront, oppose). It is written 𒍪, *eye + dog*, and so exactly answers to the Ch. 臭 *kuk, *guk, kiu, hui, to injure; cp. 臭 *tuk, ch'eu, ill odour.

Lastly, the Accadian 𒍪 inim, enem, inu, word, speech, spoken formula, incantation (the symbol is *the mouth*), and the synonymous 𒍪 en (from gan?), correspond to the Chinese 言 ín, gien, yíⁿ, yen, word, speech, 諱 nam, nan, to mutter, perform

incantations, 喃 nam, nan, to gabble; ep. also 念 nim, nien, to repeat, to chant.

AGRICULTURE.

Here are some words relating to the important art of tillage.

ACCADIAN.

CHINESE.

e-din, field
 lu, dab, dib, land
 i-dim, well, spring
 " " " "
 kur, ku, canal
 gan, garden
 mu, gish, gid, tree, stalk, trunk
 sar } greens
 sig }
 sham (=shang, shag), herbs
 sum, sun, garlic
 gul }
 u-kush } gourds
 kul }
 zir } grain, seed, cereals
 esh-shu, ear of corn
 anu (enu) ear of corn
 she (sheg, shed)
 shug, shud) } grain, corn, etc.
 zi, zid }
 ma, mu, ba }
 an-she-nag (or rag) } wheat
 an-she-tir, millet ?

*din, tien
 *lut, lü ; *dab, ti (earth)
 *din, *dzin, ch'üen, ts'üen ;
 *dim, tsing
 *kuk, keu
 *gon, yuen
 muk, mu ; ngit, yeh
 *tsak, ts'ai (zag, sag)
 sung
 *tsak, ts'au
 sün, swan
 *kuk, *kut, kwa
 kuk, kuh ; *gak, hwo
 *tsok, tsz'
 *suk, sui ; suk, suh
 ying, éng, head or awn of grain
 suk, suh, grain ; *zhut, shu, millet
 tsi, paniced millet
 shut, tsut, zeh, millet
 *mak, Jap. mugi, baku
 *lak, lai
 *tit, ch'e


Morrison has observed that the precise application of each of the names of the "Five grains" (kuk, kuh) is uncertain. A similar remark would be even truer of the Accadian names. As regards the Chinese terms, it is probable that the same sounds denoted different species in different times and places. But the fact does not affect the significance of the general agreement between the two languages exhibited in our list. It is quite certain that grains of various kinds are called in Chinese kuk, shut, tsut, zeh, shuk, shu, suk, su, and that they were called kul, shug, sheg, she, zid, zi, in Accadian (where z may be ž, zh).

The Chinese have always prepared spirituous drinks from millet and other grains. The Accadian terms gash, gak-kul, kul-lum (and si-rash? ep. the Assyrian *sirashū*, which looks like a loan-word),


denote strong drinks, and are obviously related to the words for grain. Cp. Acc. kul, shuk-kul, seed, grain.

The characters materially strengthen our theory of relation. The radical 禾, grain, which has the phonetic values gak, shuk, suk, zhut, tok, and lik (P. 167; cp. P. 148), is derived from 木 *tree*, by the Chinese literati. This symbol appears in 黍 shu, glutinous millet (R. 202), in 虬 zhut, shu, millet (P. 148), in 秫 shut, zeh, glutinous millet, in 𥽿 suk, sui, ripe grain, 穗 suk, sui, ear of corn, in 秀 suk, sui (P. 343), grain in seed, and other terms. The resemblance to 木 older





muk, tree, is explained by the resemblance of the Accadian  she, shug, shed (from shug, shud), grain, to mu, tree. These Accadian signs were first simplified by omission, and then confused with each other.



Another even more striking point of contact between the two systems of writing is observable in the fact that in Accadian 𐎶, anciently , was the character both for dingir, god, and anu, esh-shu, ear of corn; and that this very symbol reappears in Chinese with similar meanings. The character 帝 was originally a star, like the Accadian symbol (so Lacouperie); cp. the old forms in Morrison and the *Luh-shu-tung*, e.g. and see p. 700 *infra*. Moreover, the sound tik, ti, is ultimately the same as dingir, god, king (dingir=dingi=dig=tik). For esh-shu (=en-shu, an-shu?), we



may compare 粟 suk, suh, grain, which has the radical 米 mik, mi, denoting rice in the husk, but also millet and other grains: cp. 糴 tit, ch'i, sacrificial millet. The word mik is evidently akin to 麥 mek, bék, R. 199, which means bearded grain, wheat or barley, the Jap. mugi, baku; and mak, mek, bak, are clearly labialized by-forms of 禾 gak, grain, with which we may perhaps compare 𥽿 ma, mu (also sar), corn (*šē-im*; 5 R. 21, 7e). The character 來 lak, lai, wheat, which is the upper part of mek, resembles both mik and

tik in its old forms  and  . The Accadian groups (star + grain + nag, or rag?), read nir-ba and nida-ba (ba = Chinese bak), and 𐎶 𐎵 𐎶 𐎵 𐎶 𐎵 an-she-tir (star + grain + tir), with one or two others, have the ambiguous symbol of the star pre-

fixed. Prof. JENSEN thinks this was because these grains were supposed to be of divine origin, just as the Chinese allege that corn was called lak, lai, because it came (lai) down from heaven.

Both the ancient and the modern forms prove that the Chinese character for *rice* is identical with the old Accadian star-symbol for wheat, grain.

RESEMBLANCES OF THE WRITTEN CHARACTERS.

Both the Accadian and the Chinese characters—the latter naturally to a less extent, owing to centuries of modification and extension—are polyphonous. We have already seen this in the case of some of the Chinese phonetics or primitives.



If the script of each language were of independent origin, and presented no points of demonstrable relation, we might perhaps reasonably doubt the close kinship of Chinese and Accadian, even if we had ascertained that the two tongues possessed in common a considerable number of like-sounding words with identical meanings. But if we can specify many symbols common to both languages, and having the same or similar phonetic values, we may claim to have established a real connexion. The fact that 田 was read lu, dib, dab, in Accadian, and in Chinese lu, lu(t),¹ t'ap; that the picture of a *dog* indicates in Accadian the sounds lig, li, tash, among others, and in Chinese the sounds li (P. 462) and t'ot or t'at (P. 505), while the compound *eye* + *dog* is kuk in the one and g'ul in the other; that the Chinese symbol for blood 血 (P. 281) should have the phonetic values sut, sü, g'it, and the corresponding Accadian symbol








be called sa-gitu, combining the values sa(t) and git (cp. ʿush, blood; lu-gud; and mud); that the Accadian symbol for black should be read gig, mi(^d), and the corresponding Chinese character be read kek and mek (P. 862); such phenomena as these cannot surely be attributed to accidental coincidence.




Some of the elementary symbols common to the two languages are such, no doubt, as would naturally occur, and have occurred, to the inventors of independent systems of pictorial writing. The sun,

¹ Phonetic in 留 liu, P. 673; 累 lui, lei, *lut; 澤 t'ap. Williams remarks of 畝 lui, lei, fields, that "as a phonetic it is often contracted to one *field*" (田).

for instance, is always a circle; the leg or foot is a universal indication of going, walking, and related actions. Similar hieroglyphs of this kind, taken by themselves, only prove the uniformity of the mind and its impressions. But when it is observed that the Accadian sun-circle  ud, utu (from gud) was also read bar, tam, zal, lag, gis, and  that the Chinese equivalent ☉, 日 nyit, yăt (from nit = ngit), is the determining element in 白 pai, pak, 旦 tam, tan, 早 tsok, tsao, 曠 lang, 暨 kit, ki, 喝 nget, ít, yeh, we seem to have passed the limits of necessary agreement. The ambiguity of the original polyphonic symbol has been removed by additional signs of various kinds in the course of the evolution of Chinese writing; but the associated sounds are still essentially similar. The meanings also are much the same: bar and pak are white, bright; zal and tsok are morning; lag, lang, are bright (cp. also Acc. lug, lub, to shine, in the compounds su-lug, shu-lub, sus-lug; lag, lug, to purify; si-lag, bright; and the double sun in the sense of bright, light, which is the Chinese 昌 chang); gis, like the Chinese kit, ki, sun peeping out, was a name of the sun (the character is called gissu); and the sun-symbol in Accadian, as in the Chinese ngit, yeh, denoted hurtful heat or sunstroke (*kaššu*, *kuššu*).

An important ideogram involving the sun is 東 tung, sun-rising, east. The old forms show that the dictionaries are right in explaining the symbol as a compound of 木 tree + 日 sun. It is evident that this does not represent the ordinary Accadian ideogram for east, which is   (wind + mountains), im kur. Babylonia and Assyria are bounded by mountain ranges along the entire eastern horizon. The Chinese discarded the symbol, perhaps because the sea rather than mountainous country was their real eastern limit. Whatever the reason, in discarding the symbol they also discarded the word kur, east.¹ Is then their term and symbol 東 tung a new

¹ In like manner   , im sidi, the north (lit., the directing or favourable wind, so called because it carried vessels down the Euphrates), a name clearly due to local circumstances, is discarded, and 北 bak, pāk, poh, (strictly, back, behind; cp. 背) is adopted in place of it. This *bak* is the Accadian bar, back, a labialized form of gar (cp. egir, rear, behind), cognate with 𐎶 mer (ver), gir, 'north,' S^c 21. The Japanese kita = git = gis = gir; hoku = poku = bak, bar.

coinage of their own? I think not. We have to bear in mind that in Accadian, as in other languages, several synonymous expressions were possible for such an idea as the east. We actually find an expression ut-tu, the sun-rising (5 R. 30, 21e). This is probably a later pronunciation of ut-tum or ud-dun, ud-du, , denoting the coming forth or rising of the sun, and also the growing up of plants, just as the Chinese 東 tung is also used of the spring-time. The linear form of the Accadian ut-tu is  the sun above a plant growing up out of the ground. The Chinese adapters of the Accadian writing have simplified the plant into their own tree (*vid. sup.* p. 9), and omitted the bottom of the original figure, as in many other instances. 

THE FOOT.

(WALKING, STOPPING ; COMING, GOING ; BRINGING, CARRYING OFF.)





Let us now see how far the sounds associated with the symbol of the leg or foot agree in the two languages. In Chinese we find 𨔵 yen, yin, *din (and *gin ?), to journey ; 去 *k'up, k'ü, to go, depart ; 行 *ging, hing, to go, make to go (cp. 衍 *gin, yen, to overflow, P. 568) ;¹ 𨔵 *t'ik, chi, to walk, and its variant 𨔵 *t'uk ; 止 *tik, chi, to stop ; 走 *tuk (*zug ?), tseu, to go, walk ; 足 *zug, tsuh, foot ; 𨔵 *t'ok, choh, going on and stopping. A glance at these nine forms in their present shape reveals at once that they cannot all be original. The symbols 𨔵 and 𨔵 are secondary to 行, and the last three, which are often interchanged, appear to involve 止 as their lower element. Native authorities vary in their analysis of these characters ; a fact which indicates the lack of any certain or uniform tradition. The truth would appear to be that all these symbols are ultimately reducible to one or two primary forms, viz. the picture of the leg or foot and perhaps the knee (see EDKINS, *Introduction to the Study of the Chinese Characters* : R. 54, R. 60, R. 77, R. 156, R. 157, R. 162).




The old sounds according to EDKINS, writing (1876) without knowledge of Accadian, are din, k'op or k'up, gang (ging), t'ik, t'uk, tik, tuk, tok, t'ak. Of these k'up, tik, tuk, etc. imply an earlier gub, dig, dug ; while yin, tseu, tsuh, probably imply an

¹ Cp. also 徑 and 逕 king, path, to pass by.

earlier gin, zug, as well as din, dug. Thus the oldest attainable Chinese sounds expressive of walking and stopping, and symbolized by various modifications of the leg or foot, are—





gin, ging (=gim), gub, din, dig, dug, zug.

Can this be rationally regarded as independent of the facts that the Accadian polyphone , to walk and to stop, which in the oldest writing appears as  a figure of the foot and shank resting on the ground, had the sounds GIN, GUB, DUN, DU, TUM; that  DIM, also read GIM, means to walk (cp.  GIM;)

that the Accadian  leg, knee, linear originally  a round or oval figure, was read DUG, DUB, ZIB (from zug); and that  ZIG, the linear form of which (see p. 692)



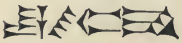

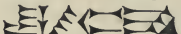
may be the real origin of the upper part of R. 156, denoted to come, approach? Allowing for the play of Chinese fancy, caprice and conjecture during many centuries of isolation, as well as for the necessities imposed by a change in the materials of writing, it is not very hard



to see in old forms like    ging, and  linear Acc- cially  symbols are ad-

mitted by Sinologists to have originally represented the leg and its parts. The evidence of connexion, however, is not yet exhausted. The Accadian foot-symbol meant to bring, lead, lead off, plunder, as well as to go and come and stop. From the idea of stopping or taking one's stand in a place, it also denoted to be fixed and to fix, establish. With gin, to establish, cp. 建 kin, kien, to establish, which with 足 prefixed is kin, kien, to walk (=gin, to walk). With tum, to walk, etc., cp. 延 *tim, ching, to walk, which agrees also with Accadian dim (, to walk; and 遷 ts'ien, ch'ien, to remove, both trans. and intrans. Another value of the foot-symbol ( or  i.e. doubled ) was LAĞ (with phonetic complement lagga, laggi). It is explained, to go, stop, establish, settle, plunder, bring, go down; being, in short, a synonym of gin, dun, and the other sounds of the same symbol. This agrees perfectly with 路 *lok, lu, road, to travel, 踳 luk, luh, to move, go up or down, walk, 踳 lik, lih (=luk), a step, to move, go, 掠 *liak, léuk, lioh, to plunder, make a raid (with radical *hand* for *foot*), and





with many other words. But enough has surely been said to establish our point. I will only add that the Chinese 劫 *kíp*, to plunder, indicates that the Accadian GUB must originally have shared this meaning also with LAĜ; and that 𐎶 SHID, path, is homophonous with 術 *shut, sut, zeh*, path.

THE ANIMAL'S FOOT.


The Accadian symbol  *gush, rush*, involves a modified form of another symbol for *foot*. In the old writing  *gir*, mer, ne (=nir), foot, hoof, was (Z. A., iii. 210). Now this or rush, was combined with the  *alam*, a-lan ling, lin, like, to imitate), to  thus forming a synonym of 











sig (a)lan (where sig = image, statue, the Chinese *siang*). Corresponding to the group   (*man + gush*) we have in Chinese 偶 *ngut, ngeu, ngü, image, statue. The symbol 禺 *ngut, yü, apes, is said to be composed of 𠂔 *yau*, *zhau* (old nut = nyut = ngut),¹ foot, footprint, especially of a beast, and 田, demon's head or demon; an allusion to the satyr-conception of these creatures, or perhaps to their imitative nature. But probably the "demon's head" is in this case only a modification of the head of the Accadian symbol *gush*. At all events, the idea of *footprint* seems to be the essence of both the Accadian and the Chinese ideograms for image. A footprint is a *likeness* of the foot that makes it. Hence in both languages *gush* (= *gut*) = ngut, ngeu, denotes first likeness, image, and then the material object, the statue, exhibiting it. The modern Chinese compound *ngau-siang*, an idol, combines the two Accadian terms for image, *gush* and sig.²


¹ See CHALMERS, *Characters*, no. 144, who observes that there are "traces of a final *t* in this term."

² 同 "t'ung, like=siang, like," says EDKINS. T'ung is the Accadian  *tuma*, or *duma*, like, in linear writing ; cp. also  *dim*, like. Dim or dum is to sig (= zig) as t'ung  is to siang (*zung*).


REED, GOLD, SHEEP, RIGHTEOUSNESS, SOUTH.


Another important character in both languages is the reed. The Accadian  gin (Assyrian *kanû*) has a number of meanings, many of which can be traced back to the original sense of reed, while others are seemingly mere homophones written phonetically with this character. The leaves at the bottom are omitted in the Chinese 干 *kan*, which means reed (竿 *kan*, bamboo stalk), and then stem, stick, rod, pole, of any kind, just like the Accadian gin (from *gan*?). In the Shi and Shu 干 *kan* is a shield, doubtless because shields were anciently made of wicker-work. In Shi I. iv. IX. 1-3 it is a flagstaff (see LEGGE's ed.). The reed may have got its name from *gam*, *gan*, to bend. But whatever the original idea, we find both the symbol and the sound recurring in parallel Accadian and Chinese series of terms,



after a very remarkable fashion. The Accadian for gold is          

symbol  zig, linear reed-symbol; and the was doubtless crossed, as in Chinese. Now *enclosure*, particular









fold in which themselves by  instance is



sheep, where the symbol is a divided  does duty for the idea of enclosed











other is the Ch. 牢 *lu*, *lau* (*shed* + *ox*), ox-stall, domestic animals, which is analogous to the Accadian  *im-ga-nam*, ewe (*im-sure* + *ox*). The composition of this ideogram suggests that  *gu*, *gud*, like *lu*, probably meant domestic animals, both sheep (including goats) and oxen. Hence perhaps the planets were called (*lu-bad*) *gud*, *gud* being, in fact, a by-form of *gug*. Cp. 牯 *ku(k)*, bull; 犴 *ku(k)*, or *ku(t)*, sheep. The character 告 *kuk* is both enclosure and animals (*Shu*), and closely resembles the Accadian *gug*.




is obviously a modification of the linear form of the entire ideogram the doubled symbol being similar cases both Accadian and this ideogram—*reed* + *reed* + that is, enclosure of reeds (of a kind)—obviously pictures the corral or fold in which the flock was kept, and denotes the animals a natural transfer. An exactly similar  *udu*, *idib*, *lu*, *lamb*, enclosure (which also land, fields). Another is the Ch. 牢 *lu*, *lau* (*shed* + *ox*), ox-stall, domestic animals, which is analogous to the Accadian  *im-ga-nam*, ewe (*im-sure* + *ox*). The composition of this ideogram suggests that  *gu*, *gud*, like *lu*, probably meant domestic animals, both sheep (including goats) and oxen. Hence perhaps the planets were called (*lu-bad*) *gud*, *gud* being, in fact, a by-form of *gug*. Cp. 牯 *ku(k)*, bull; 犴 *ku(k)*, or *ku(t)*, sheep. The character 告 *kuk* is both enclosure and animals (*Shu*), and closely resembles the Accadian *gug*.




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

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A similar use of the container to suggest the contained is seen in the Accadian and Chinese characters for strong drink. The symbol , linear  a goblet or wine-cup, was read *bi(d)*, *gash*, and probably also *gag*, *gak* (cp. *gakkul*) and *rash*, *rag* (cp. Assyrian value *ras*); and is equivalent both in form and significance to the Chinese 酉,  **yuk*, *yu*, **duk*, spirits. Cp. also , i.e.  + , *goblet* + *water*, read *dug*, wine-cup (also *lud*, *lutu*),  with 酒 **duk*, **zuk*, *chiu*, *tsiu*, spirits, which is likewise composed of the symbols for *water* and *goblet*: old forms  and  With  *bi(d)*, we may compare 酩 **bit*, *p'ei*, unstrained spirits.

But now *revenons à nos moutons*. In Chinese, the complex Accadian ideogram of the sheep-fold is reduced to the single reed, very slightly modified so as to suggest a sheep or goat's horned head. Among the old forms of 羊 **yung*, **zung*, *yang*,

siang, sheep and goats, will be found variants, which should be compared
 kan, reed, and the old character 𠂔, bleating.

   and other with 干, racter 𠂔





As to the sounds, yéung, séung, *yung, *zung, answer well enough to the Acc. gug (=gung), and zig () sheep; while (棉 羊) mín yéung, a sheep, may be compared with (u)mun. Nam, nim () sheep, are also cognate with gung, zing, and with i-dib (=i-dim), lamb or sheep. With u-du, lamb, ep. 𠂔 *du, t'u, chu, lamb; with guk-kal, 𠂔 *kak, kau, lamb; yang-kau, kid; yang-ku, ram.¹



The character 羊 yang, siang, sheep, is an element in the ideogram 義 i, gi, Jap. gi, righteous, righteousness. If the preceding deriva-





¹ A short list of animals may be added here:—

ACCADIAN.		CHINESE.
lu, sheep and oxen		lu, lau
gu, gud (ngud)	} bull, ox	ngau, gu
na, sha		niu
gug (gung)	} sheep, lamb	yéung, yang
u-mun		kuk, kut
zig (zing)		mín, mien
guk-kal		séung, siang
u-du		*kak, kau
i-dib		*du, t'u, chu
shaḡ, ṣig	} pig	shi, *shok, *shik
dam, dim		t'un, dǎng, *dom
e-lum	} stag	ling
e-lim		
dara, antelope, deer		luk, luh
am-sig, elephant		siang
ṣir (zir)	} serpent	shé, dzò
ṣir maḡ		mang, mang-shé
u-shu (<i>written</i> mug-mug)		man, min
mush		*mung
nim, tam, insects		*dom, t'iong, ch'ung
bar, leopard; spotted felinae		*pok, pau
num(ma), wolf		*lung, lang






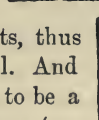



Accadian dumu-zi, pig, Tammuz (the Swine-god), is a compound (dum=dam; zi=zig, ṣig, ṣir). It survives in the Turkish domuz, pig. The dialectic ḡumu-ṣir reappears in the Semitic loan-words chumṣiru, chinṣir, chazir.

tion of 羊 be correct, we ought to be able to explain this ideogram better than by the Chinese theory that it strictly means "my sheep." We have seen that 羊 has become confused with 干 kan, reed, which is only an abridged form of the Accadian  gin, gi, reed. Now it happens to be the case that this very symbol for righteous, righteousness (Assyrian *kēnu*, *kēttu*); and that the modified form of the reed,  zig, zid, from which the Accadian symbol for sheep gug, umun) really springs, also means right- eous, righteousness, ( *kēnu*, *kēttu*). Moreover, as was noticed above, there was a homophone of zig,  zig.

From all this it would seem probable, either that 我 *nga, ngo, I, was not the original phonetic in 義 gi, righteousness; or else that 我 was also read ngin, ngi, like the Accadian gin, I, when this character was formed. The *ku wen*  (gi, righteousness) favours the former alternative: cp. also the *cheu wen* 







The transition from the linear to the modern forms of the cuneiform writing was not effected without considerable ultimate confusion of characters originally distinct. We need not, therefore, be surprised to meet with analogous phenomena in Chinese. The character 南 nam, nan, south, appears to contain a modified form of 干 kan, reed, viz. 羊 yām, jän, as a phonetic (CHALMERS, *Characters*, No. 89). The old forms of nan in *Luh-shu-tung*, such as , all exhibit the reed 干 in combination, and mostly with  *ch'it*, sprout, on the top of the figure, to suggest the summer growth of vegetation.  







Now if the Accadian symbol for south is the real prototype of these forms, we ought to find in the original ideogram some trace of the reed, or at least of some element which might easily be confused with the reed. The usual Accadian names of the four points of the





compass have the determinative prefix , linear wind. The south wind, or south, is called  im-gal. The second sign here is a modified form¹ of  gal (from gan; cp. gan, enclosure, gun, *unu, dwelling-place), the linear  the common ideogram of place, city. And the  Chinese ideogram for south appears to have  arisen out of a combination of the two Accadian elements, thus  or thus  the figure being gal = gan, we may suppose nan to be a softer pronunciation of the original term (cp.  hai ni = gi, righteousness, and many similar Chinese equivalences).

It is evident that in the Accadian symbol for wind, point of the compass, we have the original suggestion of the seeming reed in the Chinese symbol for south.

LETTERS, LEARNING, DEMON, FEAR, BELLY, FIELDS.

Consider another Accadian symbol and the related or apparently related forms. The character  dim-men meant the *inscribed documents* buried in the foundations of public buildings. Its oldest linear forms are  of the Chinese  It is evidently the original  older characters,   men, wen, written compositions (P.S.B.A., April, 1891).

In Accadian, this symbol, which perhaps pictorially represented the stone coffer containing the inscriptions, recurs in the ideogram , linear  kar, which denoted, among other things, instruction,  learning, as it occurs in the compound  kar-zu-zu, which is explained in Assyrian by  *talmedu* (from  *lamādu*, to learn, to teach; zu also is



* For the omission of the special addition, when another character is to be combined with an ideogram, cp.  with  (=  + ).

Accadian for *lamādu*, and for *idu*, to know). The character *kar* corresponds, therefore, to 學 *kak*, *hok*, *hioh*, to learn, instruction, which appears to contain the radical 文 *men* in its upper part (see the old forms, MORRISON, *Dict.* II. ii. p. 80): cp. the contracted character 孖. As to the 子 *child*, it is at least a coincidence that the Accadian 𐎶, the second element in *kar*, has that meaning also.

The word 教 *kak*, *kau*, *kiau*, once contained the same element 文 *men*. (See CHALMERS, p. 30.)






In the following instance the original form of the symbol under consideration has been so modified in the Chinese as to suggest another idea, but yet not so as to conceal its identity from those who, in a knowledge of the old forms of the Accadian characters, possess a clue to the explanation of the derived Chinese characters.








The Chinese 鬼 *kut*, *kü*, *kwei*, and (as a phonetic) also *wei*, ghost, manes, demon, is explained to consist of a *demon's head* on a man's legs, with 𠂇, *crafty*, added to denote *guile*. This is perhaps less foolish than many of the native interpretations of the ancient ideograms. But what evidence do we find in the Accadian? We find there the group 𐎶 𐎶 gal(la), mul(la), demon. The elements are 𐎶 *writings*, and 𐎶 *lal*, to bind, yoke, etc. (*rakāsu*, *šamādu*, *kamū*). This looks as if the primary meaning of the ideogram was *beings bound by spells, by grammarie or written formulas*. However that may be, the Accadian linear form (with 𐎶 *lal* slightly deflected from the perpendicular, so as to suggest *legs*) appears to be the real source of the old

character  or ; and the sounds *kwei*, *kü*, *wei*, old *kut*, *wut*, or rather, perhaps, *kuk*, *wuk*, are ultimate-ly the same as *gul* (from *gal*), *mul*.¹

The character 畏 **mi*, *wei*, to fear, venerate, religious awe, has also the phonetic value *tu* (P. 601). The Chinese explain it as compounded of 𧈧 *demon* + 爪 *claws*, both being objects of *fear*; a fanciful etymology, which has, no doubt, contributed to the modification of the older forms of the character, but which is only of value

¹ For the old form of the *demon's head*, see *Luh-shu-tung*, s.v. *wei*, terror.

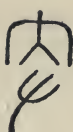
as testifying to the original likeness of the upper element to the demon-symbol, which we have just examined. It will be convenient to consider, along with the present character, the one that follows it in the lists of CALLERY and EDKINS (P. 602), viz. 胃 *wei*, **mi*, *tu*, belly. The upper part here is supposed to be a picture of that organ; and in some old forms grains of rice are inserted between the diagonals, by way of confirming the suggestion. In Accadian, however,  which, as we saw (p. 695) was the symbol for *wind*, was a polyphone with the sounds *mer*, *mur*, *imi* (= *iwi*, *ivi*), *ni*, and *tu*, which denoted, among other things, the *belly* (as a windy organ), and to fear, awe (because in fear the belly trembles, Habak. iii. 16), especially to venerate the gods. The likeness of the head of this character to **teg*, *te*, *dimmen*, documents, p. 695, is evident. Now compare there with these old forms of 胃 *mi*, (*tu*), belly, and of 畏 *mi*, *wei*, to fear,  and  the *ing*  two  Note also that the Rabbinical assimilation of lower element of the Accadian sign, suggest- in the former 月 *flesh*, and in the latter *claws*, has not entirely obliterated the cross-lines of the Accadian original.

The resemblance of these and many other characters to 田 *din*, *lu(t)*, *lui*, fields, to bind, to seize (畠 *lui*, *lei*, fields, plats; 累 *lui*, *lei*, to bind; 纍 *lui*, *lei*, to bind, to grasp, etc.), is accidental and modern. That symbol, which as a phonetic had also the sound *t'ap* (= *dab*), ep. 漂, is the Accadian  *lu*, *dab*, *dib* (= *dim*, *din*; ep. *e-din*, field), which denoted  land, district, domain (e.g. in the expressions    4 R. 19, 9a, and   2 R. 59, 7a), and to seize, to take (*dib* = Chinese **típ*, *chíp*; *lu* = Chinese *lui*, *lei*), and to bind a prisoner (= 縲 *lui*, *lei*).

LOW, COMPLETE, CITADEL, HEAVEN, FOUNTAIN, FLESH.

The symbol 卑 **pak*, **pik*, *pei* (P. 475), low, both physically and metaphorically, has nothing to do with 田 or 畠, as is evident from

the *ku wen*
part above
tion to the
well to



and other old forms. The
the hand, which is an addi-
original figure, answers very
linear bal, low.



Sometimes other phonetics

have been sub-



stituted

for 鼻. Thus for 削 p'í, to trim with an axe, the



common

form is 剗: cp. 槩 (muh) pei, handle of an axe,



with the

Accadian 𐎶 𐎶𐎶 (mu) bal, axe (mu=wood). So 𐎶 p'í,

vulva, vagina, 嬖 pi, female slave, 𐎶𐎶 (Judg. v. 30), may be

compared with 𐎶𐎶



bal, pudenda mulieris (lit. ima

femellae, *šupilu ša zin-*



ništi), also written 𐎶𐎶

(hand + low) like the



Chinese symbol.

That we are right in deducing the Chinese symbol for *pak, pei, low, from that for the Accadian bal, low, appears even more probable, when we consider one or two other Accadian characters which resemble bal, and which can be shown to have good representatives in the old Chinese writing. One of these is 𐎶, the ancient



til (from tin), perfect, complete, to finish, for which 𐎶𐎶,

linear



also occurs; clearly corresponding to the

Chinese



𐎶, old



or



or



ting, perfect,

full-grown,



which



re-



ap-



pears in



the old form of 成 ch'ing, *ting, *tin, to finish, perfect, (cp. also Accadian dim, to make, to finish).¹ As a modern

ting may represent also ancient dug (dung) as well as din

or tin, we may further note that this last character, with

the radical 土 earth prefixed is ch'ing, city-wall, citadel; agreeing

¹ Cp. also 全, 全, ts'ün, dzín, ch'üen, from *dun (or din), zin, complete, all, to finish, with the Accadian term.

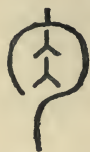
in form and sound and sense with the linear Accadian dug (= dunga), bad, wall, citadel. The second sound, bad, is cognate with bar, ring-walls, and with 埠 *pak, p'i, parapet (*vid.* 阜 *supr.*). But, further, the polyphone 𐎶 was read i-dim (=i-din), heaven, and springs, especially the great wells of the waters under the earth, where the god Ea lives, who is called 𐎶𐎶𐎶 "god Idim," and where the dead are (𐎶 ziz, body, corpse, dead = 𐎶 shīt,



shi). Now the Chinese 天, older 𐎶, answers to 𐎶 i-dim, 'heaven; and 泉 𐎶 older 𐎶 din, zin, ch'üen, ts'üen, fountain, to 𐎶 idim, fountains.

"When a man dies, the soul flies up to heaven (*tien*) the spirit falls down to the *watersprings* (in Hades)."—MORRISON, s.v. die. "The nine fountains," or "the yellow fountains," the Chinese phrase for the realm of the dead, is an obvious survival of the Accadian idea of idim. (With the old form of 泉, cp. 𐎶 a *ku* *wen* of 阜 pei, low. In each, the enclosed perpendicular line is the main element.) Lastly, the symbol 𐎶 was prob-











bably 𐎶 (cp. the linear forms of 𐎶 and 𐎶, AMIAUD and 𐎶 MÉCHINEAU, Nos. 48, 192), reappears in the Chinese



now 肉, zhau, flesh, of which the old sound nuk, Japanese niku, may be compared with the Accadian nu(g), flesh (𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 his flesh). The Chinese conjecture that this radical 肉 represents a *slice of meat* is superseded

by the fact that the original symbol consists of 𐎶 *wild ox* + 𐎶 *carcase*. Thus the character for flesh, meat, points to the chase as helping to provide the means of subsistence, and carries us back to a remote period of Babylonian life.

HOUSE, PARENTS, HADES, DOOR, GATE, PLACE (CITY).

The radical 宀 mín, which is an element in the composition of so many Chinese characters relating to houses and dwellings, has the old forms  and . It is the Accadian  mun, u-mun, house (also  read u, shush, shu, etc. With the latter, cp. 室 shāt, shih, dwelling). The Chinese 宀 moreover, does duty on occasion for other Accadian ideograms denoting house, as in the following remarkable instance. The symbol , compounded of  house +  god, is the first element in   aga-rin, parents (*abu, ummu*, 2 R. 62, 21c), which might also be read ama-dun (ṭun), according to the known values of each element (ana, ama,  is "phonetic" in the first), and the law of dialectic correspondence ($g=m$; $r=d$).

Now this ama-dun recalls the Chinese *tin, ch'in, ts'in, parents; e.g. in the phrase 雙親在堂 shwang ts'in tsai tang, "both parents are in the hall." The old form of 親 ch'in given by

MORRISON (II. ii. p. 260)

with the linear form of




which is the same thing, viz., house +

Japanese, 親 is read oya, parents (cp Acc.

well as ryō-shin, both parents, father and mother.



agrees wonderfully well

with the linear form of  viz.

shu - tung gives the

more





. *Luh-*


modern

god. In


aga), as

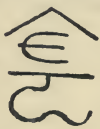

The second element of the Accadian group,  dun, is omitted in the Chinese character, whose sound, however, it determines; perhaps because its linear form (p. 690, note 2) looks somewhat like the *house*-symbol incomplete. Such abbreviations are perfectly natural.



The character 家 *ga, *ka, kia, house, old form (MORRISON), may represent the Accadian  ga,

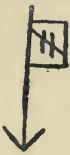




linear  house (from gar, or gal; cp. mal,¹ the other value of the symbol). Cp. also


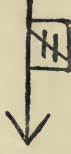

esh (=gash = gar), house, and (g)uru gun, unu, dwelling. The

Chinese account of 家 ga(t) is that it originally represented a roof with three  men under it, which may refer to the three or four strokes inside this last ideogram. The Mongol ger, house, agrees with the Acc. *gar, *gur, *gash (= ga, uru, esh).

The Chinese 陰 *gin, yin, the shades, Hades, for which MORRISON and Luh-shu-tung both give the old form  (the lower element is yun, clouds, the Accadian gan), perhaps be ultimately identical with  urungal,

unu-gin, the grave or Hades, linear form  ; a character which indicates "great abode" ( great; the latter figure being that of an uplifted hand). The upper part of the Chinese may be roof + hand; the lower, clouds, is phonetic.

The Chinese 戶 *gok or got (R. 63; P. 101), Japanese kad(o), door, is the Accadian  gal, one-leaved door (daltu); written  (= < <), with the determinative which is another form of 戶. For the Chinese symbol has the tree  fore gok (= gal):

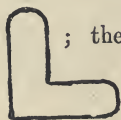
  . The character 門 mǎn (cp. Accadian MAL, dialectic of gal), outer door, is said to be the above character doubled. But Acc.  kan, ka, gate, city-gate, appears to be the true source of this symbol. It has been

¹ With mal, wal, or val, cp. 屋 *mok, wok, wuh house.

divided, in order to suggest two leaves of a door, and otherwise simplified.

With gish kan(na), 𠩺 𠩺𠩺𠩺 𠩺𠩺, gate, we may compare 閤 *kan, han, village or street gate; 閑 *kan, han, hien, bar, barrier. The last word agrees also with gish gan(na), 𠩺 𠩺𠩺 𠩺𠩺, bolt, bar. The terms 鎖 sak, so, lock (P. 707), and 槌 kin, kien, bolt, appear to be both present in the Accadian compound 𠩺 𠩺 sha-gil (=shag-gin), bolt. The root gal (from gan?) means to open; which accounts for (gish, mu) gal (mal) door, as something that opens.

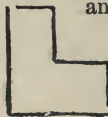
The Chinese 方 fang, A. hong, old ban, gan (bam, gam), place, appears identical with the Accadian 𠩺𠩺 place, city, which must originally have had the various sounds gan, gal, gun, gin, gar (gir), gur, and perhaps ban, as the various derivatives of the character indicate. The *ku wen* forms of 方 are



; the linear Accadian is



.



And here I may close this part of my subject, with the observation that, just as the Babylonian *literati* had a great number of artificial names for the characters of their script—a fact which, like many others, has been strangely perverted by the zeal of HALÉVY and his followers into an argument against the genuineness of the Accadian language; so we find that the Chinese men of letters have given many more or less fanciful names to the Chinese characters. The designation of 了 *liau* as 子無臂 *child without arms*, or of 𠩺 *ch'eh*, as 半草 *half (the symbol) ts'au*, is perfectly analogous to the Babylonian description of 𠩺 *ku* as mu nu til, *tree not complete*, or of 𠩺 *ku* as ush nu til, *(the symbol) ush not complete*.

NUMERAL WORDS

The terms used for numerals in Accadian have not lost all trace of other significance, and become mere arbitrary counters or symbols of numeration. *Tab* means brother, fellow, as well as two; the same may be said of *man*, *min*. This fact leaves room for much divergence in the words selected for use as numerals in languages otherwise related. "The names of number," wrote EDKINS, "differ

so widely in the various Asiatic languages, that they are not to be expected to be very ancient" (*China's Place in Philology*, p. 53). It is no surprise, therefore, to find that not all the numeral terms in present use in China can be identified with those preserved in the fragmentary lists of the Babylonian scribes. The marvel is that any of the latter should have survived in Chinese use.

Dr. LEHMANN,¹ the latest champion of the real existence of the Accadian, or, as he prefers to write, Sumerian language, insists on the importance of common numerals in determining the relationship of two languages. Dr. LEHMANN is engaged in a special polemic with HALÉVY and his followers, which, in spite of the learning (and animus) displayed on both sides, can hardly be taken very seriously by those who are acquainted with any other ideographically written language than the Accadian. A study of the peculiarities of the Chinese system of writing clears up many of the hopeless perplexities of Accadian students, and creates a sense of unreality in regard to all academic discussions, however ably conducted, about the actual existence of a language most or all of whose words may still be found in the Chinese lexicon, and many of whose principal ideograms have already been identified in the same storehouse of ancient speech. "The Sumerian question" is no question for those who, knowing what is known of Accadian, have taken the trouble to learn to read the *Shi* and the *Shu*. When students of Accadian condescend to do that, they will smile at the perverse ingenuity, not to say the stupendous philological ignorance, displayed by the writers who believe that they can relegate to the realms of nonentity the oldest of all surviving languages and literatures.

1. LEHMANN's discussions make it evident that the Accadian numerals were not confined to a single series, although he does not expressly note the fact. His final list might suggest that the terms there given were the only recorded or the only legitimate numeral words of the Accadian language, which however is far from being the case. The record is incomplete; but LEHMANN has not done full justice to the record. His attempt to rule gish, gi, one, out of court is arbitrary, in face of the known sounds of the symbols for one, 𒀭 gi, dish, 𒀭 (g)ash, dil, and the Assyrian loan-word esh-ten (from gash-tan), one. Moreover, his own term diš (dish) by a recognized law presupposes giš (gish): cp. a-gar, a-dar, field; gin,



¹ *Šamaššumukīn*, Leipzig, 1892.

din, man; gug, dug, to speak; ga, da, milk; and many other dialectic doubles of the kind.


LEHMANN insists that 𐎶 gi is defined in one place *šarru*, king; but that does not prove that it did not mean one. The king was so designated as *the one* man, the first of men, standing alone and apart from his subjects. It happens that 一 人 yit nin, the *one* man, is a regular title of the Emperor in the *Shu King* ("saepissime," notes Prof. LEGGE. See also *Shi*, III. I. ix. 4). This metaphorical use of 𐎶 gi, therefore, corroborates our theory.

But the (dialectic) sound diš, one, to which LEHMANN restricts his patronage, serves admirably to test our opinion as to the correspondence of the Accadian and Chinese dialects (P.S.B.A., June, 1890). The Amoy pronunciation of 一 yit is *chit*, implying an earlier dit, as EDKINS noted fourteen years ago. It is perfectly evident that the Accadian numeral words for one, gish, gi, dish, are the prototypes of the Chinese *git, yit, dit, and that the symbols are identical.¹


With gish, cp. also 子 kít, kih, one only, alone; with dish, 只 *tit, chi, only (P. 199). And as we find 一 dil, side by side with 𐎶 dish, so we have 隻 *tik, chek, chih, one, single, perhaps dissimilated from tit, dit. The Fuchau dialect has everywhere replaced final t by k. An Accadian final l is often represented by k in Chinese; e.g., kul, seed, = Chinese kuk; kal, eminent, = *kak, kau.

The old Chinese character 獨 tuk, tu, alone, single, is compounded of the signs for *dog* and *caterpillar*. Now in Accadian 𐎶, the dog-symbol, was used in the same way, for 𐎶 𐎶 (dish-bi or tash-bi, "one he," i.e. by himself) denotes, "as one," or the like (Assyrian *ilteniš*). But, further, 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 ushum, ushu, worm, weevil, caterpillar, also meant alone (*edišu*); and one of the values of this symbol was du(g). The linear figure  may be compared with  the first element in the character tuk, alone.²


2. The oldest known Accadian symbol for two, i.e. 一 + 一, which agrees with the common Babylonian 二 or 𐎶 answers to the modern Chinese symbol.



¹ The short list, 5 R. 12, 31-34 e, f, seems to supply [id]-di, one, that is, id,  a *hand*, from gid, gid; and [gi-]id, 𐎶, one. Cp. PINCHES, P.S.B.A., June, 1882, p. 116; JENSEN, *Z.A.*, i., 187 sq.




² The Accadian symbol was also read gir, scorpion = Ch. *git, hít, h'ié, scorpion. Another meaning seems to have been serpent.




The Chinese 亞 *gak, ya, second, may be the Accadian , gash, rash, two, with final k from t(=š) by assimilation. The old form of the Chinese character is not materially different from the modern.



The Acc. word gash, two, may be cognate with  kur (from gur = gar), to repeat, brother, another. The Ch. er, rī, two, may spring from ra, rash, two; or possibly from gur, ur, with the common loss of initial g. The sound ni, Japanese ni, Annamite nhi, may be a weakened ngi (from ngat, ngash); but cp. nish, twenty, and nin, four (ni + ni). The word 兩 *long, liang, Japanese ryō, two, a pair, may be from *rag = rash; or from daḡ, two, as r is often weakened from d (cp. 𐤠 du, ru, to make), and as

𐤠 long, ryō (= lug, rug, dug), good, old forms clearly coincides with , dug, good (cp. , an old form of the sun-symbol).¹

The character  偶 ngot, ngeu, image, discussed above (p. 690), meaning also a pair, double, companion, suggests that  gash, rash, two, is really connected with  ḡush, rush, image, by the sense of the *likeness* that exists between pairs.

Another Accadian term for two is tab (from dab), with a byform taḡ or daḡ. The symbol 𐤠 tab is called Dili-minna-bi, "of one, its double." Among the meanings of 𐤠 tab are to double, to add to, or increase, to help, to repeat or say a second time, and a fellow, comrade, or brother (*tappū*—an Assyrian imitation). There are several corresponding Chinese terms: e.g. 度 *tap, tu (Japanese pronunciation tabi, which with a numeral denotes times, repetitions, as mi tabi, three times); 他 *t'ap, t'a, another, the other, that, he; 搭 tap, tah, to add to; 迭 tap, tah, repeated; 扱 *tap, ch'ap, to to help; and 疊 tip, tiap, to redouble, to reiterate, to pile up, a doubling. Lastly, 叉 tap, ch'a, crossing the fingers, cross-roads (tap = to cross), may be compared with  two, cross-roads. As for the variant  daḡ, taḡ, strictly to double, add, increase, help, helper, the sound and sense agree very well with 重 ch'ung (=dung, dug), to double, repeat, add, second. The linear form two plants, a natural symbol of growth and increase, curiously resembles R. 118, 竹 *tok, tiok, chuk, 

¹ See the Accadian sun-symbol, p. 687 *supra*.

old 𣎵𣎵, the bamboo, so called probably from its rapid and luxu- 𣎵𣎵 riant growth, and 𣎵 (bamboo+two!) chuk, a sort of bamboo. The radical 二 two, and the sound tuk or tok, point to a connection with the Accadian dag, to increase, two.¹ The term 𣎵𣎵 dam, lam, partner, fellow (husband, wife), which occurs also in the compound dam-tab, or lam-tab, companion (*tappū*, *tappattu*), may be identical with *dom, chung, double, *lom, liang, two, a pair.


Yet another Accadian term for two is 𣎵𣎵 man, min, strictly, brother, partner, fellow (*tappū*, *athū*), and therefore a synonym of tab. Cp. 勻 wān (= men, from man), yun (= gan), to divide equally, equal, alike, where the second element in the character is 二, two; 爾 man, even, equal (*twenty* and *two*), P. 758; 番 *ban, Amoy hwan (= kwan, gwan, gan), Japanese ban, to repeat, to duplicate, a time, a turn. This latter symbol is used after numerals exactly like the Accadian 𣎵𣎵 gan, 𣎵𣎵 kam, in 𣎵𣎵 𣎵𣎵, 𣎵𣎵 𣎵𣎵 𣎵𣎵, min gan or min-kam(ma), two or second or twice (strictly, two times); e.g. 三 番 san fan, three times, in Japanese samban or sam-bamme, third. The Accadian man is the labialized form of gan, gam.² See p. 721, *sq.*





3. The character 三 san, three, agrees with Gudea's 三 three (B. vi. 31), and with the common Babylonian 𣎵𣎵 or 𣎵𣎵. As to the sound, it is the Accadian e-sin, three (*šalalti*, 5 R. 37, 51d). It is true, as LEHMANN insists, that 𣎵𣎵 𣎵𣎵 may also be read e-esh, esh; but there is no reason to restrict the gloss si-in, sin, in the document cited, to the name of the moon-god 𣎵𣎵 𣎵𣎵 (Sin). Doubtless

¹ The Accadian expression 𣎵𣎵 𣎵𣎵 gab-ri (5 R. 40, 47c), a match, equal, rival, adversary, shows that 𣎵𣎵 gab, du(g), tug, may be a cognate of dag, two; while 𣎵𣎵 ri (also di) may be connected with rush, rash, two. The original sound may have been rish or rig (𣎵𣎵 𣎵𣎵); cp. liang, ryō, and 𣎵𣎵 lik, li, a pair, couple. The Acc. gab = Ch. 𣎵 *gab, hap, to pair, to match, a match, mate. A *ku wen* of li, viz., 𣎵𣎵, curiously resembles the Accadian 𣎵 two (*min* and *nish*?) repeated. Cp. nos. 4 and 40 *infra*.









² With the Accadian gan, kam, as a numeral suffix, we may also compare 𣎵 kien, to divide, which is used with numerals in much the same way: yih kien sz', one matter; nei er kien, inside, two (enclosures); ti tsih shih kien, the seventieth: and 𣎵 ko, as ti er ko, the second; tsih ko, seven.


the god's name was so written because it was homophonous with the number 30 (also e-sin).





The reading e-sin for three, 3, is confirmed by LENORMANT'S  shi-sin(na), seven, 7; which HOMMEL compares with the Mordvinian sisem, but which quite as strikingly agrees with the Chinese sī, four, san, three. The Chinese san lends unquestionable support to the reading e-sin (from a-san). Ushu, thirty, may be from ushun (yshyn) = ishin = esin.





Another term for three is  bish or mesh (), from which LEHMANN supposes that esh (in eshshe-ku, thrice) sprang, through a later (? dialectic) pronunciation vish or wish. There is also a vestige of a compound term [u?]-mush, written . As already suggested, these ancient numeral words were in all probability, not originally abstract but concrete terms, one (id, i) being the hand, two, side, brother, mate (cp. pair and peer, par), bish perhaps the middle finger, as  bish, mesh, is middle (heart; liver; cp. bar, liver). However this may be, the Accadian (u?)-mush, bish, mesh, three, are in perfect harmony with the old Japanese mit, mi, three. It is only to be expected that of the various primitive Asiatic terms, preserved in the cuneiform syllabaries, one should be found to have survived in one language, another in another, of the same great family. HOMMEL has well compared the Turkish üch and the Ural-Altaic üs, visse.












4. The symbol 四 sī, su, Japanese shi, four, originally, according to EDKINS, sik, agrees with shi(g), four, in the word shi-sin, seven (4+3). If, as HOMMEL and others think, nin is also four, we may compare



the old forms  and  with the probable original form  of  (sha, gar, nin, ni). LEHMANN doubts nin, four, but allows nin, forty. He does not consider the curious fact that  is both 2 and 20,  3 and 30,  4 and 40,  50 and 5.¹ By a slip, *Šamašsumukīn*, p. 130, he misrenders the Assyrian *irbitti* by "vierzig" instead of "vier." HOMMEL justly observes that nin, 4, "durch nin, vierzig, wie durch die daraus entstandene Form *nīl* des


¹ The origin of this may lie in the fact that , ten, is regarded as unit in the higher series which it begins. In Chinese we find some traces of lower numbers used likewise for higher (see 30).

Ural-altäischen nur bestätigt ist." It can be hardly due to accident that *Luh-shu-tung* gives  as a rare old form for four, in strange agreement with the Accadian  four, and forty. Besides shi, the known Accadian terms for four are shan (spelled sha-an), shana (sha-na), cp. shana-bi, 40, and  shi-mu or lim-mu, and lammu. (Perhaps also sha(g) was an Accadian sound of , corresponding to nin). The sound lam probably arose out of nam, nan, which is a by-form of shan (see p. 723). It thus lends a certain degree of support to nin (from nan), four.

The common phrase     ub-du¹ shab(ba), the four quarters or regions, the world, seems to imply shab (=sham) as a byform of shan, four. It is the Chinese *sī ch'u*, the four regions, everywhere.



5. As old forms of 五 *mo(t), ngo(t), ngò, wu, five, Japanese go, we find in *Lu-shu-tung*  and  and . The first resembles the Accadian  mash or  bar(=bash) five. The corresponding g-sound  has left a trace in   ya (=ga), five (BRÜNNOW, 12190 sqq.), and  i, which is doubtless related to the term id, i, (i)a, hand (): cp. the Japanese it-su, five, beside it-su, one. Ya or ia points to the term gad (), hand, which is the probable origin of (gid), ('gid), id, i, hand (see p. 704 note 1).


The second and third old Chinese forms resemble  the *ku-wen* of 爪 *chau*, hand, and the linear forms  of


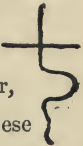


The Accadian terms for the fully known, and the symbols in Gudea's inscriptions. us(sa), ilim(mu), indeed, adverbial expressions; but  numbers 6, 8, 9, are not for 8, 9, are wanting. The sounds ash(sha), are inferred from certain considering that there are several terms for each of the first five numerals, the probability is that other modes of expressing the numerals 6, 8, 9, also existed,









¹ That da or du is not a phonetic ending in this expression is evident from ub-du bi ku, "to the lands *and* plains" (4 R. 2, 33c).




though at present they have not been ascertained. The numerals are not the only instance of incomplete data in Accadian.







6. As the counting begins on the other hand with number 6, *ash* doubtless meant "one," i.e. first finger of the second hand. If the sound were also *dush* or *dish* [ *ash* is called *desh(shu)* and *esh(shu)*], it might stand in some relation to the Chinese *luk*, six, Japanese *rik(u)*, *rok(u)*. Cp. , read *tush* and *tug*.


7. The symbol  seems to agree with what has just been suggested in connexion with the Accadian term for six. It is —, one, crossed to indicate that it means two, relatively to six regarded as one; in other words, it symbolizes the second finger of the other

(right?) hand. Cp. the old forms  and  (*CHALMERS*, No. 23; *Luh-shu-tung*);  reminding us of the Accadian  another, a second. The sounds *ts'it*, *ch'it* (= *zit* = *shit*; *tit*) Japanese








shichi, may even be the last remnants of the Accadian word     *shi-sin(na)*, seven: *shisin* = *shisi* = *shis* = *shit*, *zhit*, *tsit*. The Accadian symbols  *four + three* (*Gudea*, E. i. 16),    (Gudea, E. v. 4) favour the word *shi-sin* (*four + three*), which *LEHMANN* questions. The other Accadian term *imin(na)*, seven, is generally explained as 5 + 2 (*i* + *min*). As *imin* represents older (*i*)*aman*, the Japanese *nana*, seven, may perhaps be for *mana* (= *a-man*).

8. The Chinese  *bat*, *pat*, *pa*, eight, to divide, old form (*CHALMERS*, No. 17), may be compared with the Accadian  *ba* (from *bad*) to rend apart, to divide; a figure ultimately identical with the linear form of 


 the eye, which is a *slit* in the face ( was also read *bad*). Cp. also  *pít*, *pieh*, to divide (see *MORRISON*, II. ii. s.v.), and the  Accadian  *bad*, to open. "The number 8 of division," says *CHALMERS*. Why? Because eight in  counting was the middle finger of the second hand, which exactly *divides* the hand in half.




As regards the only known Accadian word for eight, *us(sa)*, 5 R. 37, 25b, it possibly means something similar, for  *bad*, "to (split) open,"








was also read *ush* (=gush). With *ush* (from *gush*, *ġush*), eight, cp. the Japanese *yat*-, *yō*-, eight, *ya-so*, eighty, *yae*, eight-fold. And as the Acc. (g)*ush* implies a dialectic *mush* or *bush*, we see further reason for supposing a real relation between the old Chinese *bat* and the Acc. *ush* (*ush-sa*, *ussa*).

10. With ten we begin a new series. The character 十 , *ship*, *shih*, old  is probably identical in the last resort with the Accadian , the modern Assyrian , ten. The sound *ship* (*shih*),  recalls *Gishpu*, which is one of the Assyrian names of the Accadian character. The sounds expressly assigned to  in the sense of ten (*ešerit*) are *ġa*, *ġu*, and the worn *a*, *u* (5 R. 36). But  was also read *shu* and *ge* or *ġi*; so that we may recognize in the name *Gishpu* a compound of *gi* (from *ga*, *gu*) and *shib* (from *shub*): *gishipu*=*gishpu*. This name, in fact, resembles *Gi-buru*, another designation of the same character, formed from two of its values, viz. *gi* and *bur*. This fact may be taken as indicating that *shu*, as a value of , is from *shub*.¹

The Accadian *shu*, ten, may be compared with the antique and poetical Japanese *so*, ten, and the primary *shub* with the old Chinese *ship*, ten.

The Accadian *shush*, sixty (*σῶσσος*), may perhaps be analysed into *shu*-*ash*, 10×6; if it is not rather an originally vague term, meaning multitude, all (cp.  *shu*, in that sense, Assyrian *kiššatu*, with the Chinese 庶 *shu*, multitude, all).

LEHMANN gives only the worn and probably very late sound *u* for ten; why, it would be hard to say. He also exhibits unreasonable scepticism in regard to  *bur*, ten, which is seen in  *bur-ya*, fifty (10×5), as well as in OPPERT'S  *bur-zi*, ten times (2 R. 21, 11). It is mere caprice to say that this implies "only an abusive application of the syllable *bur*;" while to say

¹ The character  *shub*, was also called *Gishpu* or *Gishpū*, which its linear form  may be  resembling , or a doubled and reversed , thought to justify. Its other value, *ru*, may imply  *gag*, *ru*,  *g'ush*, *rush*; so that in the character the name *Gishpu* is compounded of *gu*-*shub* = *ru*-*shub*.

that *bur(u)* can hardly be explained otherwise than as derived from a Semitic *būru*, hole, is a piece of childishness worthy of the "Anti-Sumerians." The Accadian $\langle bur$, low, bottom, is akin to *bal* in the same senses (*šapālu*, *šuplu*, *šupilu*, etc.). For the kindred sense of hollow, hole, cp. *bar*, to open, cleave (*pitū*, *palāku*). But I hope to return to this ideogram in another place.

20. The old Chinese 廿 or 𠂔 nib, níp, now read *zhu*, and *nien* (=nim=nib, whence níp), resembles the Accadian \llcorner nish, twenty. The character which appears in the *Luh-shu-tung* as 𠂔 is 十, ten, doubled, and answers to \wedge , the old Accadian symbol, *vid. supr.*

10. (Another character 𠂔 looks like a modification of the Accadian •, ten).

The phonetic change from nish to nin (=nim, nib), is easily paralleled in Accadian, e.g. *gish*, *gin*, *man*; *kush*, *kun*, *bright*.

Besides nish, Accadian presents, in certain compound forms, *shana*, twenty (P.S.B.A. iv. 113). *Shana*, *shan*, is the normal š-form of *nan, nin (=nish), *vid. p. 723, infra*.

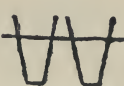
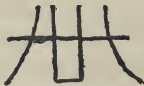
30. Thirty and forty furnish other instances of the happy survival in Chinese of these primitive Accadian numerals. Besides *ushu*, the Accadian $\llcorner\llcorner$, 30, was also pronounced *esin* or *ishin* (HOMMEL), and *shebu*, as we learn from the compound 𠂔 $\llcorner\llcorner$, read *esh-shebu*, and denoting 3 sosses, (𠂔) + 30 ($\llcorner\llcorner$), or 210. The term *sheb*, 30, suggests that *ushu* was originally *ushub*.

We may compare the primary *shab, whence *shub*, and *sheb*, with Chinese *sap*, *sa*, *sèh*, 30, written that is, *three tens*, like $\llcorner\llcorner$, or \wedge . In Pekingese, this term is used for three, just as $\llcorner\llcorner$ was three as well as thirty in Accadian.

Cp. also 𠂔 *shap or ship, shi, thirty years, a generation.




40. Accadian is represented here by the symbol $\llcorner\llcorner$, originally $\wedge\wedge$, and by the sounds *shanabi*, *ni-min*, and *nin*.¹ *Shanabi* is apparently a compound of *shana*, 20, and *bi*, 2; thus, 20×2 . Whatever the









¹ As $40 = \frac{2}{3}$ of 60 (the soss), *shanabi* was also used to denote the fraction $\frac{2}{3}$.

correct analysis¹ of the word, it still maintains a shadowy existence in the obsolete Chinese  or  sǎp, hsi, forty, which may be regarded as the last link in the following chain of successive corruptions; shanābi=shambi=shabbi=shab=sap=sǎp or sip.

Nimin, 40, may be ni (=nish)-min, i.e. 20×2 . But we must not forget that *nimin* is also explained multitude, all people, *kiššatu* (5 R. 37, 8a), just like its equivalent ni-gin, the total, sum, all (*napharu*). As to nin, *vid. supr.* 4.

For the Accadian terms denoting 20, 30, 40, HOMMEL adduces no parallels from the Ural-Altaic tongues. (See his valuable papers in *Zeitschr. für Assyriologie*, i.) The truth is that although that group of tongues is unquestionably related to the old Accadian dialects, Chinese is in many respects the nearest surviving representative of the latter, in spite of the distorting and disguising influence of neo-monosyllabism, which with other traits and tendencies may be due to contact with the aboriginal races of the vast country which has been gradually annexed and assimilated by the political system originally established by the Babylonian immigrants five thousand years ago.²

100. For reasons which I cannot fathom LEHMANN omits  me, 100, from his list of Accadian numerals. It was doubtless originally the same as  mesh, many. The Assyrian name of the symbol , Mimū, suggests a value mimi: cp. the Japanese momo, a hundred.

¹ It seems probable, in view of the values of  bi, kash (= gash), rag, and (in Assyrian use) ras, compared with  kas, gash, rash, two, and  ba, bi, to divide, that this root  bi also originally meant to cleave, open, divide ( to speak, &c. = to part the lips, ἀνοίγειν τὸ στόμα, N.T.). Cp.  bad, to open;  bar (= bash, bat), a half;  ba, a half.

² In ordinary use, the analytic expressions two-tens, three-tens, &c., have displaced the older forms even in Chinese; and I can find no trace of ninnū, 50, nor of shush, 60. (Prof. HOMMEL has told me that he considers the latter to be of Semitic origin.) But enough evidence remains to prove the close affinity, perhaps even the original identity, of the two languages. (As Lehmann compares the German Schock, we may perhaps suggest the Chinese sheu, shuk, old age, sixty years old and upwards, as possibly related to shush, 60.)











Another value of 𐎶 was *men* (=mesh), which HOMMEL compares with "the obsolete Wigur *mün*, 100, and Osmanli *bin*, 1000." We may also compare it, as strictly speaking an indefinite expression for *multitude* used definitely, with the Chinese 萬 *man*, 10,000, a myriad, many, all, Japanese *man*, *ban*, Amoy *ban*, Shanghai *mè*, Mandarin *wan*. The term 百 *bak*, A. pék, pih, poh, pai, hundred, many, all,¹ cp. 倍 *pei*, a hundred times, appears to have added 白 *bak*, white [a derivative of 日 *yāt*, sun] as a phonetic (so *Phonetic Shwuh-wăn*; CHALMERS, No. 143) to the Accadian 𐎶, linear T. Some of the old forms favour this view; but others suggest *the eye*, and *Shwuh-wăn* accordingly connects the character with 自, self, a derivative of 目, in my opinion. Is it not possible that 𐎶, 𐎶, 1000, has been confused with T, the symbol for 100? The 𐎶 vagueness and inexactitude with which the higher numeral words were anciently used cannot fail to strike every investigator.


1000. The Accadian symbol 𐎶, that is, < ten + 𐎶 hundred, coincides in form with the symbol for *eye*, as we have just noticed. The Chinese 千 *ts'in*, old form 𠂇 thousand, Japanese *sen*, resembles the same figure. *Shi* 𠂇 (shig? shin?) was one of the sounds of the Accadian eye-symbol. Perhaps in this case it was read *zun* (zyn), *multitude* (𠂇𠂇).






PERMUTATION OF ELEMENTARY SOUNDS.

In general, it may be said that the phonetic changes exemplified in the evolution of Chinese are the same as those which characterize all languages. When we see that all words with initial *ki*, e.g. 謹 *kin*, to heed, Accadian 𐎶 *kin*, are pronounced *chin* in Peking, we are not surprised at a change of sound which is familiar to us in better-known languages (cp. Kind, child, Kirche, kirk, church; civitas, città, Caesar, Césare; caballus, cheval, etc.). Again, that there should be free interchange between the sounds, lam (lim, lum), lan (lin, lun), lang (ling, lung), is not remarkable. Such related

¹ Cp. 百姓 *bak sig*, the hundred clans (names), the people, 萬姓 *man sig*, the myriad names, mankind, 百獸 *bak shut*, the hundred animals, i.e. all kinds of them.

sounds may be represented by the same sign in Accadian; e.g.  sum, sun, sig (sing);  rim, rin;  shab (=sham), shaḡ. Nor is there anything abnormal in the Chinese wearing down of initial *k* (primary *g*) to *h*, so that we have 歸 *kwei* and 會 *hwei*, and 回 *hwei*, and 回 *wei*, *hwui*, to return, turn, turn round, surround, gather together, etc., with the old sound *gut*, representing the Accadian  *gur*, to return,  *gur*, to return, to collect,   and  , to assemble, surround, etc.; while words with initial *k* constantly appear as phonetics in characters now pronounced with initial *h*. Broadly speaking, the whole number of Chinese vocables with initial *h* are deducible from older sounds with initial *k*. It is unquestionable, for instance, that wherever we see the phonetic 高 **kak*, *kò*, *kau*, eminent (=Acc.  *kala*, *kal*, eminent), as in 蒿 *hao*, the earlier sound was *kao*. Similarly, when the element 口 *k'eu*, mouth (Acc. *ka*, *gu*), is involved, as in 后 **ku*, *heu*, sovereign; cp. Acc. *u-ku*, king, 巨 *ku*, magnate. The traditional Japanese pronunciation of many characters shows the same thing (e.g. *hai*, sea, Jap. *gai* or *kai*).

So, again, the very common transition from an older *t* (*d*) to *ch* in the Mandarin is a trite phenomenon of language. An ordinary Englishman pronounces creature (*creatura*) like preacher. This accounts for the appearance of 重 *chung*, heavy, as a phonetic in words read *tung*, *t'ung*, and of 冬 *tung* in 終 *chung*. The character 重, which in Amoy is *tióng* (colloquial *tang*), and which as a phonetic is also **gud*, *hüeh* (CALLERY, P. 558), is altered from the Accadian  *dugud* (*dug* + *gud*, *gid*), heavy: (cp. the old forms

of both,  and  with  and  

gig, *yik*, *ye*, dark). The same change from an original *d* to *t*, *ch*, may be illustrated by the Accadian *DIB*, to take, the Chinese 執 *típ*, *chăp*, Amoy *tiap*, which as a phonetic was also *tim* (P. 742), cp. *DUB*, *DIM*, writings, *supr.*; by the Accadian *dish* = Chinese *chit*,

one; by chăn, chin, and ch'ăng, to make, to mould, to complete, as compared with Acc. DIM, DUG (= dung, ding), in the same sense; by chung, cup = Acc. DUG; by ch'ăn, *dim, to immerse, and chăn, to pour out, compared with Acc. DIM, DI, to lay under water; by chăn, to bind, tie = Acc. DIM, TIM, and many other instances. The character 眞 chăn, *tin, likeness (P. 674) is phonetic in 顛 tín, tien, and other terms, which shows that it was itself once pronounced *tin*. It is, in fact, the Accadian DIM, like, DEN, thus. On the other hand, Accadian t or d is often preserved in Chinese: DUB, document = típ, tiap; e-din, field = tien; dim (and dub), to pour (a libation) = tín, dí^a, tien; dim, to irrigate = tín, tiam, dí^a, flooded; TIN, to finish = t'ín, dí^a, t'ien; dam, dim, pig = t'un, dăng; dun, to swallow = t'un; dum(u), child = t'ung, Jap. domo; dun, to dig = tín, tien; din, man = ting; tum, dim, i-dim, heaven = t'ín, tien; dug, good = Amoy tok, Jap. toku (cp. also tek, teh); da, ta, in = ta; da, great = to; and many others.

It is generally assumed by Accadian scholars that initial g, d, b, preceded k, t, p. This accords with the development of the Turkish languages (HOMMEL), and with what we may observe also in Chinese and its dialects (see EDKINS, *Characters*, p. 184 *sqq.*). Upon the whole, in this matter our latest Accadian documents exhibit that language as still in the transition-stage. The process from sonant to surd has begun, but it is very far from complete. As we have seen, Accadian often presents an initial k corresponding to a Chinese k: kan, black, is Ch. kien; kur, mountain, is *k'uk, k'iu. But then in many cases the older sound also survives: ġar (from gar) in ġar-sag, mountain, is evidently more ancient than kur (cp. 𐎶 gar, to lift); kal, high, eminent, Ch. *kok, kao, is probably a k-offshoot of 𐎶𐎵 gal, to raise, 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 ga, gur (g)il, to raise, high, 𐎶𐎵 (g)al, exalted. So we have 𐎶𐎵 gin and 𐎶𐎵 kin, to send, missive, letter, charge, work = Chinese kin, and kung; ġig and kuk(ki), darkness, black = Chinese *kek, hék; kil(i), star, is from *gil, as is evident from the m-form mul; gin as well as kun is bright, to shine (Chinese *kin, hien); ga is land, as well as ki (= Ch. k'í, earth); 𐎶𐎵 ġa, fish (Chinese yü), is also read kua (= kwa) and ku. When an initial g is hardened to k in Accadian, it rests there. But sometimes we find g weakened to ġ, and then dropped altogether. The character 𐎶𐎵 is read gur, ġur, ġir, ur, ir; ġus and kush, bright, both spring from gush; ġul, ul, and ġil(i), are joy; gub and

ub, ib, mean land; an, high, heaven, to lift, is from *gan (cp. ġun, to lift the eye) = gal, gar. The loss of initial g is a common feature both of Accadian and of Chinese; but very often in Chinese a trace of original g survives in y, as is also the case in Turkish and many other languages. Moreover, g may be preserved in one dialect when it has disappeared from another, e.g. yŭ, fish, the Canton ŭ, is gu in Amoy.

The following table gives a fairly complete list of Accadian words with initial g, ġ, and their Chinese representatives.

(1) G (= ng or ġ) preserved.

ACCADIAN.		CHINESE.
kiag, ki-aka } ki(e)ngad }	to love	*ak, ¹ ngai
ġa, ġaë gal (from ġan ?) } ġin }	I	*nga, ngo ngan
gan, shore (in Ma-gan = Mag-gan, ship-shore ?)		ngan
ġash, pair, two		*ngot, ngeu
gin, to show favour		ngăn, C. yin

(2) G passing into y.

ga, gar, gur (g)il, gal, (g)al } ġa, kua = gwa, ku, fish ġad, stylus gal, to have, to be gan, cloud gan, garden gar (ġar-sag) summit gash, two, second gig, dark, night ge, night gig, sick, sickness gin, geme, handmaid gin, to walk gir (i-gir), wings gish, gi, one gish, tree, stalk		yŭ, *guk yŭ, *ngu yuh, *got yu, *guk yun, *gun yuen, *gon yoh, C. ngok, A. gak ya, *gak (=gat) yih, C. yik, dark yé, night yih, C. yik yin, *gim yin yih, C. yik yih, C. yit yeh, C. ngít, A. giet
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¹ The old forms of the two characters are similar, and may be ultimately identical. Ki-ag, dialectic ki-ngad, is a compound of two words, represented in the monosyllabized pronunciation of China by the second only, as in the case of kin=gush-kin.

ACCADIAN.

gish, male, strong, hero
gud, gu, ox
gu, gudu, gude, speak
gug, a gem
ġul, ġil(i), joy, rejoice
ġun, to look up

CHINESE.

yih, C. ngăt, strong, martial
yiu, C. ngau, A. giu, gu
yü ; *yut, C. üt, M. yueh
yuh, C. yuk, *nguk
yü, *yuk ; yoh, *ngok
yang, *ngong.

G to k.

ga, house
gab, to open
gal } demon
gul }
gur, to raise
gar (gur), chariot
ġe, this
ġin, reed, rod
ġin, fasten, establish
gish, one
gun, neck, throat
gun, tribute
gur, to return

kia, *ka
k'ai
kwei, *kut
kü
kü, A. ku
k'i
kan
kin, kien
k'i *kit, single
king
kung
kwei, *gut

G to h (through k).

gad, rough cloth
ġal, to flow
gaz, destroy, hurt
gig, kuk(ki), black
gi-ġin, demon, manes
gir (= gish = git), scorpion
gir (e-gir), back, behind
gu, guda (?) neck, throat
gun, neck, throat
gud, (g)ush, blood
ġul, evil, to hurt¹
gun (u-gun), lord, ruler
gunni, portable stove
gur, to return
guġu, hero

hoh, C. hot, A. hat
ho, *ga, river ; Mongol hol
hai, Jap. gai
hoh, C. hăk, A. hék
hwun, *gun
hieh, C. hît
heu, *guk (= gut)
heu, *gut
hiang, *gon (P. 827)
hüeh, C. hît, Jap. ket ; *ġít
hiu, *kuk (P. 677)¹
hwang, *gong
hung
hwui, *gut
hieh, C. hît, *ġít

G reduced to (').

IN ACCADIAN.

a, hand, wing (= gad, gag)
ab, sea (= gab)
ab, father, (= gab)
an, high (= gan)

yu, yü, yih, *yuk, *yik
hai, Jap. kai or gai ; *kak (from kap?)
yé, ya, *yap
ang, ngang

¹ Both in Accadian and in Chinese the character is *eye*+*dog*.

an, heaven	yang
an, plateau, waste	yuen, *ngen
anu, spike of grain	yíng, A. éng
e, clothes	yí, i
eme, tongue	ham, *gam (CHALMERS, 248)
eme, pregnant woman	yín, ín, yǎng, yün
en, words, formula	yen, *ngen
ene, everlasting (ene ra, for ever)	yung, *gim (= gin)
ib, ub, place, region, (cp. gub, also read li, land)	yih, C. yǎp, A. íp
ib, displeasure	yih, íp, estate
im, thirst (imma)	yih, íp
imme-li, strong drink	yín, ím, to drink
iti, itu, (= gid, gud), moon, month	yueh, C. üt, P. yü, Jap. get
unu, gun, dwelling-place, city	yung
utu, ud, (= gud), sun	jeh, C. yit, An. nhit, *nit (from ngit), *got (P. 120)



IN CHINESE.



gid, shoots, sprouts	i (<i>Shi</i> , I. I. x. 2).
gid, long	i, k'í, *git
gidi, dark day, cloudy	i, yeh, *git
gin gi, righteous	i, A. gi, Jap. gi
gin, gi, little	i, C. ngei, A. gé
gu (gu-za), kus, ki, seat	i, *kit

Many more examples of similar changes might be adduced, but these will probably be thought sufficient.

As final sounds, g, d, b, are abundantly preserved in Accadian, side by side with synonymous forms which have dropt them. In Mandarin they have disappeared altogether, but the dialects preserve their traces in the surd sounds k, t, p. In Accadian the surd finals hardly appear at all, except in probably recent forms like utu, itu, from gud, aka from ag, gag, to do, tuku from tug, dug, to grasp. P is altogether questionable as an Accadian sound (LEHMANN).



A certain degree of interchangeableness between g, d, b (k, t, p), as finals, is observable in both languages. In Accadian we have instances like nu-gig = mu-gib: shag = shab; daǵ = tab; dug = zib; tug = tub. In Chinese, 瘥 híp, k'íap, weakness, 疫 yik, yih, pestilence, disease, may be compared with gib, gig, sickness, weak, ill. So 煜 yuk, blaze of fire, is yip in the *Tsi yü*n (cited by EDKINS) P. 590; cp. Acc. GUB, bright, u-gug, blaze of fire: and chi, to hold, grasp, was anciently both tip and tik (= Accadian DIB and TUG, TUKU, to take, hold). The change is in some cases apparently due to assimilation of the final to the initial sound: thus




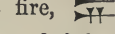








gub might become gug, as (g)ab, ocean, became *gak, kak, and then kai, hai. This principle explains, too, the change from Accadian shib, tongue, to the Chinese *shet, sheh; and the phonetic value of 執 tiet, beside tep, and other similar cases. The Accadian 𐎶 gab, to open, has become 開 kat in old Chinese, now k'ai (cp. the linear  with the 干 干, two reeds, of the Chinese symbol, and  both with the reed-symbol, p. 691 *supr.*)

The  change exemplified in 𐎶 𐎶 sug, shud, to leave off,  to die (=死 *sut, sī, su, to die; 卒 tsut, tsu, to end, finish, die), is seen in 直 chik, tít, zāk, straight, the Accadian zig, (dig?), zid, and other terms of both languages, e. g. gig, gid, dark; cp. 祓 yāt, ék, yāk, yi. Changes of the kinds under consideration are often characteristic of dialects, as in the Chinese instances just given (*vid. infr.* p. 722). In Fuhchau final k has everywhere replaced final k, t, p.

We have noticed already that final b interchanges with final m: dub, dim, writings; dib, dim, to bind; 𐎶 𐎶 read gub and tum: cp. in Chinese cases like C. típ, A. chiam, to taste; C. híp, A. k'iam, Sh. kíⁿ, to desire. In regard to the change from old m (or n) to ng in Chinese (*vid.* p. 713 *supr.*), it may be further remarked that final ng was already beginning to appear in Accadian, as is proved by the fact that the characters 𐎶 𐎶 sag, 𐎶 𐎶 zag, are called sangu, zangu, as well as sagga, and zaggu; and by forms like 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 shanga, pure; 𐎶 𐎶 dunga (du-un-ga), a title of Ea; kingi, country; dingir, as compared with dim-mer, god. Moreover, it is only by assuming that final g became nasalized (ng), that we can explain such phenomena as 𐎶 𐎶 sun, sum, sig (=sing), to give. Initial g might be affected in the same way: ki-bi-gar, office, is also written ki-bi-in-gar (=ki-bi-ngar).

Final r, l, have been universally displaced by t, k, in Chinese. As EDKINS pointed out, old Chinese gut, to return, is the same root as Japanese kayeri, kayeshi. We identify the term with Accadian GUR, to return. The Korean transcription of final t by r in Chinese words shows that final r was at one time not unknown to Chinese. K for r appears in *pak, poh, back (north); *pak, poh, brother; pok, puh, servant; *pak, poh, white; all of which are BAR in Accadian. A similar change may be noted in the Accadian sir and sig, light; sar and sag, write; 𐎶 gar, 𐎶 gag, and 𐎶 (g)ag,

to make, do;  read dur and tug;  little, read tur (dur), shir, shak (Assyrian value, doubtless from Accadian shag): cp. 小 *sak, siau, little, young; 少 *shak, shao, little, few.








K for l appears in many examples already given, e.g. *kak, kau = KAL, eminent, *kuk, kuh, grain = KUL. *Kok, kwoh, country, region, may be GAL, (G)URU, place, city, or KUR, country (terms ultimately identical). L, which is final in but few Accadian words, may spring from r, as in gal=gar, to raise, Chinese *kuk, kü, yuk, yü, or in dur, dul, til, to dwell; from n, as in  mun(u), mel, blaze, flash, cp. 明 *min, ming, 旺 *mun, wong, e.g. 火旺, "the fire blazes"; or from š (sh) = n = d, as u-kush = ġul, gourds; dil=dish, one; dil = *dish (gish) = din, man. The writing  kak-du for *Kaldu*, Chaldean, looks like a trace of confusion between the sounds of final k and l; and  zag, fire,  zal, (also read dig),  dal, shine, brightness,  a-zag, bright,  lag, shine (=dag, rag, rug), suggest the same equivalence. Cp. also  gigi read gil;  gal, rig;  gal, rag and lag ( si-lag, written lag-si, as the linear character shows), which is the old Chinese *nak, *lak, modern nu, lu, woman; and, lastly,  (g)ig, gal. Such cases are rare in Accadian; but these are enough to justify the opinion that there is a real relation between final k (=g) and l in Chinese. In Armenian the Greek l is constantly transcribed by a sort of hard g.


THE LAW OF DIALECTIC CORRESPONDENCE.

As was pointed out in P.S.B.A., June 1890, p. 416, the dialectical transitions of Chinese are already foreshadowed in the corresponding phenomena of Accadian. Nothing has, however, proved a greater stumbling-block to some students (see DELITZSCH, *Ass. Gram.* Introduction) than the remarkable phonetic changes which characterize the Accadian dialects. These changes have been declared to be impossible in a language of natural growth, and to be demonstrative of the artificial nature of "the pretended language" of Accad. We shall see that they find parallels in the best-known features of the Chinese dialects.

For the sounds of Accadian we are indebted to Assyrian transcrip-



tions, and the pronunciation of Assyrian is verified by the comparative phonology of the Semitic languages. At the present stage of Accadian studies, it is a waste of ingenuity to refine much upon the traditional elementary sounds. We cannot profitably treat Accadian as a living language, in which we can verify subtle speculations by immediate appeal to the ear. Happily the broad distinctions of sound are signified with sufficient clearness by our materials, and the determination of the minuter shades is not necessary to our purpose.







One of the first things that arrest our attention in considering the changes to which initial consonants are subject, according to the evidence of the syllabaries and phonetically written inscriptions, is the Labialisation of initial g(γ). The transition from gal to the dialectic mal (wal) is best explained by supposing an intermediate gwal: thus gal = gwal = wal. It is plain that we have here an exact parallel to the Chinese 瓦 C. nga (Sh. ngo), M. wa, glazed bricks, tiles, etc., where the old ga becomes wa through an intermediate ngwa. The words nga, wa, are indeed the Chinese forms of the Accadian ga-r, mu-r (from ma-r), brick, tile, written  EDKINS (*Characters*, p. 203) has observed that the change from initial m to w is common in Chinese, giving the instances men, wen, literature, and mu, wu, martial. The dialectic sounds of the latter, 武, C. mò, A. bu, Sh. vu, M. wu, exhibit a complete interchange of the labials.¹ Another instance is 我 ngo, wo, I, 吾 wu, A. ngò, Sh. ngu, I, answering to the Accadian  ga, ma-l,  ma,  mu, I. Moreover, the seal character  ngo, wo, agrees very well with the linear  really represents a *house*. In have also gal, and gin, I; forms forbid the assumption that the language is purely Tatar, which has been made  on the ground of the m-form men (=gin), I. The truth is that Accadian is the earliest known type of the principal Anarian Asiatic languages, and therefore includes some of the chief characteristics of each family. The labialized guttural may be represented by b, as well as m or w or v,



¹ As this word mu (=mak? It is pak or bak in the Odes, according to EDKINS: see P. 404) means strong, brave, warrior, footprint, it is natural to compare  gir, bar, mer, foot, track, strong, the god of war (Nergal).

in both Accadian and Chinese. For the former, cp. gar (e-gir), bar, behind, back (also a-ba, a-ga); for the latter, Amoy ba=ma, bu=mu. The general phenomenon may be further illustrated by *gong, hwang, emperor, wong, wang, king, as compared with the Accadian gun, mun, ugun, umun, lord, king; by 血 *gít, C. hît, 鹹 C. mít, A. biet, blood, as compared with Accadian (g)ush (=gut), lu-gud, and mud, blood; by 黑 *gig, *kek, hek, hih, Jap. koku, 默 *mek, A. bék, mih, as compared with 𐎶 gig, kuk(ki), mi, black, darkness; 𐎶 yeh, C. ngít, A. giet, Sh. nih, stock, shoots, 木 muk, mu, Jap. moku, boku, and ki (*git), tree, wood, 枚 mei, stems, stalks, small trees (Shi), C. múi, as compared with 𐎶 gish (=ngish), mesh, mu, tree, wood, stalk; 𐎶 gad, pa(t) or ba(t)?, gud, mwat, stylus, and 𐎶 yut, wât, put, yuh; 𐎶 e or í, 𐎶 ma, mu, clothes, and 衣 i, 𐎶 *mut, meu, bò, mù; 𐎶 gan, cloud, implying an m-form man, and yun, C. wen, clouds; 𐎶 inu, 𐎶 en, words, 𐎶 men, me, to speak, utterance, and 𐎶 yun (from ngon, ngen), C. wen, to speak.

Many more examples might be given; but I pass to the common Accadian transition of g to d (k to t), as in gar=dar, gin=din. A good instance is 𐎶 a-gir, 𐎶 a-tir, wings (a=hand, side), where gir, tir, answer to kik, tik, the old phonetic values of 羽 yü, wings (P. 254). A number of similar cases may be found among the Chinese phonetics; e.g. 岑 ngim, dim, now ch'en, high=𐎶 nim, tum, high; 𐎶 tin, kin (=din, gin), P. 536; 谷 kuh, valley, as a phonetic is kok, tok (P. 338), cp. the Acc. kir, kur, in 𐎶 kir-rud, hollow, valley (apparently the same character), 𐎶 dul, du, hole, hollow (the linear form is a *mouth*: cp. the Chinese symbol), and dar, dir, a hole, hollow, in kin-dar, kin-dir, hole or cleft in the ground, a gorge (e.g. 4 R. 15, 25a). So the character 𐎶 is kut, t'ut (=got, dot), now kü, ch'e chariot, Accadian 𐎶 gar (or gur), 𐎶 mar, and by implication dar; and to walk is, as we have seen (p. 689), gim, gin, ting, dim, din, in old Chinese, and gin, gim, dim, dun, tum, in Accadian. The close connection of initial n and t, d, in Chinese was long since pointed out by EDKINS. The same thing meets us in the Accadian, dim, i-dim, tum, nim, i-nim, na(n, m), nab (=nam), heaven; cp. Chinese t'in, Japanese ten, Tibetan nam, heaven. The root means high (Accadian num, nim, high). Another remarkable instance is

the character , linear  called NUN-TEN, from its values nun and ten, meaning great, and identical with the Chinese phonetic 𠂔, nim, tim, great.








The last example brings us to the consideration of another curious parallel;  the much discussed Accadian equivalence n=s, sh, of which we find traces in final as well as initial sounds. The character 𠂔 is read zhin in Mandarin, and zhim in Amoy (zh=French j), while at Shanghai it is niǎng (=nim, nin). The corresponding Accadian symbol was read sil, zil (from sin, zin=žin, zhin, shin) as well as nun and probably ten. The same transition is seen in  or << shin, lord =  nin, lord (2 R. 59, 29ab), and in  shir-mal=nir-gal (tablet in my possession), and in nin, shan, four. This palatalisation or softening (*Mouillirung*) of n is common enough in Chinese: see the letter J in Wells Williams, *passim*. As  was read nam, sim, so 襄 is nang, siang (P. 1005). Cp. also uzu (užn), nu, flesh=Chinese nuk, zhu; nish twenty=Chinese nien, zhu;  na, sha, bullock, Chinese niu; nin, shin, lord, lady (strictly, man; cp. san-shum, man; na, ni, nu, man=nan, nin, nun; din, gin, man), which correspond to Chinese 人 nin (so Jap.), A. zhin, Sh. niǎng (C. yin=gin) man, in the *Shi* often used for lady (see LEGGE's index). To say that zhin is a comparatively late sound in Chinese (but what about the Amoy dialect?) is no real objection to an argument which maintains the close kindred of Chinese and Accadian on the ground of the parallel development and particular correspondence of dialectic changes. The new shoots of the old tree will be similar to its earliest out-growths. In Accadian, as in Chinese, the š, ž (sh, zh) sounds appear to belong to a late stage of the language. But, in the present state of knowledge, who will venture to say which is really the oldest of all these Accadian synonymous expressions for *man*, gal, gul, mul, gin, dil, din, nin, shin,¹ or whether gan or nan is the primary sound? A forward step will be won, if the fact can

¹ Not to mention lu, lug' (serving-man), nita, dib (=dim, din), (g)uru, eri, and other terms. The term  nita, nit, linear  nat, man, slave, may be compared with 𠂔 *not,



with phonetic nu, slave.

be brought home to the minds of Chinese and Accadian students, that this close correspondence of dialectic forms really exists.

The last dialectic change of initial sounds that I shall notice here (for some must be omitted) is the Accadian change from d to z (š, s), which LEHMANN regards as another instance of palatalisation ; e.g. dug, zib (written ši-ib), good, dum, dim, zim (ši-im), to make. This feature of Accadian phonetics corresponds to the common Chinese transition from t, ch, to ts, dz, z. For example, 成 ch'ing (=dim, dig), to finish, to make, is shing, in Cantonese, séng in Amoy, dzǎng in Shanghai; 甄 *tín or din, chin (also kien), to mould, fashion, and 真 chin, likeness, so, indeed, are read *tsǎng* in Shanghai: just as the Accadian  dim (also gim), to make, like, thus (cp. den, thus; gin, thus), was dialectically zim, šim, or, as LEHMANN thinks, zhim. Cp., again, 直 chik, tít, zǎk, straight, upright, to direct, go on, with Acc.  sid(i), straight, upright, to direct, and  zid, zig, zi (perhaps also dig or dug), right, to go (straight on), and  du(g), to go, lead, right. Other instances have already occurred, e.g. 側 C. chǎk, A. chék, Sh. tsǎk, M. tseh, side (= *tek, tsak or dsek), just like the Acc.  tig and  zag, side. The close connexion between s and z may be illustrated by the Accadian sag, zag, head, and by  linear




sig, green, compared with 青, old (evidently derived from the Accadian linear form), ts'ing (=zig),



or



green. Cp. also  sig (and pig or big), weak, ill, with 疾 tsit (from tsik), Sh. dzih. (The Accadian big, the labialized form of gig, sick, answers to 𠂔 nik, Amoy bék, and 病 ping, bing, sickness.)

SOME GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS.

Both Accadian and Chinese are destitute of any formal indication of gender and number. In the former nin, shin, is lord or lady (strictly man or woman ; cp. mulu, man, lady) according to context, as nin, zhin, is man or woman in the latter. Dur, du, dum(u) is boy, girl, son, daughter, like 子 *tuk, A. tsu, An. tu, and 童 *dom,

t'ung, Jap. domo. The same terms may be singular or plural, according to context; e.g. Du(r)¹ zu-ab shisinna ne ne, the sons of the abyss, those seven. The Accadian shu zu, thy hands, corresponds to the Chinese zhu sheu. So the pronoun zu is either thou or ye; shi (or lim) ama zu, before *your* mother (*ina maḥar ummekunu*). Bi, this, that, he, they, is plural in shu sisi bi, the hands—direct thou *them*! (*qātā*, my hands). The plural may, however, be made explicit by repetition, as in Acc. da da, hands, gish gish, poles, an(a) an(a), heavens, gal gal, great, or the Chinese nin nin, men.

In the verb also the root is unalterable. Like 作 *tsak, tso, 爲 *gut, wei, 𠂇 sha(g) or 𠂇 gar (dialectic mar) may be of any tense, number, or person. Dur mu ana nu ni zu, *Son my what not that know* (Assyr. *mari minā la tidi*, "My son, what knowest thou not?"); Nin gae ni zua-mu, sha(?) zae ingae² zu, "What I know, *That I it know I also thou too know* thou also knowest." (Zu is also wise, and wisdom, to complete the parallel with Chinese indeterminateness; cp. ḡul, to rejoice, joy, joyfully). We often find the pronoun ene, this, that, he, these, they, appended to nouns and verbs when the sense is plural: dimmer ene, the gods, dingir gal-gal ene, the great gods; ra ene, they go. But this does not justify the assumption that ene, which is simply ne, ní, this, with a prefixed vowel, and means he, it, this, that (*šu*, *šāšu*), you (*kunu*), as well as those, they (*šunu*), is a "suffix of the plural." If it were such, how could it be so often omitted in cases where the sense is obviously plural, and where the Assyrian version expressly indicates the plural by repeating the ideogram with the *terminus technicus* mesh? Besides, we find ene ne, ene ne ne, as plural forms of ene.³

A great, perhaps the greater, part of the remains of Accadian literature belongs to its later stages, and betrays the influence of

¹ The Assyrian version of this line (4 R. 14 no. 2) uses mesh, an Accadian term for many, by way of calling attention to the fact that in the Accadian text *dur* has a plural signification.

² Inga, enga=*ma*, and (BERTIN's Tablet, J.R.A.S.).

³ It is clear that ne, ní, this, na, ni, this, he, his, ene, ínf, you, he, they, answer to Chinese ni, you, na, ni, this, that (𠂇 ne, ní, this, is written with the *fire*-symbol; and the old form of 𠂇, 𠂇, ni, resembles the Chinese symbol for *fire* reversed). Cp. also namè, nam, which? with Ch. *nam na, 那.

Semitism. Take the instance of the genitival relation of nouns. In Accadian, as in Chinese, the genitive originally preceded the governing term. This is clear from a number of ancient phrases like dim-sar, dub-sar (later dubbi-sag), which are as much or as little compounds as 典史 tien-shi or 帖寫 t'ieh-sie would be compound. Old expressions of this kind, which have survived unaltered from the earliest period (we never find sar-dim, sar-dub), afford satisfactory evidence of the original idiom. They are still far from rare, in spite of the centuries, we might say millennia, of Semitic influence. Other examples are a-ab(ba), water-house, and its synonym žu-ab(ba), afterwards read ab-žu (Assyr. *apsū*, ἄβυσσος); sag-gig, head-sickness (*murūṣ kakkadi*, disease of head), etymologically equivalent to 首疫 sheu yi(k); ki ʾar, earth's host, etc.

The same thing is clear from the usage of the oldest texts, where we meet with phrases like 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 an ki ba, "Cleaver of heaven and earth," qs. yang k'i pieh.¹ Compare, again, the phrase kur kur zag tilla, *land-land-side-end*, "All the borders of the lands" (Assyr. *gimir pāt dadme*), or kur kur ni-ginna zu, *land-land-whole-thy* = "In all thy lands" (*ina napḥar matātiki*); as if we were to say, kwoh kwoh hien zhu (for zhu wan kwoh hien).



The Accadian genitive is sometimes marked by the use of the particle 𐎶𐎵 ta. Thus we have the phrase 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 dingir nangar šag(ga), equated with the dialectical pronunciation *god servant give*



(𐎶𐎵) 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, (dimmer) langa²-ta, *god servant-of sum-sum(mu), give-give*, and rendered in Assyrian, "(The goddess) bestower of female slaves" (*muttaddinat ardāti*), 2 R. 55, 5-6d.

Now this ta, for which da, du, 𐎶𐎵, is also found, evidently cor-

¹ Cantonese pít = Accadian bad, ba, bi. In both tongues the copula is omitted in phrases like "heaven and earth," t'ien ti = Acc. tum dib (or dab, land, earth); "day and night," 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 (g)ud gi(g) or mi = old Ch. n(g)it yik, Amoy jit miⁿ.

² I conjecture that 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 KI-EL is to be read langa or langa, as a dialectic pronunciation of 𐎶𐎵 namgar, nangar. Initial n, l, correspond dialectically in both languages; e.g. Amoy l = Mandarin n. For Accadian, cp. 𐎶𐎵 nu, la, not (also na); nin, lim, four; ni, li, that, he.

responds to the important particle 之 *tak, *tok, chi, both in use and origin. The old characters agree fairly well: Accadian , Chinese .







The particle which marks the Accadian most common genitive,  monly  𠂇, kid

(= gid), ge, is also used, like 之 chi, in relational clauses. In a well-known magical text we read Alad ki ba shu anna kid (*Alad-earth-split-hand-high-that*), "The Alad, splitter of earth, whose hands are high," as if 手 印 其 sheu-ang-k'i, or 手 印 之 sheu-ang-chi. (In Fuhchau, and northerly towards Ningpo, 其 *kit, k'i, this, that, is used as a relative, or sign of the genitive=之 chi.)

Lam(ma) shag(ga) me-lam an(na), Dragon holy (whose) majesty (is) high (Assyrian, *Lamassi damku ša melammušu šakū*) = 聖 龍 靈 威 仰, shing lung ling wei yang, dispenses with the particle of relation.

It is possible, indeed, to lay too much stress upon the order of words. It cannot justly be made an absolute criterion in determining the kindred of languages. Even postpositions, which are found along with prepositions both in Chinese and Accadian,² are no

¹ This 其 kit, k'i, ultimately from git, gi, which is also a demonstrative pronoun, that, this, he, is further used to indicate the imperative and optative senses of the verb. It thus agrees exactly with the Accadian 𠂇 gan, ga, ga, ge, gu, this (*annū*), which is also the particle that marks the precativ sense of the verb. Wang k'i wu wang, Prince, forget not! and yuen ni ping-ngan, May you be peaceful! (願 *ngen, yuen), correspond well enough with the Accadian mode of expressing a wish or command.

² HOMMEL (and LEHMANN after him) appears to deny the existence of prepositions in Accadian. It is a mere question of nomenclature. Doubtless the use of the technical terms of European grammar may be as misleading here as in other relations. But to refer all the Accadian postpositions to "pronominal stems" is absurd. As  gim, dim, is first likeness (image, building), and then like, like as, so  ku, shu, zi, shi, in, unto, was seat, abode, rest, indicating the place where motion ceases ( *asābu, šubtu, nāhu*), and then up to, unto, to; cp.  ki, place, seat, with, in. Similarly,  ka, gu, mouth,  gam, kam, vessel, as receivers or containers, naturally express in, and then the source, out of, or from, which anything issues; and 𠂇 gid, gi (figure of a house; cp. the linear form with that of 𠂇 house), and 𠂇 gan, gi (a vessel on a stand), which are also receptacles, or containers, suggest

exception to this rule. In the same language the fashion of prepositions may be succeeded by the fashion of postpositions. In the modern Armenian version of St. John we read, "The Word was God with;" in the old classical version, "The Word with God was." Radical inversions of this kind, within the bounds of the same language at different periods of its history, show how rash it is to classify languages on such a principle, or to assume any particular order, such as that of modern Chinese, to be the "natural one" *per se*, from which all others are deflexions. Ying-tah remarks on the expression 中谷 chung kuh, middle of the vale, instead of the ordinary 谷中 kuh chung, that such inversion of the characters was customary with the ancients, especially in poetry (LEGGE, *Shi*, I. i. ii.): cp. Tsai pi chung Ho, "In yonder middle of the Ho." "The spoken language of the ancients was entirely in this manner; and in their poetry and writing a great deal was of this sort" (Chung kuh tao yen: ku jǎn yŭ kiai jǎn; shi wǎn to lei tsz'. MORRISON, Dict. iii., p. 234). In Chinese, instances of the adjective following the noun are not unknown, as in Accadian traces survive of the adjective preceding the noun. And Chinese sentences like puh wo hia-ki, or puh ngo i-kwei, with the pronominal object preceding the transitive verb, agree with the usual Accadian order. Yet in Accadian we find the transition to the reverse order already begun, in cases like a-daḡ zu ḡea (*help-thee-may*), May they help Thee! (*luriṣuka*). As regards subject and verb, the rule in both languages is that the subject precedes.

Much more evidence might be adduced in support of the general thesis of this paper; but probably enough is here presented to convince the unprejudiced, or at least to induce those who care for the truth in these matters to search for themselves.

the idea of in, and then out of, from. Cp. the Hebrew and Aramaic use of בֵּית, בֵּי, house, inside, in. These facts prove that to call igir-mu, behind me (igir, back), "a noun used locatively with a suffix-pronoun," but ama-da, a noun with a suffixed postposition, is to contend for a distinction without a difference. 𐤌𐤍 da, du, ta, is strictly hand, at hand, in hand, to hand, and side, beside. Hence it is used for in, with: dul dul du, in valleys; ge da, in the night; da bi, with him (= bi da). So, too, 𐤌𐤍 ra, towards, to, if not a special use of 𐤌𐤍 ra, to dwell, is probably identical with 𐤌𐤍 ra, foot, to go, and not, therefore, a "pronominal element."

SECTION IX.
AUSTRALASIA.

I.

ON FIJIAN POETRY.

BY

THE HON. SIR ARTHUR GORDON, G.C.M.G.

President.

I HAVE no pretensions to assume the honourable designation of an Orientalist. My crude impressions, whether as to ethnological problems, linguistic questions, or social usages, would be entitled to little respect from those to whom that name more truly belongs; but having long felt an interest in the studies and discoveries of those more learned than myself, and having some acquaintance with current literature on the subjects which occupy this Congress, I have sought not wholly to waste those opportunities for taking note of facts and collecting materials for investigation, which the circumstances of my life have from time to time afforded me. It has been my desire to observe carefully, and to record accurately, though modestly, what has come under my notice, and I have hoped thus to bring together materials, which might be of some use to those better able to employ them scientifically. Such as they are, those materials are altogether at the service of any one who desires to take advantage of them.

I have felt some hesitation as to the particular subject to which I should devote the present paper. I was strongly tempted to set forth in it the arguments which may be urged by those who consider that influences from the American continent have left no inconsiderable traces, not only in Polynesia, but in Melanesia also.

I have no desire to controvert the opinion, held by those who are far more capable than I am of forming one entitled to respect, that the origin of the Melanesian races and languages is to be sought to the west, and not to the east of the islands of the Pacific, nor am I disposed to underrate the force of the evidence to be brought in support of that opinion. But I may be permitted to state as my own personal impression, that these islands are more largely indebted to influences from the American continent than many are disposed to admit.

I base this opinion, not upon accidental resemblances, such as are due simply to the operation of similar causes acting on a similar state of society—the frequent cause of most delusive theories. For example, the curious likeness between the different divisions of land belonging to a Fijian and an Aryan village have been made the ground of an attempt to connect races having nothing whatever in common,—just as the fancied resemblance of one or two turns of grammar has given rise to a painful attempt to see analogies between the Fijian language and Hebrew, with which it has as much affinity as with the language of the inhabitants of the planet Mars.

Nor is it an opinion derived from similarities of design and ornament, which are, in fact, attributable to such designs being the simplest and most elementary forms which naturally suggest themselves to those first feeling their way in the science of ornamentation.

My belief in a strong American influence having been felt throughout the Pacific is chiefly founded on such buildings as the terraced pyramidal tombs of the Tui Tongas in Tongatabu, the great walls and other fragmentary structures existing in the Caroline Islands; on the remarkable resemblance between some peculiar shapes of Fijian pottery—not taken, as so many are, from natural forms,—with those of certain Peruvian vases, and which, so far as I am aware, are found nowhere else but in Peru; and chiefly upon the number of Peruvian—that is to say, Quiche—words which are to be found in some dialects in Fiji. But on the whole, I deemed this too ambitious a subject for me to treat. The view I cannot myself help taking is not that generally adopted, and the wrath of an angry anthropologist I would not rashly encounter.

Another subject which had its attractions for me was that of the land tenure of Fiji. But though this subject is one of those of which I really do possess some little knowledge, I should here too be treading on somewhat perilous ground; nor do I know that I have much to add to what has been already said respecting it. Speaking generally, and with only one important exception (that as to the effect of what is called the *soro ni qele*), I may be allowed to remark that my views on this subject coincide with those of Dr. Lorimer Fison, as given by him in an able and most interesting paper in the Journal of the Anthropological Society for 1880, and it was satisfactory to me to know that I had not only arrived at these conclusions altogether independently, but had already reduced them to a written form before his paper had been published, or, I believe, even written.

On the whole, therefore, I came to the conclusion that the safest subject with which I could deal would be that of Fijian poetry and folk-lore, of which during my residence in the Pacific I made a large collection.

The poetry of Fiji has never had that done for it which Sir George Grey did for the poetry of New Zealand, Mr. Gill for that of Eastern Polynesia, or what our secretary, Dr. Codrington, has done for many of the Melanesian islands. A few—a very few—*mekes*¹ and *seres*² are printed as an Appendix to the late Mr. Waterhouse's "Kings and People of Fiji," but I have searched in vain elsewhere for more than two or three solitary specimens scattered here and there among the many books which have been written on Fiji, and of which I believe that I possess the greater number.

In general features, there is of course a strong similarity between the poetry of the Fijians and those of other Melanesian peoples. There are ancient sacred songs used either in heathen worship or as incantations; there are songs composed to preserve the memory of historical events; there are songs connected with formal dances, and there are slighter occasional compositions, love-songs and others, which will be mentioned in their place.

But the fact that the Fijians are drinkers of *kava*, or, as it is there called, *yaqona* [= *yan-ngona*], introduces one very important difference. During the solemn preparation of *yaqona*, a chant is always sung. These chants are for the most part very ancient and very unintelligible. They are quite apart from the dance *mekes*, which are never used for the purpose, and must not be confounded with them. There are also other points in which I think the poetry of the Fijians presents distinctive peculiarities. One of these is the frequency with which allusions to natural scenery, or descriptions of it, are introduced. They are indeed of such constant occurrence, that it may be almost set down as a general law that in all songs not relating to war or religion there must be some reference to natural scenery or natural objects. Another peculiarity, as it seems to me, consists in the sentiment they often display, many of the love-songs having a ring of true feeling very unlike what is usually found in similar Polynesian compositions, and which may be searched for in vain in Gill's "Songs of the Pacific."

But perhaps the most striking feature about the poetry of Fiji, though it is not peculiar to that group, is that it is still an essential part of the lives of the people. It is no mere collection of old and

¹ Chants to accompany dances or *yaqona* making.

² Hymns or songs.

perishing legends handed down from the past. It is a living art. New *mekes* form themselves spontaneously every day, and if they please the ear and the fancy, they become as much the fashion for the time as a popular song does with us. This, Dr. Codrington tells us, is characteristic of the Melanesian races. It is certainly otherwise among the Polynesian groups. I have tried in vain to ascertain the laws which regulate the composition of these songs. I cannot say that I have succeeded in discovering the metrical standard by which Fijian versification is governed. The lines most usually consist of eight or six syllables, sometimes five, and I have fancied that I have detected a fondness for an alternate use of long and short syllables. Sometimes there is an apparently dactylic arrangement, but the departures from these forms are so numerous and frequent as to render it impossible to say whether they are not the result of accident rather than of design. I am more confident of the existence of a measured and rhythmical termination of the lines, which, though not rhyme, is nearly allied to it.

The sacred songs are exceedingly difficult to translate. This difficulty is due to several causes. One is that the language in which they are written differs from that in everyday use, whether only in being older, or as being purposely couched in different terms, I do not venture to pronounce positively, though my opinion inclines strongly in the latter direction. Another is to be found in the extremely elliptical and allusive nature of the phrases used. A third, and one often not sufficiently thought of, is that most of them were intended to be acted, each singer, or band of singers, having a distinctly assigned part. To read one of them straight through is like reading a scene in a play in which there is a good deal of animated conversation and action, as if it were printed without any punctuation, without any hint that there is more than one speaker, and without stage directions or changes of scene. They are, moreover, those which are most rapidly disappearing. The last heathens in Fiji became Christian now nearly twenty years ago, and since that time, of course, no new heathen songs have been made, and the repetition or preservation of the old ones is, perhaps not unnaturally, discouraged by the missionaries, and still more eagerly proscribed by the native teachers, who have none of the philological or historical tastes which might induce some at least of the white missionaries to desire the preservation, as a record, of these ancient myths and invocations. The first of them that I will quote is an invocation to the Kalou Vatu for invulnerability.

Invulnerable people were of two classes, the first invulnerable at

all times, and especially in war, called the Vudivudi (invulnerable). Those of the other class, which was of much more modern institution, were only invulnerable for the time being, while the ceremony was going on, or a short time after, but not in war.

The name of the god of the first-class was Na Kalou Vatu ("the stone god"). Those into whom a portion of his spirit entered were afraid of water, and shuddered if they crossed it. As his name implies, he dwelt in rough stones.

The second class were a much later offshoot from the other; their ceremonies were much more elaborate, and they added the custom of giving a new name to each of their body when he joined them. One of the body fell into a trance; the goddess entered into him and ordered him to call so and so to join the association, at the same time mentioning the name by which the new member was to be called. This message was delivered as soon as the person possessed awoke from the trance. The man called, it is said, never objected to obey the summons.

Invocation to the Kalou Vatu.

Misimbotuku sought out dry firewood
To heat again the dead man's oven.
They await the coming of the king from Morotutu.
The tread, the noisy tread of men without, announces the coming of
Nosolende.
The boastful chief with tossing locks is dead;
His land is blackened by fire;
His body is the food of fire and of men.

Chorus.

Thus Nangelembulu, being overthrown, burns.
They thought themselves invulnerable;
Their boasted strength is vain;
They are as foolish men who get on board a sinking canoe;
They are scattered about among the hills;
They no longer can combine or make us afraid.

Chorus.

Oh, Kalou Vatu, listen!
He hears. Na Tholauli's shade shows itself among the plantain
leaves.
We shall live; we may go in peace.
The men of Nadrau stand thick in number as the green crops in the
plantations.

Chorus.

Oh, awful being ! appear to us. Grant our prayer.

See again the ghostly form on the rock.
Make haste ; husk the red nuts and offer them.

Chorus.

Oh, awful being ! appear to us. Grant our prayer.

The young men come in, their arrows rattling in the quiver ;
In their hands the spears shake, and cannot be passed.

Chorus.

Oh, awful being ! appear to us. Grant our prayer.

The next hymn before me is an invocation to the Kalou Rere, the goddess of those only temporarily invulnerable. Small temples were built to her, in which none but the goddess dwelt ; her priest was called the Vuniduvu. The name Raisevu was given to the person whom the spirit of the god was called on to enter.

Solo.

Oh, Vuniduvu, come and invoke the presence of the divinity !
Oh, awful being ! appear to us. Oh, living goddess, grant our prayer !

Chorus.

Come, come, and make entrance (into the body of the Raisevu) ;
May thy presence prevent all harm ;
Fill our bodies with overpowering strength.
Living goddess ! grant our prayer.

Solo.

The Vuniduvu stands in the temple ;
His poised spear is raised to strike ;
Fearful weapons are raised all around,
Whirling missiles, deadly if well aimed.
Raisevu trembles in deadly fear.
Living goddess ! come appear. Grant our prayer.

Chorus.

Come, come and make entrance.
May thy presence prevent all harm ;
Fill our bodies with overpowering strength.
Living goddess ! grant our prayer.

I gained some insight into the meaning of the legendary mythological songs by seeing one acted. The argument of the play was the anger of Dengei, the chief god of Fiji, at the killing of his favourite bird by two young men or gods, and his consequent removal of their tribe from their homes. Dengei was represented by two young men standing back to back, very cleverly dressed so as to represent a man with two faces and four arms, their heads being both covered by one enormous wig.

First Brother.

One day we went to amuse ourselves.
We go down to Vuniathawa ;
Arrived there, I look round and say, Brother, what bird is that ?
As no one is looking on, I will shoot at it.

Second Brother.

Take heed ; forbear, lest you hit it and we put ourselves in the wrong.

First Brother.

This arrow will not penetrate ; its barb is very weak.
I draw the string, I draw it well back,
I drive the arrow into its belly, and its bowels come out through the wound.
It fell down ; it alighted sitting ;
Its breath went from it at once ;
It turned up the soles of its feet.

Second Brother.

We have done ill in this. We shall have to drift away to uninhabited lands for this.

First Brother.

Who are these that you are afraid of ? If they are angry, we will fight.
Go on, I will follow. Let us go and roast our bird.
If it is a chieftain's bird, the fire will be put out by its body.
See, here is a pole ; let us lift it at once.
Let us stand and look round us. The place is empty—it is empty.
Carry the bird to the top of Rauyaba.
They have begun to pluck the feathers. The feathers are scattered
among the tree-ferns. They fly about covering Yasawa.

Chorus.

For one whole day the Gatangata cried ; but no cry came from Turuwaka. The god's awakener did not awake.

Dengei.

Come, Rokandakanda, search, look about in the country to windward,
in the country to leeward, to Na Bia, and to Na Kuruvarara.

Messenger goes and returns.

I arrived, and asked at once. The people cried—

Chorus (People).

What is the matter, oh, messenger?

Messenger.

Sirs, I am inquiring everywhere. For two whole days Turukawa has
not cried.

Chorus (People).

Are you a fool, messenger? Who would injure Turukawa, the awak-
ener of the father of the fathers of our race, the awakener who
has been ever with him from the beginning?

Dengei.

Go down to Na Kauyamba ;
Those impudent boys live there ;
There live the boy sportsmen. It was they shot Turukawa.
When you arrive, ask of them at once. [*Messenger arrives.*]

The two Brothers.

What is the matter, messenger?

Messenger.

Sirs, I am inquiring everywhere,
For two whole days Turukawa has not cried aloud.

The two Brothers.

Are you a fool, messenger? Who would touch the awakener of our
ancestor? [*Messenger returns, but is sent back.*]

Degei.

Look here, then ; go back, Rokandakanda.
Lewangata, peeping, saw them go down to Vunithawa, each holding in
his hand an arrow. It was they who killed poor Turukawa, and
no one else.

The two Brothers.

What is the matter, messenger?

Messenger.

Lewangata, peeping, saw you go down to Vunithawa. It was you shot Turukawa.

The two Brothers.

Shall we be like those who deny the truth? It was we who shot Turukawa. His grave is at Munduniyalo.

First Brother to Second.

Feel in the basket hung up; feel in the basket, brother, and hand me out the double tambua.¹ [*To Messenger, giving it—*]

This is our challenge, messenger: you may burn us out if you can.

Chorus of Carpenters.

Go and cut Balawa trunks to make stockades with loopholes.

Dengei.

Let the army attack to-morrow. Let the Leketiki spring to the front. [*These were a people with tails, but reduced in number to two men only.*]

First Brother.

Let us lead on to repulse them. Who to-day will shoot this man? Na Thirikaumoli shot him, and drove the arrow into his belly. His bowels poured out through the wound.

Chorus.

The Na Kauvandra men return flying in haste to their places.

Dengei.

Let the army attack again to-morrow.

Chorus.

The remaining Leketiki springs to the front rattling his weapons.

First Brother.

Let us lead on to repulse them. Who to-day will shoot him? Na Kausambaria shot him, and drove the arrow into his belly. His breath went from him at once.

Chorus.

The Na Kauvandra men return flying in haste to their places.

¹ Whale's tooth—the authentication of every message of importance.

Here several verses of the *meke* are wanting, but their place may be supplied from the prose legend of the same events. Dengei said—"The tailed ones are killed. One race of men is now altogether destroyed. If we continue the war, the tailless ones will perish also. I will stop the war, and order the brothers and their people to fly elsewhere." We now resume the *meke*.

Chorus of Carpenters preparing to fly.

Let the craftsmen meet together, Doloulu and Visikatawa.
Our canoe will have to drift to a distance. Let the property be put
on board—all our women also—and let them take on board all
their mats. Let the earth also and the people go on board the
canoes. Let the baskets of tools be properly embarked.
Words from our head we wait. Words from our head are coming.
Are they words of life or words of evil?

Messenger.

Lo these are the words from Nambukandra. Lo these are the words of
Dengei.
Let them drift to a distance. My cries of grief I pour forth.
But you must leave Na Kauyaba. The stream running up into the
hills which you have asked for, I grant you. These are my last
words.

Chorus.

They drift away with their household goods. They drift away with
their tools, leaving Tabanisasa behind them, the land of Kubukubu
and Malkawa. The diggers of yakka are left behind. Um-
katamai, a, a, a.

I quote yet another of the incantations to the Kalou Rere for
the sake of the singular and poetic simile in the second verse, which
is quite unique in its way.

Revandra comes, the enemy of Raisevu.
The spirit sent by spirit appears.
Oh, awful being! grant my wish.
O Teacher! whose home is at Vunivesikula, far off,
Your words come to the sea-shore.

The red waves break round me,
As grass-land on fire glows at night;
A quivering line of light,
Moving like a snake.

Raivakathambe, be present.
 Raivakavondo, come up here ;
 Fill the children of the sea.

Oh, awful being ! appear to us ;
 Be present, approach ;
 Grant our desire to us.

The historical songs are, as a rule, somewhat dull. They are less poetic than the others, are free from local peculiarities, and far less interesting than the prose legends of the same events handed down to us. But a specimen of them may be given.

I.

A cry to assemble has been heard,
 Heard in all the towns ;
 Heard at Nasau, compelling silence.
 The tambua¹ of war has called them.
 The people of Nasau are reviewed in the town square (*rara*)
 Their chief stands up and says,
 " This is a sign to you that men will be killed."
 They tramp through the midst of Bulukara ;
 They climb up to Yavula ;
 They descend to Vatumatai ;
 They pass by Vatukalolo,
 And tread the lands of Bulubulunwai.
 They assemble at Katavalala ;
 They shout, they stir, they cry,
 The Vasu to Varata stands up among them—
 " I will speak but once to you, my lads," he says.
 They are reviewed again at Raumala,²
 And move backwards and forwards ;
 They crush down a house in their thronging.

II.

The people of Lovoni are reviewed
 Passing through Lomaimalulu.
 The Vunivalu, who is in haste, says,
 " Give me a present for them."
 A string of whale's teeth he takes forth—
 " These are yours," he says, " pledge of my thanks
 That you may kill men

¹ Whale's tooth.

² *i.e.*, before the Vunivalu of Bau.

And that I may be joyful and renowned."
The east wind blows favourably ;
It is the wind to sail with to Mathuata ;
The double canoes creak before it,
And Mokondranga is left astern.
Vatuiira lies to windward.
At Nabouwalu the canoes anchor,
And bread is prepared for the voyage.
Next morning they set sail
And land again at Liliwa.
At Bua they advance in line ;
The great chief of Bua stands up before them,
Handing to them a whale's tooth.
" This is for you, sons of ladies," he says ;
" This is the pledge of our friendship ;
This is the pledge of weak Bua
With its few inhabitants.
My father is gone hence for ever,
Only my brother is left with me."
Next morning they set sail ;
They scull across the bay of Tinaro,
Dashed over by great waves.
The god, the son of Dengei, asks from his cliff at Naithom-
thombo,
" Where are you chiefs going ?"
" We are going to Mathuata," they reply.
Nawanka also hails them.
The canoes bring up at Naimbaku.
The crews sleep in the caves.
Next morning they set sail,
And the big canoes creak,
Creaking to the midst of Macuata.
The town of Matainambululevu is burned down.
The breeze was fresh in the passage.
O-i-e ! How fresh was the breeze,
The south wind lashing the sea into waves.
The people of Mokuni, being late,
Have to sail through the Namena sea.
At Matuka, that distant island.
The women swim after the canoes.
Doves coo as they cross the passage ;
The surf resounds from the land,
From the islands the surf resounds
As the sacred canoe goes down to the sea.
The invulnerable ones go on board ;

They tread the sands of the reef ;
 They tear down the graceful leaves.
 The red leaves from Nukuserau
 Are rustled by the tumbling waves.
 The army is reviewed at Lekutu.
 At the town of Tolutolu they sleep.
 Vosunga in his house inquires,
 " Whence is the army trampling outside ?"
 Terrified at the reply, he flies.
 The town of Nanyuya is taken,
 And the red fowls fly up to the sky.¹

Here is one of rather more poetic character.

At dawn of day we raised our spears against the enemy.
 We shook out our flags, made in the Tongan fashion.
 Whilst they were still asleep we struck them.
 Who are these dead ones they carry back from the fight ?
 They heard the sound of arms rattling, and they fled.
 They crossed the stream for safety.
 Our women carry the mud-bespattered limbs of the slain.
 The sun rises, and it is hot.
 The fresh breeze rises, and it is cool.
 We crossed the stream, for fear they should escape, and take refuge
 in some pool, for they may be compared to fish.
 Keep the large ones ; throw away the small.
 They are like poisoned fish that float on the sea.
 Cook the food ; let us eat to-day.

I have remarked how large a part natural scenery takes in these poems. Many songs refer to nothing else, or at least make the scenery the principal object—as, for example, this, on Tavoro, a waterfall in Taviuni.

I will make haste to see Tavoro leaping down from on high in fine
 spray.
 The sound of it is heard as far away as Boono ;
 The wind that it makes is like that of a hurricane,
 Its blast reaches even Somosomo.
 I am desirous to climb the heights of Laucala
 That I may see thence the island of Naitaumba,
 Floating apparently like a canoe on the bright water :
 Below me roar the waves in the Bay of Vatulawa,
 Waves which those that go to sea are in fear of.

¹ When a Fijian town is burned, people and pigs are seldom seen, as they have found means to escape ; but the flight of the poultry from the flames is always a notable sight.

First Offshoot.

Ripe Langakalis hang on the tree and lie scattered on the ground,
 Gakula's mother's ten fingers are busy gathering up the store.
 She says to her mistress, "Dear lady, do not take the fallen fruit. Let
 me have them. Yours are those still on the boughs, hung as if in
 a bright garland."

Second Offshoot.

I lie down by the water. I bathe. I gaze.
 I see the desolate shore of Thakaundrove. There are no guests from
 Wairiki. Let us keep silence at the crying of the children, the
 children who have lost their playmates. I see Nairai afar off,
 and Vunikivo lonely in the midst of the sea.

I now proceed to that class of songs which I have said more
 nearly resemble European love-songs than any with which I am
 acquainted among other semi-savage races, and will at once give
 some specimens of them. I will ask you remark how, in all of them,
 some reference to beauties of nature is introduced, sometimes in a
 very forced manner. My translation is not literal or verbal. The
 elliptical nature of the poetic language makes this impossible, but
 the meaning of each line is I think faithfully given.

The first song is one of some antiquity, and belongs to the district
 of Namosi.

He.

Behold the rising-sun ascends
 Through black wind-driven clouds.
 See Thingomia¹ trembling and fading (in the distance), and lively
 Sawanamate¹ its beauty wasted.
 Natuethake² rears itself in front,
 At its foot the waves lap the bright pebbly beach
 The village stands on.
 The sweet scent of the langakali comes stealing through the door and
 fills the house,
 Giving me a troubled joy not unmixed delight,
 Pleasant even thus.
 I seek my lady in the house when the breeze blows,
 I say to her, "Arrange the house, unfold the mats,
 Bring the pillows, sit down and let us talk together."
 I say, "Why do you thus provoke me? Be sure men despise coquetry
 such as yours, though they disguise from you the scorn they feel.
 Nay, be not angry; grant me to hold thy fairly tattooed hand. I
 am distracted with love. I would fain weep if I could move
 thee to tears."

¹ Names of villages.

² A mountain.

She.

You are cruel, my love, and perverse. To think thus much of an idle jest.

The setting sun bids all repose. Night is nigh.

It is impossible to follow with absolute closeness the elliptical wordings of the poem. As it is, I have perhaps followed it too closely for intelligibility, but it is clear that the ideas here expressed have, if they were somewhat expanded, all the elements of a true love-song. Here is another:—

I lay till dawn of day, peacefully asleep,

But when the sun rose, I rose too and ran without.

I hastily gathered the sweetest flowers I could find,

Shaking them from the branches.

I came near the dwelling of my love with my sweet-scented burden.

As I came near she saw me, and called playfully,

“What bird are you flying here so early?”

“I am a handsome youth and not a bird,” I replied,

“But like a bird I am mateless and forlorn.”

She took a garland of flowers off her neck and gave it to me.

I in return gave her my comb; I threw it to her and ah me! it strikes her face!

“What rough bark of a tree are you made from?” she cries. And so saying she turned and went away in anger.

In the mountain war of 1876 there was in the native force on the Government side a handsome lad of the name of Naloko, much admired by the ladies. One day, all the camp and the village of Nasauthoko were found singing this song, which some one had composed:—

The wind blows over the great mountain of Mongondro,

It blows among the rocks of Mongondro.

The same wind plays in and raises the yellow locks of Naloko.

Thou lovest me, Naloko, and to thee I am devoted.

Shouldest thou forsake me, sleep would for ever forsake me.

Shouldest thou enfold another in thine arms,

All food would be to me as the bitter root of the via.

The world to me would become utterly joyless

Without thee, my handsome, slender-waisted,

Strong-shouldered, pillar-necked lad.

This song illustrates many things at once. The way in which the rocky mountain is lugged in is an example of the love of the

introduction of natural objects I have already spoken of, and the fact that the song was made by some unknown member of the native constabulary, or some equally unknown villager of Nasauthoko, shows how living and universal is the poetic feeling.

In all these songs there is a ring of true passion, as if of love arising not from mere animal instinct but intelligent association. In that which I now quote there is something of the sentimental character.

A chief married two sisters. One had children and was beloved by him; the other was childless and entirely neglected, and at length, stung by jealousy and despair, she determined to commit suicide. She is supposed to be the first speaker.

Andi Vavarusu¹ lies sleeping.

Is this the sleep of health or of death?

Her head hangs helplessly over the pillow.

Sleep on, woman, who will spare me no place in our husband's love.

Sleep on, woman, who dost not remember our sisterhood.

This sort of double-wifeship is painful as moli thorns to our flesh.

This kind of double-wifeship hurts us as sharp shells cut our feet.

I take out my paint and my finest dress,

I walk away over the plain,

I pass by under the shaking rock,

I wade across the river.

Two lads of Setura were playing there,

The children of Banisikulu.

I turn aside from the path to where a lemba tree grows.

I open my paint basket,

I paint both my eyes black

And one cheek with spots.

I open and unfold my coloured dress,

I tie it tight round my waist.

As I tighten it I sneeze.

What does that sneeze portend?

Is to-day the day of my death?

I then turn to the cocoanut tree.

Moistening my hands, I spring to climb it,

Halfway between the leaves and the root

I pause, and look round on the land.

My land looks mournful to me.

I see Setura lovely in the distance,

The house-tops are dimly grey in the distance.

I see the strand where I sauntered in life,

¹ Her sister.

The white shell ornaments on the canoe-ends are blurred together in the distance.

I let go both my hands,
And my life is parted from me.
Ia nam bosulu.

Her sister suspecting, and at last discovering, what has happened, is overcome with remorse, and kills herself also.

Andi Vaverusa was lonely.

Her only sister was missing.

She had been missing for two days.

Pity that day touched Andi Vaverusa.

"Go call our husband," she said, "and take out my richly coloured dress."

To her husband she says, "Do you hold our child and take care of him ; I will be back again in two days."

Then Andi Vaverusa set off to walk down towards the plain.

But her baby waved his hand to her, and Andi Vaverusa returned to kiss him. "Take care of our child," she says again ; "in two days I will return."

Then Andi Vaverusa goes away again. But the baby waves both hands to her, and she turns back once more to kiss her boy.

Then she goes away again saying, "In two days I will return."

She goes away across the plain. She passes the shaking rock. She crosses the Dolondolu river ; there are playing in it the two children of Banisikulu.

Andi Vaverusa asks them, "Did any one pass here two days ago?"

They answered her, "Do you perhaps inquire after that most beautiful lady—a lady beautiful even as you are—a lady whose hair hung down two fathoms, who passed by two days ago?"

She passed on, and under the red lemba tree she saw her sister's open paint basket.

She painted one eye black, and both cheeks with spots. She opened her painted liku and tied it round her.

As she tied it she sneezed. What may this sneeze portend? Is this the day of her death?

She turned to a cocoa-nut tree, and wetting her hands, she climbed it. Half-way between the leaves and the root she paused and looked below her.

What did she see below her? The long tresses of Andi Senikumba, the dead body of her sister.

"Is my best and only sister dead?" she cried.

For a while she remained looking over the land, Setura lying lovely in the distance, the houses grey in the distance, the strand where she had walked when living with her sister.

She let go with both hands, saying, "Our lives are parted from us both." And their bodies lie together.

I think the following may also be classed as sentimental :—

"The girls of Vunivanua all had lovers,
But I, poor I, had not even one.
Yet I fell desperately in love one day,
My eye was filled with the beauty of Vusonilawedua."
She ran along the beach, she called the canoe-men.
She is conveyed to the town where her beloved dwells.
Na Ulumatua sits in his canoe unfastening its gear.
He asks her, "Why have you come here, Sovanalasikula?"
"They have been falling in love at Vunivanua," she answers;
"I, too, have fallen in love. I love your lovely son Vasunilawedua."
Na Ulumatua arose to his feet. He loosened a tambua from the canoe.
"This," he said, presenting it to her, "is my offering to you for your
return. My son cannot wed you, lady."
Tears stream from her eyes, they stream down on her breast.
"Let me only live outside his house," she says; "I will sleep upon
the wood pile. If I may only light his *seluka*¹ for him, I shall
rejoice. If I may only hear his voice from a distance, it will
suffice. Life will be pleasant to me."
Na Ulumatua replied, "Be magnanimous, lady, and return.
We have many girls of our own. Return to your own land.
Vasunilawedua cannot wed a stranger."
Sovanalasikula went away crying.
She returned to her own town forlorn.
Her life was sadness.
Ia nam bosulu.

The following is a good specimen of a dance meke :—

I.

I sat on the beach in the evening,
I was in bad spirits, and heavy thoughts filled my mind,
When Andi Kulamatandra said to me,
"Where are all the young men gone! Let them come
And practise the song and dance of the bird of sweet voice, the kasi-
kasi."
Baskets full of flowers are brought.
They pick the rich-scented flowers of the langakali,
They sever from the boughs the bright-coloured flowers of the ever-
flowering mata.

¹ Native cigarette.

The drums are pushed out of the house and brought into the midst of the square.

Let us form to dance the dance and sing the song of the kasi-kasi, and thus they pace the measure.

2.

Chorus.

Has it not been heard at Thikombia,
How they killed the bird Kasi-kasi,
How they killed and how they cooked him,
How they cooked and how they ate him?
They have made away with Kasi-kasi,
And the singers lifted up their voices and clapped their hands,
Only to cease when the sun touched the sea.

3.

Solo [Andi Kulamatandra speaks].

For a day Kasi-kasi has been missing,
For two days Kasi-kasi has not appeared.
My belly constrains me and I weep;
I cry aloud, "My awakener is lost."
Under the shade of the makosi tree I stand and pine,
I cannot speak; my songs are only cries of pain.
I weep alone in my house.
The pigs grunt to be killed,
The fowls cackle and crow.
All these are mine, and no one else's,
Yet I lie awake till daylight,
Till the sky is painted by the coming day,
For the song of Kasi-kasi was sweet,
Like the notes of a bamboo-flute.
The voice that woke me sweetly in the morning is silent.
Oh, let a canoe be brought that I may go and seek him.
Oh, let a canoe be brought that I may at least go home.

4.

Chorus.

"A canoe from whence, dear lady?" they reply.
"You are Vasu ¹ of Lauthala to windward
(You cannot leave your people)."
They bring to her two large tambuas,²
"This (they say) is our atonement for your bird;
We sit down and offer it humbly, the atonement of all your people,

¹ Niece, and possessing large rights as such.

² Whale's teeth.

A propitiation to drive away your tears.
 The fair island of Nukumasi too is offered to you ;
 Young men shall sing all day and dance all night ;
 The people of Thikombia shall make tappa¹ for you, dear lady ;
 Men shall put up fences—fences at Lomai-e-ake, and bring pigs to
 fill them [if only you will stop grieving].”

All the songs I have quoted are perfectly unobjectionable, but among those of the sentimental class there are not a few which are licentious, and many more which, though not open to that reproach, are coarse and indecent in their plain-spokenness. But among these there is to be found an element of humour, a quality not often discernible among savages.

I suppose we are all acquainted with the old Scotch ballad in which the husband, returning home, puts questions to his wife, who had been entertaining a lover or hiding a rebel in the house during his absence, and she puts him off with crooked answers, representing a Highland bonnet as a hen, a pair of boots as water-stoups, and so on. There is just such a ballad in Fijian. The wife of a chief has entertained a lover, who has come into the house, not through the principal door, but through a narrow opening in the reeds usually found at the upper end of large houses. He has given his comb to the lady, whose ornamented wooden and ivory pillow he has carried off in exchange. The husband returns. He asks—

“Where is your pillow, lady?”

“My pillow? It is being cleaned and polished.”

“Whose comb is this, lady?”

“Comb? It is no comb; only an instrument to keep apart strips of bark for plaiting.”

“Whose hair is this on the reeds, lady?”

“Hair? It is my hair, which caught on the reeds as I went out at that small door.”

“Your hair, lady? It is not the colour of your hair. This hair is yellow, and curled, and frizzy. Yours is soft, like a Tongan lady’s. It is the hair of a man: it is the hair of Ratu Ravula.”

He does not kill or ill-use his wife, but takes his revenge by seducing the wife of the man who has wronged him—the ordinary usage of Fijians in such cases to the present day, and which is submitted to without resistance by the woman as a *right* of the aggrieved husband.

I have mentioned that the composition of songs is common, as in

¹ Native cloth.

the Melanesian islands. To the east this is no longer the case. In the Friendly Islands every vestige of ancient habits has been stamped out by the, as it appears to me, very narrow policy of the missionaries. In Samoa, so far as I am aware, the composition of songs was always restricted to a few persons, and seems now to have well-nigh disappeared. But in Fiji the art is not confined to any special class of persons. Any one, chief or commoner, man or woman, may indulge the poetic vein, if so inclined, and the song, if liked, will be sung.

The first of the modern *mekes* which I shall quote is a rather curious and interesting one.

Under the government of Thakombau, just before the cession, the chiefs were encouraged and bribed to send men in large numbers to work on plantations in distant islands, a thing which, on no theory of Fijian polity and custom, had they the smallest right to do. But of course we were told, as we always are told on such occasions, that the men went willingly, and of their own accord; and, secondly, that in any case it was a very good thing for them, and that they were much better off on the plantations than at their own homes, on their own land, and among their own families.

It may be interesting to know what they themselves thought on the subject.

A *meke* composed by the labourers on an estate in the Yasawa islands¹ gained a wide circulation, and I believe accurately expresses their feelings.

Unde, Unde, Vu ni koka.²
 Our chiefs are stupid.
 What money is this that they covet?
 Shillings with which to buy spirits.
 Ni sa unde unde
 Ni sa li mai.

Unde, Unde, Vu ni via.
 Our chiefs are foolish.
 They have given us to the white men.

¹ A numerous group forming the north-western portion of the Fiji islands.

² The words at the head of each stanza, which I have left untranslated, consist of an exclamation expressing movement and the name of a tree. It is as though the words—

“Wave, wave, weeping willow,
 Wave stately pine tree,” &c.,

were introduced as a sort of *refrain* in an English ballad.

The sun and the rain beat upon us.
 We can bathe only in the evenings.
 Ni sa unde unde
 Ni sa li mai.

Unde, Unde, Vu ni drani.
 Our chiefs are full of treachery.
 They have sold us to the white men.
 The sun and the rain beat upon us.
 We can bathe only in the evening.
 Ni sa unde unde
 Ni sa li mai.

Here is a song on the great visitation of measles in 1875:—

Our chiefs consult together,
 They consult without being able to decide,
 They consult about the ship that is being prepared
 For Tui Viti to sail in. It was an evil consultation.

The house of death is opened,
 That trouble may come to Viti
 And destroy all our people.
 One side is already depopulated;
 We are very near to the gates of hell.

The war in the mountains of Viti Levu in 1876 gave rise to many songs. This is one of them;—

Who is the chief at Veitawatawa?
 Lewatiakana is the chief at Veitawatawa.
 What were the words of Lewatiakana?
 “Let us be strong, children, and throw off the cloth;¹
 I am your great governor of Na Nuyu Koro.”
 Who is the chief of Matawalu?
 Na Gusundrandra is the chief there.
 What was it he took in hand to do?
 Na Gusundrandra said, “Government stores shall not go into the
 mountains;”
 And he turned them back at Koroisata.
 Who is the chief of Naveiyaraki?
 Katakataimoso is the chief there.
 What was it that he proclaimed?
 Katakataimoso said, “My name shall resound to the skies.”
 He said, “Let the Government at Nasauthoko be destroyed.”

¹ i.e., renounce Christianity.

They are judged, they are judged, they are judged.
 Let us sing about the prison ;
 There they eat the seeds of beans ;
 There Tui Timbiri is their gaoler ;
 There they are bound with withes of the walai creeper.
 With these bonds the sergeants drag them,
 Drag them along the mountain paths, crying as they go,
 Drag them to Waiwai, where they rest,
 Thence on to Vatutoko, on the ridge,
 And down to Nawaka, where they arrive in the evening,
 And await the arrival of the steamer not yet come
 Which is to take them to Levuka to break stones.
 " Oh, I am utterly lost and done for, I am utterly lost and done for,"
 they cry,
 To Levuka to break stones.
 " Oh, I am lost and done for ; oh, I am lost and done for." ¹

These few specimens of Fijian poetry may be interesting. As I have mentioned poetry alone, I have refrained from giving any example of the *Talanoas*, the legendary stories which exist, and of which also I have a large collection. Perhaps in some respects they are more valuable than the poetry, for they are more rapidly perishing.

I should add that the translations here given have been made or revised by one or other of three first-rate Fijian scholars :—Mr. Walter Carew, a gentleman little known, but probably possessing a better grammatical and scientific knowledge of the Fijian language than any other man living ; Mr. David Wilkinson, formerly the Governor's native Commissioner, whose power of seizing the scope and meaning of a Fijian speech, and of rendering it into equivalent phrases, faithfully translating the shades of meaning and expression rather than the literal words, is in my opinion unequalled ; and the late Mr. Edward Heffernan, who did not perhaps possess so accurate a grammatical and scientific knowledge of the language as the other gentlemen I have named, but had an almost exclusive knowledge of some of the dialects of the interior.

¹ Literally "dead" = "*kilt entirely*."

II.

THE

LANGUAGES OF BRITISH NEW GUINEA.

BY
SIDNEY H. RAY.

AN endeavour will here be made to show, by linguistic evidence alone, that the southern shores of British New Guinea and the adjacent islands form the meeting-place of tribes speaking two widely different types of language, one of which is aboriginal and the other intrusive. To distinguish the two types, it will be convenient to use in a somewhat restricted sense the terms Melanesian and Papuan. These are not new to Oceanic philology, but have been so loosely applied as to have become misleading. They are here used in the most literal and special sense, and the term Melanesian is applied only to the inhabitants of the great *island* chain which extends from the eastern extremity of New Guinea to New Caledonia. With similar restriction the term Papuan is used for the darker and more *frizzly-haired* people of the mainland of New Guinea. If this distinction be kept in mind, the description of any language spoken in New Guinea as Melanesian will at once mark it as akin to the island languages, and intrusive. The designation of any language as Papuan will show that it is one characteristic of the true aborigines of the island of New Guinea and distinct from the island tongues.

MELANESIAN AND PAPUAN.

The Melanesian languages of British New Guinea are not found farther west than Cape Possession, and even on the south-eastern shores appear only in detached settlements, rarely extending far into the interior, except along a river-bank. In native tradition these tribes are said to have come across the sea at some remote period, and occupied the villages on the coast. The name given by one section of these people to themselves points to the same fact.

It is the word *motu*, common in the east and south, and meaning "island." The speech of these intrusive settlers is in every essential a branch of the same linguistic family as that found in the southern portion of the Solomon Group, the Banks Islands, Fiji, and the New Hebrides. In relation to one another the various dialects are homogeneous, and all appear to belong to the same stock. They have similar variations in phonology and the same grammatical structure as the languages of the Melanesian islands, and their vocabularies are full of the same common words.

The Papuan languages of British New Guinea are spoken west of Cape Possession, on the islands of Torres Straits, in a few districts on the south-eastern shores, and generally in the inland districts, so far as they have yet been explored. These languages present in nearly every respect the widest possible contrast to the Melanesian. Instead of the comparatively simple forms of the Melanesian grammar, we have elaborate expressions built up after the Australian manner by suffixes. Entirely strange features of grammar are found, and there is hardly any agreement between one language and another in vocabulary or constructive particles. The appearance is presented of various distinct linguistic stocks. The tribes speaking these languages are represented as different in customs, frizzly-haired, and darker than the invaders from across the sea. They are no doubt the true aborigines of New Guinea. Unfortunately the difficult structure of the languages and their diversity in vocabulary have militated against the acquisition of accurate knowledge, but quite enough has been ascertained to show their entire separation from the Melanesian.¹

Besides the two types of language just mentioned, there are to be found at the eastern end of the Possession and in the Louisiades, other languages which are remarkably different from the Melanesian languages generally, and yet have in many cases Melanesian words and grammatical forms. Though imperfectly known, it seems possible to regard these as languages belonging to originally Papuan stocks, upon which have been grafted in course of time words and idioms from the Melanesian tongues. Their Papuan origin will account for their diversity, the Melanesian element, which is common to all, will account for partial agreements, and show the amount of contact with the island languages. If this supposition be correct,

¹ The relationship of the Torres Straits languages to the Melanesian and Australian have been fully discussed by Professor Haddon and myself in our "Study of the Languages of Torres Straits," and will shortly appear in the "Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy."

we may expect languages of a similar character in the Northern Solomon Islands, and such are indeed found. The languages of Alu, Treasury Island, of Buka and New Georgia, and that of Savo show that there are in that region some forms of speech which differ more or less from the Melanesian, and probably contain Papuan elements. For these mixed languages is proposed, and here used, the term Melano-Papuan.

In the following Table the languages of British New Guinea are arranged, as far as their mutual connection will allow, in geographical order, commencing from the west. No languages are inserted in the Table unless actual specimens have been examined, and in all cases the district where spoken and the authority for the specimen is stated:—

I.—MELANESIAN LANGUAGES.

<i>Language.</i>	<i>Dialect.</i>	<i>Locality.</i>	<i>Authority.</i>
1. Maiva	Mekeo	Upper St. Joseph District	Ann. Report Brit. New Guinea, 1890.
	Maiva-Kivori	Coast opposite Yule Island	MS. Chalmers & Brit. New Guinea Vocab.
	Laval or Roro	Yule Island	Lawes, Motu Gram., 2nd edit.
2. Motu	Nala	Between Kabadi and Hall Sound	Text.
	Kabadi	Redscar Bay	Stone, Few Months in New Guinea.
	Doura	Do.	Ann. Report Brit. New Guinea, 1891.
	Motu	Port Moresby	Lawes, Motu Gram., 2nd edit.
3. Kerepunu	Hula	Hood Point	MS. Chalmers & Brit. New Guinea Vocab.
	Bula'a	Do.	Ann. Report Brit. New Guinea, 1891.
	Kerepunu	Hood Bay	Text.
	Aroma	District E. of Hood Bay	Lawes, Motu Gram., 2nd edit.
	Sinaugolo	Central District	Do. do.
	Tarova	Do.	Ann. Report Brit. New Guinea, 1891.
4. Sariba	Sariba	Hayter Island	MS. Chalmers & Brit. New Guinea Vocab.
	Mugula	Dufaure Island	Ann. Report Brit. New Guinea, 1890.
	Suau	South Cape	Macgillivray, Voyage of the <i>Rattlesnake</i> .
	Wari	Teste Island	Text.
5. Awaiama	Awaiama	Chads Bay	Lawes, Motu Gram., 2nd edit.
	...	East Cape	Macfarlane, Brit. New Guinea Vocab.

II.—PAPUAN LANGUAGES.

<i>Language.</i>	<i>Dialect.</i>	<i>Locality.</i>	<i>Authority.</i>
1. Saibai	...	{ The Western Islands of Torres Straits, Yorke Island to Cape York }	{ Text. MS. Sharon & Macfarlane. Macgillivray, Voyage of the <i>Rattlesnake</i> . Ann. Report Brit. New Guinea, 1890. }
2. Dabu	{ Dabu Toga Mowat Perem Kiwai }	{ New Guinea Coast, opposite Saibai Do. Mouth of Kataru River Bampton Island Island of Kiwai, Fly Delta }	{ Ann. Report Brit. New Guinea, 1891. MS. Beardmore & Haddon. MS. Hunt. Ann. Report Brit. New Guinea, 1890. }
3. Daudai or Kiwai	{ Erub Mer }	{ Darnley Island Murray Island }	{ Texts. MS. Haddon & Macfarlane. Jukes, Voyage of the <i>Fly</i> . }
4. Miriam	...	{ Village on Douglas River, 25 m. N.W. of the Aird Hills Village on Queen's Jubilee River, 15 m. N. of Bald Head }	{ Bevan, Toil and Travel. Do. do. }
5. Tumu	...	{ Eastern end of Gulf of Papua District W. of Cape Possession Vill. Cape Possession }	{ Ann. Report Brit. New Guinea, 1891. Stone, Few Months in New Guinea. Text. Lawes, Motu Gram., 2nd edit. }
6. Evorra	...	{ Central district inland from Port Moresby Do. do. }	{ Ann. Report Brit. New Guinea, 1890. Stone, Few Months in New Guinea. MS. Chalmers & Brit. New Guinea Vocab. }
7. Elema	{ Toaripi Elema Motumotu }	{ Koitari Eikiri Koita Maiari Favere Kupele Meroka }	{ Ann. Report Brit. New Guinea, 1890. Stone, Few Months in New Guinea. MS. Chalmers & Brit. New Guinea Vocab. Do. do. Do. do. Do. do. }
8. Koiari	...	...	{ MS. Chalmers & Brit. New Guinea Vocab. Do. do. }
9. Kabana	...	...	{ MS. Chalmers & Brit. New Guinea Vocab. Do. do. }
10. Manukoliu	...	...	{ MS. Chalmers & Brit. New Guinea Vocab. Do. do. }
11. Domara	{ Domara Mairu }	{ Coast W. of Orangerie Bay Islands Do. }	{ Ann. Report Brit. New Guinea, 1891. }

III.—MELANO-PAPUAN LANGUAGES.

<i>Language.</i>	<i>Dialect.</i>	<i>Locality.</i>	<i>Authority.</i>
1. Murua	Woodlark Is.	Louisiades	Ann. Report Brit. New Guinea, 1890.
2. Nada	Langhlan Is.	Do.	Do. 1891.
3. Misima	St. Aignan Is.	Do.	Do. 1890.
4. Tagula	Sud Est Is.	Do.	Do. do.
5. ...	Rossel Is.	Do.	Do. do.

In comparing the Melanesian and Papuan languages of British New Guinea, it is necessary to note that only one grammar has been published, that of the Motu of Port Moresby.¹ Texts have been printed in several of the other languages (Kerepunu, Hula, Suau, Maiva, Motu-motu, Saibai, and Miriam), and some sentences are in most cases given with the vocabularies in the Annual Reports on New Guinea. In what follows, the Motu Grammar of the Rev. W. G. Lawes is used as the standard, but many notes and illustrations from the vocabularies and texts are combined with it.

In order to exhibit the difference between the two types of language, and also the agreement of the Melanesian languages with those of the island, a few notes are offered on phonology, pronouns, adjectives, and verbal particles.

1. *Phonology*.—The phonology of the Melanesian languages of New Guinea is very similar to that of the languages described in the work of the Rev. Dr. Codrington on the island languages, and the sound-changes are of the same character. A fact worthy of notice is the omission of the guttural *ng*, as in *sing* and *finger*. These do not occur in any of the Melanesian languages of the mainland, except in Mekeo, where, however, *ng* is a change from *r*. This omission of *ng* is compensated for either by a lengthened vowel or by the substitution of the simple nasal *n* or guttural *g*. Thus the common *langi*, wind, *tangi*, cry, appear as *lai*, *agi*, and *tai*, *hai*, *agi*, *tani*. The peculiar compound consonant called the Melanesian *q* (*kpw*) is found in most of the languages, but has rarely the full sound. It is *kw* in Motu and Bula'a, and *w* in Kerepunu, but is lost in Kabadi and Maiva. It is very conspicuous in Tagula, where it is written variously as *kw*, *gw*, *bw*, *ngw*, and *mbw*.

The description of the Melanesian sound-changes given by Dr. Codrington exactly applies to these languages as found in New Guinea, and it appears possible to draw from them the same conclusions as to the origin of the Melanesian settlements in New Guinea. "Sounds which differ one from the other correspond one to the other in different languages, and, interesting as the phonetic changes are, it is apparently impossible to show a law prevailing between one language and another. The reason for this probably is, that the various languages and dialects have been brought irregularly into their present seats, not in successive and considerable migrations from one quarter and another, but by chance and

¹ "Grammar and Vocabulary of Language spoken by Motu Tribe (New Guinea)," by Rev. W. G. Lawes, F.R.G.S. Second and revised edition. Sydney, 1888.

petty movements of people whose language, though belonging to one family, was already much broken up and diversified.”¹

Space only permits here of one example. The Kerepunu *g* is usually dropped in Motu, as in *gula*, *ura*, crayfish; *aigo*, *aio*, neck; yet the *g* is found in both dialects in *guba*, sky; *vagege*, jealous; *bagu*, forehead; whilst the *g* is both omitted and retained in the Kerepunu *gegu*, Motu *egu*, mine.

2. *Pronouns*.—The following table shows the Melanesian pronouns of New Guinea:—

	<i>I.</i>	<i>Thou.</i>	<i>He.</i>	<i>We</i> <i>inclusive.</i>	<i>We</i> <i>exclusive.</i>	<i>You.</i>	<i>They.</i>
Mekeo . . .	lau	oi	ia	naika	lai	aumi	iamo
Maiva . . .	au	oi	ia	aika	ai	uai	ia
Laval . . .	au	oi	...	...	...	...	...
Nala . . .	lau	oni	ia	ita	lai	oi	ia
Kabadi . . .	nana	onina	...	isada	naida	uida	iada
Motu . . .	lau	oi	ia	ita	ai	umui	idia
Doura . . .	nau	oi	ia	namai	...	umui	isia
Hula . . .	au	oi	ia	...	ai	omi	ila
Bula'a . . .	au	oi	ia	ia	ai	omi	ila
Kerepunu . . .	au	oi	ia	ia	ai	omi	ila
Aroma . . .	lau	goi	ia	ia	ai	mui	ira
Sinaugolo . . .	au	goi	gia	ita	gai	gomi	gia
Tarova . . .	au	goi	gia	...	...	gomi	gia
Sariba . . .	yau	koa	tenem	kita	kai	komi	sia
Mugula . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Suau . . .	eau	oa	ia	ita	ai	omi	isi
Wari . . .	iau	kowa	ia	...	kai	komiu	sia
Awaiama . . .	tau	...	...	...	...	...	...
East Cape . . .	tau	tam	iai	tauta	...	tamiai	inugoneina

A comparison of these with the Melanesian pronouns given in Dr. Codrington's work shows a large amount of agreement, especially with the languages of the Solomon Islands:—

	<i>I.</i>	<i>Thou.</i>	<i>He.</i>	<i>We</i> <i>inclusive.</i>	<i>We</i> <i>exclusive.</i>	<i>You.</i>	<i>They.</i>
Wango (San Cristoval) . .	au	o	ia	iga'u	ame'u	amo	ira'u
Vaturanga (Guadalcanar) .	au	ho	aia	hita	hami	hamu	hira, ra

The chief differences are in the plural. The first person exclusive has no form of *mam*, *ma*, or *am*, which is usual in Melanesia. The central districts alone have the Melanesian *ra* or *la* for the third person plural, the others have *ia*, *gia*, *idia*, and *isia* as forms of *isi*. This word is found in Melanesia as a demonstrative, and is the Solomon Islands Wango *esi*, Vanua Lava *es*, Sesake *se*.

The Melano-Papuan pronouns only partly agree with the Melanesian:—

¹ "The Melanesian Languages," p. 202.

	<i>I.</i>	<i>Thou.</i>	<i>He</i>	<i>We.</i>	<i>You.</i>	<i>They.</i>
Murua	Yegu	yakom	kanmaneti	{ kaditei (2) kaditeitonu (3) kadabebaosa	{ kamitei (2) kamiteitonu (3) yakamiyi	toweaka
Nada	togu	tom	tona	toda	tumis	tosi
Misima	nau	owa	ia	...	...	eria
Tagula	giya	kwenu	andanka	{ vagenri (2) tagato (3)	deukuwa (2)	{ degewu (2) imena

Of these, the Misima is the same as the New Guinea Melanesian, whilst the Nada forms, and some of the Murua, show the pronouns usual as possessive suffixes, *gu, m, na, &c.*

The Papuan pronouns do not agree with the Melanesian, and show a great variety of forms with very doubtful correspondences.

	<i>I.</i>	<i>Thou.</i>	<i>He.</i>	<i>We.</i>	<i>You.</i>	<i>They.</i>
Saibai	ngai	ngi	noi	{ ngoi ngalpa	ngita	tana
Dabu	{ nga ngana una	{ bungu bungo	bwainen	ngami	bibi	ubidag
Kiwai	mo	ro	nōū	nimo	nigo	nei
Miriam	{ ka kaka	{ ma mama	e	{ keriba meriba	waba	wiaba
{ Toaripi	arao	ao	areo	erao	eo	eveo
{ Motumotu	ara	ao	areo	{ ero (excl.) leao (incl.)	eo	ereo
{ Koiari	da	a	eke	noikoa	yane	yabuia
{ Koita	da	ana	au	nokaki	yana	eaukaki
Kabana	nahu	sasana	derudaga	agego	inavaniga	apagodago
Manukoliu	eme	va	oi	eme	va	...
{ Domara	ia	ga	adege	gana	oma	...
{ Mairu	ia	ga	ateg	kea	aea	oma

In expressing the idea of possession, the radical difference between the Melanesian and Papuan tongues of New Guinea is most clearly seen. The first follow the common Melanesian rule and suffix a pronoun to the names of parts of the body and relationships and a few other words. These suffixed pronouns are *identical* with those used in the islands. The Melano-Papuan languages show the same forms.

Mekeo	u	mu	nga (?)	...	mai	i	i
Maiva	u	mu	na	...	mai	mi	kia
Nala	u	mu	na	ta	mai	mui	da
Kabadi	una	mu	na	...	mai	mui	da
Motu	gu	mu	na	...	mai	mui	dia
Hula	gu	mu	na	...	mai	...	la
Bula'a	ku	mu	na	ra	mai	mi	ra
Kerepunu	gu	mu	na	...	ma	mi	ria
Aroma	ku	mu	na	...	mai	mi	ria
Sinaugolo	gu	mu	na	ra	ma	mi	ri
Tarova	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Sariba	gu	m	na	da	...	mei	di
Suau	gu	mu	na	da	mai	mi	di
Murua	gu	mu	na	di	...	mi	si
Misima	...	m	na	...	...	...	ria
Nada	gu	mu	na	da	...	mia	sa

In the use of these the New Guinea Melanesians appear to have adopted a peculiar idiom from the Papuans, and use the ordinary form of the personal pronoun before the name of the object with suffix: *Cf.*

Sinaugolo	au sina-gu	.	.	Espiritu Santo, Tangoa	tina-gu	<i>my mother</i>
Mekeo	oi ima-mu	.	.	Araga, New Hebrides	lima-mu	<i>thy hand</i>
Motu	ia tama-na	.	.	Solomon Is., Florida	tama-na	<i>his father</i>

That this use is probably borrowed from the Papuan may be seen by comparison with the Koiari and Koita.

Koiari, ada, <i>hand</i>				Koita, omo, <i>head</i>			
<i>My hand</i>	di-ada-kero			<i>My head</i>	di-omo-te		
<i>Thy hand</i>	ai-ada-kero			<i>Thy head</i>	ai-omo-te		
<i>His hand</i>	eke-ada-kero			<i>His head</i>	au-omo-te		

Instead of the general possessive suffixes *kero* and *te* of the Papuan, the Melanesian have used the proper personal suffixes, the Koiari *di-ada-kero* being *I-hand-of*, the Motu *lau-nima-gu*, *I-hand-my*.¹

When not used with names of parts of the body and relationships the suffixed pronouns are added to certain nouns indicating the nature of the thing possessed, and then become equivalent to possessive pronouns. In the Melanesian languages of New Guinea two of these nouns are found. One is used only with property possessed, the other with food. The former is always *ge*, *ke*, or *e*, and corresponds to the Fiji *ne*, Florida, &c., *ni*. The second, used with food, is *ga*, *ka*, or *a*, which is so used throughout the whole of Melanesia.

This construction with possessives is not very clear in the Melano-Papuan tongues, but "my banana" is in Nada *togu būla mūila*, and in Murua *ag eusi egu*, where *būla* and *egu* are apparently possessive words.

No suffixed pronouns appear in the Papuan languages. The personal pronouns are put into the possessive case by a suffix, which is usually the same in all persons and numbers. The pronoun is, in fact, treated as a noun.

	<i>Saibai.</i>	<i>Kiwai.</i>	<i>Miriam.</i>	<i>Motumotu.</i>	<i>Koiari.</i>	<i>Koita.</i>	<i>Domara.</i>	<i>Mairu.</i>
<i>I</i>	ngai	mo	ka	ara	da	da	ia	ia
<i>My</i>	ngau	moro	kara	arave	daiero	dairaki	iaina	ina
<i>Thou</i>	ngi	ro	ma	ao	a	ana	ga	ga
<i>Thy</i>	nginu	roro	mara	ave	aiero	aieraki	gana	gana
<i>He</i>	noi	nou	e	areo	eke	au	adege	ateg
<i>His</i>	nongo	nouna	abara	areve	ekeero	auieraki	ategiena	ategiana
<i>We</i>	ngoi	nimo	keriba	ero	noikoa	nokaki	gea	kea
<i>Our</i>	ngoimun	nimota	keriba	erove	niero	noiraki	kekena	kekena
<i>You</i>	ngita	nigo	waba	eo	yane	yana	gana	aea
<i>Your</i>	ngitamun	nigonai	waba	eve	yaiero	yaiaraki	aeana	aeana
<i>They</i>	tana	nei	wiaba	ereo	yabuia	eaukaki	oma	oma
<i>Their</i>	tanamun	neinai	wiaba	ereve	yabuiero	eauaraki	omana	omana

¹ It is, however, possible that the personal pronoun before the noun may be so used by a native in explanation to one ignorant of the language.

The full declension of the pronoun and noun by suffixes is certainly found in the Saibai, Miriam, and Kiwai. It has probably not been expected in the other languages, and therefore does not appear in the vocabularies. In the singular the Saibai, Miriam, and Kiwai show cases as follows:—

	<i>Saibai.</i>	<i>Kiwai.</i>	<i>Miriam.</i>
<i>I</i>	ngai	mo	ka
<i>Of me</i>	ngau	moro	kara
<i>To me</i>	ngaeapa	morogido	karim
<i>Me</i>	ngona	mo	kare
<i>From me</i>	ngaungu	morogaut	karielam
<i>With me</i>	ngaibia	morogomoa	karedog
<i>Thou</i>	ngi	ro	ma
<i>Of thee</i>	nginu	roro	mara
<i>To thee</i>	ngibepa	rorogido	marim
<i>Thee</i>	...	ro	mare
<i>From thee</i>	...	rorogaut	marielam
<i>With thee</i>	ngibia	rogomoa	maredog
<i>He</i>	noi	nou	e
<i>Of him</i>	nongo	nouna	abara
<i>To him</i>	nubepa	nougido	abim
<i>Him</i>	noino	nou	abi
<i>From him</i>	nungungu	nougaut	abielam
<i>With him</i>	nubia	nogomoa	abidog

There is no declension by suffixed particles in any Melanesian language, though the Savo of Solomon Islands, already noted as very different to its neighbours, has the appearance of a suffix in the possessive:—

<i>I</i>	ai	<i>Thou</i>	no	<i>He</i>	lo
<i>My</i>	ai va	<i>Thy</i>	no va	<i>His</i>	lo va

These Savo forms should be compared with the Motumotu:—

<i>I</i>	ara	<i>Thou</i>	ao	<i>He</i>	areo
<i>My</i>	arave	<i>Thy</i>	ave	<i>His</i>	areve

The interrogative pronouns in the Melanesian languages of New Guinea are words commonly used in the islands. The Papuan languages show (as far as is known) various distinct forms. In Saibai, Miriam, and Kiwai they are treated as nouns.

3. *Adjectives.*—The vocabularies give few examples of adjective constructions in the Papuan languages, but in Miriam, Saibai, and Daudai the adjective precedes the noun. This is contrary to the use of the Melanesian tongues, both of New Guinea and the islands, in which the adjective follows.

The adjectival termination *ga*, common in the Solomon Islands, Banks Islands, and New Hebrides (*ga*, *gi*, *'a*, *a*, *ha*), is found in the Motu, Bula'a and Sinaugolo as *ka*.

The word equivalent to the English "alone," "by one's self," is in the Motu and Kerepunu, as in the island languages, a noun with pronominal suffixes. Compare the following examples from all parts of Melanesia:—

<i>Motu.</i>	<i>Aurora Is., Maewo.</i>	<i>Malekula, Pangkumu.</i>	<i>Efate.</i>
sibo-gu	tabu-k	jombo-g	tuma-gu
sibo-mu	tabu-nga	jombo-m	tuma-ma
sibo-na	tabu-na	jombo-n	tuma-na

<i>Kerepunu.</i>	<i>Florida.</i>	<i>Espiritu Santo, Tangoa.</i>	<i>Banks Is., Mota.</i>
gereha-gu	hege-gu	kase-ku	mage-se-k
gereha-mu	hege-mu	kase-m	mage-se-ma
gereha-na	hege-na	kase-na	mage-se-na

In the vocabularies, the Aroma *kereka-na*, Kabadi *sipo-na*, Maiva *kipo-na*, with the suffix of the third person, show that those dialects follow the same use.

4. *Verbs.*—The verb in the Melanesian languages of New Guinea presents in its forms a close analogy to those of the island dialects. A verb is distinctly pointed out as such by a particle, varying, as in the Solomon Islands, with each person and number. The particle has no temporal force, and the exact time of action requires definition by an adverb. The simple forms found in the New Guinea languages are the following:—

	<i>Singular.</i>			<i>Plural.</i>			
	1.	2.	3.	1 inc.	1 exc.	2.	3.
Mekeo . . .	a	o	e	...	ina	ino	e
Maiva . . .	na	ko	e	...	...	...	e
Nala . . .	ba	bo	be	...	ba	bo	be
Motu . . .	na	o	e	ta	a	o	e
Bula'a . . .	ana	ono	ene	e	a	io	ie
Kerepunu . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Sinaugolo . . .	a	o	e	...	ga	go	ge
Sariba . . .	ya	ku	ye	ta	...	kwa	se
Suan . . .	ea	u, ue	ie, i	ta	aie	au, aue	si, se
Nada . . .	e, e	ku, a	i	ta, te	...	mi, i	si, i

The transitive suffixes so characteristic of the Melanesian languages are not noticed in the Motu grammar, but no doubt exist. Examples from the Motu vocabulary will suffice:—

gugu, to clasp; *guguba*, to hold tightly; *gugubaia*, to squeeze by holding.
girogiro, to spin (as a top); *giroa*, to turn (as a handle).
mate, to die; *hamatea*, to kill (with causal prefix).

The Melanesian causal prefix *va* is seen in the word for "teach." Kerepunu *va-riba*, Bula'a *va-dipa*, Motu *ha-diba-ia*, Aroma *ve-bariba* (from *riba*, *diba*, to know), and in the Suau *he-ata*, to teach, from *ata*, to know (Efate, New Hebrides, *atae*, to know).

The Melanesian reciprocal prefix *vei* is seen in the Kerepunu *ve-arava*, to marry (lit. to be husband or wife *arava*, to one another), Motu *he-adava*, Aroma *be-garawa*.

Very few examples are given of the construction of the Papuan verb, and none of these can be regarded as accurate. All that is certain is, that no features are presented by which they may be referred to Melanesian. All the evidence tends to show that modifications of time, number (and perhaps *place*) are expressed as in the Australian languages by suffixes.

It is unnecessary here to discuss further the agreement of the Melanesian languages of New Guinea and those of the islands. Enough has been brought forward to justify the classification made in the early part of this paper. The arguments sustained by grammar can be strengthened by an examination of vocabularies, and for this purpose a list of New Guinea words is appended to this paper for comparison with the list in Dr. Codrington's "Melanesian Languages."

One or two other points of interest require brief notice. It does not seem probable that the exact quarter from which the Melanesian immigrants into New Guinea have come can be ascertained. There is at first sight a great deal of dissimilarity between the languages east and west, between the Motu and Kerepunu on the one side, and the Suau of South Cape on the other. Though much of this dissimilarity disappears on closer examination, it may be stated that the language of Suau is very like that of San Cristoval, Solomon Islands, which lies almost due east of South Cape. The Motu and Kerepunu agree more with the languages of the Efate district in the Central New Hebrides, which are directly south-east of Port Moresby, with no inhabited region between.

With regard to the migration of Oceanic tribes, if the Melanesians, and by inference the Polynesians, were immigrants into the Island region, the stream of immigration must have flowed north of New Guinea, and not *viâ* Torres Straits, for Melanesians like those of the islands have not occupied the western shores of the Papuan Gulf.

In conclusion, it must be confessed that the outlook for the student of the Papuan languages and races is not promising. The simpler Melanesian languages present less difficult forms, and are more readily understood by Europeans, but as yet no European has mastered a Papuan tongue. The pioneer work of the missions, including translation, is, as a rule, intrusted to Polynesian or Melanesian teachers, whose work cannot always be depended upon. Unless the New Guinea Government or some public body makes a

systematic inquiry into the physical characters and languages of the New Guinea tribes, similar to that undertaken by the British Association in North-Western Canada, it is almost certain that the knowledge of many languages and peoples in New Guinea will be lost to science, or be reduced to the same scanty proportions as that of some portions of Australia.

APPENDIX.

COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY OF NEW GUINEA DIALECTS.

	<i>Bird.</i>	<i>Blood.</i>	<i>Bone.</i>	<i>Butterfly.</i>	<i>Cocoanut.</i>
Mekeo .	nge'i	ifā	ungia	feŋe	kōnga
Maiva .	rovorovo	aruaru	uria	peropero	kilokilo, tona
Laval .	raborabo	...	...	ibibi	tona
Nala .	manu	lala	kulia	ebebe	niu
Kabadi .	manu	rara	kuria	poiōo	niu
Doura .	komatara	lala	kuria	meabinava	niu
Motu .	manu	rara	turi	kaubebe	niu
Hula .	...	...	...	...	...
Bula'a .	manu	rala	iliga	pepe	niu
Kerepunu .	manu	rala	iligā	bebe	niu
Aroma .	manu	rara	iligā	pepe	niu
Sinaugolo .	manu	lala	turiga	kaubebe	niu
Tarova .	manu	lala	turiga	kaubebe	niu
Sariba .	roro	kuasi	siria	bebe	niu
Mugula .	...	...	...	...	...
Suau .	manu	osisina	siata	bebe	niu
Brumer Is. .	...	...	...	bebi	niu
Wari .	...	...	...	...	niu
Awaiama .	manu-digudigu	tara	geami	kapeu	neura
East Cape .	...	...	...	...	neura
Murua .	mān	buiavi	tatuani	bebi	boibwae
Nada .	māuū	buīai	tatuwa	beba	niu
Misima .	kahin	maiya	tuatua	bebebi	nihu
Tagula .	ma	madibu	waknia	bebi	ramuna
Rossel .	...	...	...	...	...
Saibai .	urui	kulka	ridō	paikau	urabō
Dabu .	papa	mem, mam	kut	papapi, nipurigan	ngoi, guvi
Mowat .	hollogo, wowogo	arima	oro	...	oi
Kiwai .	wowogo	arima	soro	maupo	oi
Miriam .	ebur	mam	lid	kap	u, ue
Tumu .	...	...	...	boiboi	oo
Evorra .	...	...	...	boiboi	bida
Toaripi .	ori	ovo	uti	pipi	na, lakoku
Elema .	ori	...	...	bibi	raha
Motumotu .	ori	ovo	uti	kaokao	da, rafaure
Koiari .	ugu	tago	itafa	avaku	karu, bagha
Eikiri .	ugu	tagho	torika	avako	bagha
Koita .	uguva	tago	ita	beberuka	karu, bagha
Maiari .	uku	tao	tori	avako	baa
Favere .	ugu	tagho	tori	avako	pagha
Kupele .	ugu	aghove	nokeiso	avako	pagha
Meroka .	ugu	aghove	nokeiso	avaka	pagha
Kabana .	tubureda	tanara	kunia	maiabinava	fofona
Manukoliu .	neni	ro	ehine	beberoho	ghune
Domara .	manu	nara	kisa	bebe	ama
Mairu .	manu	rara	kita	bebe	ama

COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY OF NEW GUINEA DIALECTS—(continued).

	<i>Ear.</i>	<i>Father.</i>	<i>Fruit.</i>	<i>Hand.</i>	<i>House.</i>
Mekeo . . .	aina	ama	pua	ima	e'a
Maiva . . .	haia	hama	vua	ima	itu
Laval . . .	haia	hama	...	ima	itu
Nala . . .	kaia	gama	vua	ima	luma
Kabadi . . .	kai	auana	vekopi	ima	ruma
Doura . . .	kaia	kama	hua	ima	ruma
Motu . . .	taia	tama	huahua	ima	ruma
Hula . . .	...	ama	...	gima	numa
Bula'a . . .	kea	ama	bua	gima	numa
Kerepunu . . .	eha	ama	vuavua	gima	numa
Aroma . . .	ega	ama	bua	ima	numa
Sinaugolo . . .	sega	tama	gutuu	ima	numa
Tarova . . .	sega	tama	ua	ima	numa
Sariba . . .	bea	tama	kanio	nima	numa
Mugula . . .	teina	...	...	...	...
Suau . . .	bea	tama	uaua	nima	numa
Brumer Island . . .	bea	...	...	nima	...
Wari . . .	...	tama	...	...	...
Awaiama . . .	taniga	tama	wakai	nima	numa
East Cape . . .	...	ama	...	...	...
<hr/>					
Murua . . .	tegani	tama	tuori, kanagini	katapueni	bwani
Nada . . .	tina	tama	avenina, iua	nima	koba
Misima . . .	tana	tama	ibohi	nima	limi
Tagula . . .	enowa	rama	kavoi	nima	gola
Rossel . . .	ngoada	...	...	bwoa, geur	ngoa
<hr/>					
Saibai . . .	kaura	baba, tati	kausa	getö	lagö
Dabu . . .	ran, ika	baba	kopa	tang	ma
Mowat . . .	epate	baba, abera	...	tuo, tugiri	mautu
Kiwai . . .	gare, sepate	aba, baba	iöpu	tuigiri	moto
Miriam . . .	laip, gerip	baba, aba	turum, kep	tag	meta
Tumu . . .	qopäti	...	...	sii	...
Evorra . . .	kapara	...	...	ebi	...
Toaripi . . .	kirori	oa	fare	mai	uvi
Elema . . .	avato	uika	...	bai	pura
Motumotu . . .	kirori	oa	fare	mai	uvi
Koiari . . .	ifiko	mame	tafa	ada	yaga
Eikiri . . .	ipiko	mame	fana	ada	iaka
Koita . . .	ihiko	mame	tahaka	ada	yaga
Maiari . . .	iika	mamaka	taha	ada	iaga
Favere . . .	ihiko	mamaka	taha	ada	iaka
Kupele . . .	kerema	moia	eba	ada	iaga
Meroka . . .	kerema	noia	ebai	ada	iaga
Kabana . . .	gadero	babe	iudedede	iaruse	ema
Manukoliu . . .	abi	makarai	ibadade	everi	nehe
Domara . . .	ope	abai	...	ima	uru
Mairu . . .	obe	apai	...	ima	huru

COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY OF NEW GUINEA DIALECTS—(continued).

	<i>Leaf.</i>	<i>Louse.</i>	<i>Man.</i>	<i>Moon.</i>	<i>Mother.</i>
Mekeo .	aunga	u'u	au	ngava	ina
Maiva .	rau	uhu	hau	naoa	hina
Laval .	...	...	hau	...	hina
Nala .	uaua	uku	kau	bula	sina
Kabadi .	meka	amuni	kau	ue	aida
Doura .	rau	uku	kau	huia	sina
Motu .	rau	utu	tau	hua	sina
Hula .	...	...	au	...	ina
Bula'a .	lau	gu	au	bue	ina
Kerepunu .	lau	gu	hau	vue	ina
Aroma .	rau	u	au	bue	ina
Sinaugolo .	lau	gutu	tau	guve	sina
Tarova .	rau	ghutu	ta	neva	sina
Sariba .	lugu	tuma	tamoai	waikena	sina
Mugula .	...	...	...	...	...
Suau .	lau	tuma	tau	navalai	sina
Brumer Is. .	...	...	tau	nowarai	...
Wari .	...	...	tau	waikena	sina
Awaiama .	rugu	utu	rawa	nawarawi	hina
East Cape .	...	...	raua	nawarane	hina
<hr/>					
Murua .	iganakai	kuti	tau, gamaga	wikeni, tibukone	ina
Nada .	kulaoana	kutu	tau	waikena	sina
Misima .	waruwaru	gaga	gamagan	papahana, waikeina	ina
Tagula .	ubadama	roi	umoru	wagina	nava, tina
Rossel .	...	...	bi	...	...
<hr/>					
Saibai .	nis	ari, supa	mabaigö	mulpalö	ama, apu
Dabu .	oropopo	bunmet, koban	rabu	quar, quak	yai
Mowat .	...	...	arubi, dubu	gamuno	ida
Kiwai .	pasa	nimo	dubu, arubi	sagana	aida, mau
Miriam .	lam	...	le	meb	apu, amau
Tumu .	kiwā	...	tau	...	...
Evorra .	imara	...	...	...	...
Toaripi .	toro	...	karu	papari	lou
Elema .	...	...	bira	...	namweka
Motumotu .	toro	ape	vita, karu	papare	lou
Koiari .	fana	umu	ata	bata	ine
Eikiri .	fana	umu	ata	pata	neinaka
Koita .	hanaka	umu	ata	bata	neni
Maiari .	hana	umu	ata	pata	neinaka
Favere .	hana	umu	ata	pata	neinaka
Kupele .	susu	umu	aau	paau	neia
Meroka .	susu	umu	ata	bāu	neia
Kabana .	idurutu	hi	a	hama	mah'
Manukoliu .	evarau	nomone	vaghe	patu	noka
Domara .	bega	tuma	mariomnio	doveri	adei
Mairu .	...	noga	...	tovere	atei

COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY OF NEW GUINEA DIALECTS—(continued).

	<i>Night.</i>	<i>Nose.</i>	<i>Sea.</i>	<i>Star.</i>	<i>Sun.</i>
Mekeo .	anguenapi	kuau	a'u	bi'iu	kina
Maiva .	lavi	itu	aku	vihiu	veraura
Laval .	...	ichu	...	...	biraura
Nala .	boni	idu	atu	visiu	melala
Kabadi .	vapukana	itu	kavara	visiu	akona
Doura .	vapureuroko	ururu	kavara	bisiu	dina
Motu .	hanua-boi	udu	davara	hisiu	dina
Hula .	...	...	lavapara	...	aro
Bula'a .	pōgi	iru	lavapara	gibu	aro
Kerepunu .	vanuga-bogi	ilu	rama	givu	haro
Aroma .	banua-bogi	iru	rama	biu	garo
Sinaugolo .	bogi	ilu	dama	visigu	galo
Tarova .	bebogi	iru	doobu	visigu	gharo
Sariba .	boni	isu	gabua	kipuara	mahana
Mugula .	...	ishu	arita	...	mahana
Suan .	eanua-boni	isu	gabogabo	ibora	mahana
Brumer Is. .	...	ishu	arita	...	mahana
Wari .	iboniai	...	...	...	dabelo
Awaiama .	oimarotom	niu	niha	gamaiaawe	kabudara
East Cape .	dibare	...	...	...	kabudara

Murua .	ibogu	kabununi, abunuka	kaisae, lora	utuni	karasi
Nada .	deduba	gubuso	lora	utuna	silasila
Misima .	masigil	bohu	bagur	rarara	hilahila
Tagula .	igogo	buodu	jiur	...	varai
Rossel .	...	niu	...	...	...

Saibai .	kubilö	piti	bäu, ur	titoi	göiga
Dabu .	kuteme	murung	bäu	piro	iabada
Mowat .	uo	nadi	oro	oro	ibiu, iwio
Kiwai .	duo	wodi	uro	gugi	sai
Miriam .	ki	pit	gur	wer	lem, gereger
Tumu .	...	yu	...	...	narrar
Evorra .	...	bina	...	...	inamau-iperi
Toaripi .	faita	verape	makai-kara	koru	sare
Elema .	...	evera	...	...	sari
Motumotu .	faita	everape	saea	koru	sare
Koiari .	vaubu	uri	evi	kolo	vani
Eikiri .	vaubu	ghusa	...	koro	vani
Koita .	vahiva, vafiri	uri	eve	vamomo	vani
Maiari .	vaubu	gumavanu	...	koro	vani
Favere .	vaubu	ghumahavanu	...	koro	nini
Kupele .	vadibu	ghusavanu	...	oro	vani
Meroka .	vañibu	ghusavaeru	...	oro	vani
Kabana .	putuperere	unuga	kavara	hamadofee	...
Manukoliu .	u	iajore	me	boiova	...
Domara .	garu	duruma	loa	visiu	nina
Mairu .	...	noga	loa	jdiu	nina

COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY OF NEW GUINEA DIALECTS—(continued).

	<i>Tongue.</i>	<i>Tooth.</i>	<i>Tree.</i>	<i>Water.</i>	<i>Woman.</i>
Mekeo . .	malā	ni'e	au	vei	papiē
Maiva . .	maea	nihe	matiu	vei	vavine
Laval . .	...	ite	irauchi	bei	babin
Nala . .	mala	nike	au	vei	aate
Kabadi . .	mala	nise	au	vei	vavine
Doura . .	maa	ike	au	vei	ateate
Motu . .	mala	ise	au	ranu	haine
Hula . .	...	...	...	...	vavine
Bula'a . .	mae	rua	au	nanu	babine
Kerepunu . .	mae	rua	au	nanu	vavine
Aroma . .	mala	rua	gaubu	nalu	babine
Sinaugolo . .	mea	doga	gau	nanu	vavine
Tarova . .	mea	dogha	kau	nanu	vavine
Sariba . .	meme	maka	kaiwa	waira	sine
Mugula . .	mana	moka	...	...	...
Suau . .	meme	mo'a	oeagi	goila	sine
Brumer Is. . .	mimen	maka	kaiwa, madyu	goila	sina
Wari . .	...	...	...	waira	shine
Awaiama . .	mena	niuwau	rogana	goira	wawine
East Cape . .	...	...	...	goira	wawine
<hr/>					
Murua . .	melene	kuduni	kaiyau	sopi, dáuna	vini
Nada . .	sapa	gudu	sákweréu, skereu	sopu	iina
Misima . .	meimi	nini	kabakil	weweil	yowau
Tagula . .	mami	nungi	rumbwa	buā	wevu
Rossel . .	deu	niau	...	mbua	bia
<hr/>					
Saibai . .	löia	dang	pui	nguki	ipökazi
Dabu . .	dogmar	ngui, ngoia	ratira	ine	mure
Mowat . .	uatotorope	ibonora	ota	obo	upi
Kiwai . .	watatorope	iāwa	ota	obo	upi
Miriam . .	uerut	tereg	lu	ni	kosker
Tumu . .	...	magō	ii	oo, nanā	wor
Evorra . .	...	niri	imara	ere	...
Toaripi . .	uri	tau	tora	ba, ma	ua
Elema . .	...	tau	tora	ma	ua
Motumotu . .	tapa, udi	tao	tora	ma, ba	ua
Koiari . .	neme	egi	idi	eita	magi
Eikiri . .	nemeke	eghi	idi	eita	maghi
Koita . .	mei	egi	idi	eē	magi
Maiari . .	nemeke	gi	idi	ita	mai
Favere . .	neme	eghi	idi	eita	magi
Kupele . .	nemēē	ai	idi	e	maghi
Meroka . .	nemu	ai	idi	e	magi
Kabana . .	asese	ado	ora	iuni	amu
Manukoliu . .	manane	onone	ibado	eo	nōne
Domara . .	...	maa, kagina	ana	ama	ause, aveta
Mairu . .	...	...	ana	aama	avesa

COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY OF NEW GUINEA DIALECTS—(continued).

	<i>One.</i>	<i>Two.</i>	<i>Three.</i>	<i>Four.</i>	<i>Five.</i>	<i>Six.</i>
Mekeo . .	aungao	aungi	oio	pangi	ima'a, aufaaifufu	ngea, nga
Maiva . .	hamomona	rua	aihau	vani	ima	avai hau
Laval . .	aia	rua	aita	bani	ima	aba-raia
Nala . .	kaonamo	lua	koi	vani	ima	kala-koi
Kabadi . .	kapea	rua	koi	vani	ima	kara-koi
Doura . .	kaona	lua	koi	hani	ima	5 + 1
Motu . .	tamona	rua	toi	hani	ima	taura-toi
Hula . .	koapuna	...	koi	vaivai	imaima	kaula-koi
Bula'a . .	ka, koapuna	lualua	koikoi	vaivai	imaima	kaula-koi
Kerepunu .	obuna	lualua	oi	vaivai	imaima	aura-oi
Aroma . .	abuna	lua	oi	baibai	imaima	aula-oi
Sinaugolo .	sebona	lualua	toittoi	vasivasi	imaima	5 + 1
Tarova . .	sebona	lualua	toittoi	vasivasi	imaima	taura-toittoi
Sariba . .	kesega	rabui	haiyona	hasi	harigigi	5 + 1
Mugula . .	...	...	...	...	...	...
Suau . .	esega	rabui	haiona	hasi	harigigi	5 + 1
Brumer Is.	teya	labui	haiona	hasi	harigigi	5 + 1
Wari . .	tea	rua	tolu	vas	valigigi	...
Awaiama .	emoti	ruaga	tonuga	wonepari	uritutu	...
East Cape	emots	uwaga	tonuga	wakepage	uritutu	...
<hr/>						
Murna . .	koi-tan	kwey-u	kwei-ton	kwei-vas	kwei-nim	same as one
Nada . .	atanok	akwaiu	akwaitola	akwailas	akwailima	...
Misima . .	maisena	rabui	etun	epat	nimanapanuna	5 + 1
Tagula . .	rega	reu	goto	kovaru	golima	koona
Rossel . .	munda	miwa	pieli	bai	limi	wene
<hr/>						
Saibai . .	urapon	ukasar	ukamodobigal	2 + 2	2 + 2 + 1	2 + 2 + 2
Dabu . .	tupidibi	kumirivi	kumireriga	2 + 2	tumu	...
Mowat . .	...	...	...	...	...	...
Kiwai . .	nao	netewa	2 + 1	2 + 2	2 + 2 + 1	2 + 2 + 2
Miriam .	netat	neisi	2 + 1	2 + 2	2 + 2 + 1	2 + 2 + 2
Tumu . .	...	...	...	...	...	...
Evorra . .	...	...	...	...	...	...
Toaripi .	falaheka	oraokoria	roisorio	2 + 2	be-falaheka	2 + 2 + 2
Elema . .	ritarita	oraora	oroito	...	...	...
Motumotu	faraheka	oraokaria	oroisoria	2 + 2	2 + 2 + 1	...
Koiari . .	igan	abuti	2 + 1	2 + 2	2 + 2 + 1	2 + 2 + 2
Eikiri . .	igan	abuti	...	...	...	...
Koita . .	kobuaiku	abu	abigaga	2 + 2	ada kasiva	agorokiva
Maiari . .	igan	abuti	...	...	...	...
Favere . .	igane	abuti	...	...	...	...
Kupele . .	igane	abui	...	...	...	...
Meroka . .	igane	abui	...	...	...	...
Kabana . .	igana	abui	2 + 1	...	...	...
Manukoliu	teebu	aheu	...	...	...	...
Domara . .	ombua	awa	aisheru	taurai	ima	lilimo
Mairu . .	omupua	ava	aisei	sourai	ima	ririomu

In this vocabulary the vowels are sounded as in German, the consonants as in English

III.

BRITISH NEW GUINEA AND ITS PEOPLE.

BY

REV. S. M'FARLANE, LL.D., F.R.G.S.

FORTUNATELY or unfortunately, I am one of those men who have enjoyed the supposed happiness of gazing upon new lands, ascending mountains, crossing deserted plains, sailing along silent rivers into the unknown, where no white man had been before me, meeting with new races, new languages, new and sometimes nasty customs; often in scenes of excitement, sometimes trying to prevent the attacks of natives, at others prudently running away; watching the savages, warriors, and cannibals come under the civilising and elevating influences of Christianity; reducing languages to writing and translating the Scriptures, establishing schools and churches, and training a native ministry. You will therefore understand my difficulty when asked to write a paper upon New Guinea, feeling that the subject required powers of selection and condensation far beyond any I possess.

However, I will endeavour to give you, as briefly and fully as I can, some account of the *place* and the *people*.

New Guinea is the largest, darkest, most neglected, and in many respects the most interesting island in the world—interesting from a scientific and commercial as well as a missionary point of view. It is known by two names, *Papua* and *New Guinea*. As the country is the home of the Papuan race, the former name is the more appropriate, and is derived from a Malay word signifying *woolly* hair, that being one of the characteristics of the Papuans. The name New Guinea was given to it at a later date, on account of the resemblance of the natives to those of Guinea, on the coast of Africa.

The country was discovered about three hundred and sixty years ago by a mere accident. A Portuguese navigator was proceeding on a voyage from Malacca to dislodge the Spaniards from the Moluccas. The usual route home to which the Portuguese had been accustomed

was by the south of Borneo, and by the Celebes and the island of Amboyna ; but Don Jorge thought he would try another course, and so he went round the north end of Borneo, and being set to the eastward by currents, and standing afterwards to the south, made the discovery of New Guinea, where he landed and remained a month.

It was afterwards visited by the Spanish, Dutch, and English, but very little was known either of the country or its inhabitants until after the establishment of our Mission in 1871. From that time to the present it has increasingly attracted public notice, especially that of scientific and commercial men ; and justly so, for who knows what new species may not be hidden in the interior, remaining traces of those that are now considered extinct ? And it is quite possible that ancient structures may be found similar to those in the Marshall group, which are supposed to have been built by a pre-historic race of men, at a period when a continent connected all those islands with New Guinea, where now the Pacific Ocean rolls between.

Many adventurers, explorers, and travellers have visited New Guinea since we commenced our Mission amongst the people, and all seem to consider themselves competent to pronounce upon questions which those who have lived for many years in the country and studied are reluctant to hazard an opinion. The annexation ceremonies and nearly all the visits of foreigners have been confined to the south-eastern peninsula, which at different seasons and in different places presents totally different aspects ; hence the conflicting reports.

In order to get an intelligent idea of the country, we must take it as a whole ; and regarding New Guinea as a whole, I consider it one of the richest islands in the world. It has its snowy mountains 18,000 feet high ; its splendid ranges and fertile valleys ; its green-clad hills, and sunny slopes, and rich plains ; its magnificent forests, full of valuable timber and beautiful birds ; its noble rivers and grand waterfalls ; its flowing streams and dashing cascades ; its extensive cocoa-nut groves, and well-cultivated gardens, and numerous wild fruit-trees ; its vast alluvial plains for the cultivation of sugar-cane ; its extensive tracts of country for raising cattle, and its presumably great mineral wealth, all combining to make it a most valuable and interesting country.

Half of the great island belongs to the Dutch, and the other half is about equally divided between the English and Germans. Our portion embraces all the adjacent country to Australia, with its magnificent harbours and great water-ways. The Papuan Gulf is

the portion of New Guinea nearest to Australia, and this district is all low land, with the exception of a hill at the mouth of the Mabidauan River about 100 feet high, and a similar one about twenty miles up the Fly River on the western side. I am acquainted with four of the Gulf rivers, which I had the honour of being the first European to ascend—the Baxter, Mabidauan, Katan, and Fly—from the banks of which I have made short journeys inland, visiting villages and forming mission-stations.

The land, though generally low, is a rich alluvial, often 10 feet deep. In the Baxter and Fly Rivers I noticed the banks in some places 20 feet high; the country undulating, patches well wooded, others being covered with merely a thick scrub; all good land and no signs of population near; indeed, for several hundreds of miles along the banks of the Fly River, no trace of natives can be seen, although we found them very numerous for the first hundred miles up the river.

The country abounds in the sago-palm, wild nutmeg, betel-nut, banana, and cocoa-nut trees. Immense logs of timber are obtained from the eastern side of the Fly River, from which the large war canoes are made. This district is by far the most important part of British New Guinea, either for governmental, commercial, or religious purposes. The interior is easily reached from this point.

The eastern side of the Gulf has a bold and rocky shore, with extensive coral reefs. The south-east peninsula is exceedingly mountainous. When visiting the hill-tribes about Munikaili, 25 or 30 miles inland from Port Moresby, I was surprised and disappointed to find from the summit of a mountain 3000 feet high the country looking so mountainous. We were then about 25 miles from Mount Owen Stanley, and as far as we could see in every direction, the hills seemed to rise tier upon tier in the wildest confusion. The highest mountains on the peninsula are Mount Owen Stanley, which is 13,205 feet, Mount Suckling, 11,226, and Mount Yule, 10,046 feet. There are many others of great altitude.

The healthiest part of the peninsula is doubtless Port Moresby, which is a dry, barren locality compared with the country to the east or west. In the latter districts there is more rain, richer land, and altogether much finer and more fruitful country.

Probably the finest tracts of land on the whole peninsula are to be found in the vicinity of Yule Island, and the splendid harbour there, between the island and the mainland, makes Hall Sound the most valuable port on the peninsula, it being the one nearest the rich country of the Gulf.

To the eastward there is not much to tempt the foreigner (unless he be a missionary). The only piece of good country, anything like level, lies between Mullen's Harbour and Milne Bay. The natives are numerous in these parts, and require nearly the whole of the land for their plantations.

There may be, and probably is, mineral wealth amongst the mountains of the peninsula, but the ore must be very rich to make it payable, as the working expenses would be great. That gold exists in New Guinea has long been known. I myself obtained from the bed of the Baxter River ample proof of this fact two years before it was discovered on the peninsula.

The fact is, that, notwithstanding all the writing about it and searching for it, nothing more has yet been discovered that might not be obtained in almost any river in Queensland. Payable gold has yet to be discovered in New Guinea. That it is found amongst the sand and mud of rivers, in almost imperceptible quantities, is a fact of little value, seeing that gold is the most widely distributed of all metals, and that these small grains may have travelled hundreds of miles from the parent stock.

Although we may not know where payable gold exists in New Guinea, we do know where there is plenty of fine sugar-growing country and plenty of splendid timber, and with these valuable birds in the hand, the others had better, for a time, be left in the bush. Our discovery of Port Spicer in the Fly River, which can be reached at all seasons by small vessels, and the establishment of mission-stations on both sides of the Fly River, will greatly facilitate the acquisition of both land and timber, of which there is an abundance not required by the natives.

Vessels of any size can always find shelter at any season in the Missionary Passage, under the Warrior Reef, whence the Fly River can be reached in comparatively smooth water, even in the south-east season, by what I call the back entrance, viz., behind Bristow and Bampton Islands, which was my usual route in our small mission-vessel.

The proximity of Thursday Island, where supplies of every kind can be got at the extensive stores of Burns, Philp, & Co., seems to point to the Fly River as decidedly the best point from which to reach the treasures of the country.

Here, then, is this great and, until recently, almost unknown country, with its primeval forests, and mineral wealth, and savage inhabitants. Whilst empires have risen, flourished, and decayed—whilst Christianity, science, and philosophy have been transforming

nations, and travellers have been crossing polar seas and African deserts, and astonishing the world by their discoveries, New Guinea has remained the same, sitting in the blue, warm Southern Ocean, kissing the equator at the north, and shaking hands with Australia at the south; bearing on its bosom magnificent forests and luxuriant vegetation, yet lifting her snow-capped head into the clear, cold atmosphere, three miles above the sea. Steaming hot in the plains and valleys, where the natives may be seen in the cocoanut groves, as they have been for ages, mending their bows and poisoning their arrows, making bamboo knives and spears, revelling in war and cannibalism, whilst it is freezing cold at the summit of the highest mountains, where the foot of man has never disturbed the eternal snows.

It would be difficult to describe my feelings as I drew near to this great *terra incognita* in 1871. In these days, when so many have done what, not long ago, was known as the "grand tour;" when alligator-shooting on the Nile, lion-hunting in Nubia, or tiger-potting in India, can be done by contract with Cook's tickets; when the Holy Land, Mecca, or Khiva are all accessible to tourists; when every mountain in the Alps has been scaled, and even the Himalayas made the scene of mountaineering triumphs; when shooting buffaloes in the "Rockies" is almost as common as potting grouse on the moors—it comes almost with a sense of relief to visit a country really new, about which little is known—a country of real cannibals and genuine savages, where the missionary and explorer really carries his life in his hand; a land of *gold*, yet where a string of beads will buy more than a nugget of the precious metal; a land of *promise*, capable of sustaining millions of people, yet the natives live on yams, bananas, and cocoa-nuts; a land of *mighty cedars* and *giant trees*, yet where the native huts are made of sticks and roofed with palm-leaves; a land consisting of millions of acres of *glorious grass*, capable of fattening multitudes of cattle, and yet where neither flocks nor herds are known; a land of splendid mountains, magnificent forests, and mighty rivers, but to us, as missionaries, a land of heathen darkness, cruelty, cannibalism, death.

How well I remember sailing along the coast of New Guinea for the first time, looking for a sandy beach and cocoa-nut trees, where we might find a village at which to begin our work. We knew not a word of their language, nor they of ours. There was no one to introduce us, and tell the natives of our kindly intentions.

It was a lovely day in August; not the August of this Northern

hemisphere, which to you is associated with leaves turning russet brown, fields of waving yellow corn awaiting the sickle or already being harvested, trees loaded with apples, pears, and plums, purple grapes, and luscious fruit; but the August of the Southern tropics, one of the coolest months of the twelve; the August of lands waving with majestic palm-trees and the graceful large-leaved banana plants and ferns; where the sky-line is broken by the feathery tops of cocoa-nut trees, and the dense jungle is gaudy with brilliant flowers and crotons, and where the lovely orchids, in all their bewildering variety of tint, and shape, and size, excite the admiration of the traveller and the delight of the scientific collector.

It was a strange scene, both place and people. Instead of the oak and the elm and the beech, the majestic yews and chestnuts and poplars, the apple and pear and plum trees of this beautiful England, there rose before us the stately palms, the wide-spreading banyan, the tamarind with its thick foliage, and the mango with its abundant wood and rich burden of luscious fruit; sago, banana, and cocoa-nut groves instead of our stately orchards, and plantations of yams and sugar-cane, melons and papao apples, instead of waving cornfields; and instead of our stone and brick houses, grass huts, surrounded by stockades in the midst of rank vegetation, close by stagnant pools and deadly swamps.

The crowd of excited natives on the beach were even more strange-looking than their country. Let me try and give you an idea of the typical Papuan. This "noble savage" is found in his purest state in all his native simplicity in New Guinea.

Imagine a man about five feet nine inches in height (I have seen many over six feet), his body a dark brown colour, blackened and varnished if in mourning, covered with red earth and oil if prepared for the dance; his face painted in different colours; a piece of polished stone like an ivory penholder through the septum of his nose; the lobe of his ear cut and drawn down by a weight, then pierced all round and decorated with beads, or carrying two large earrings made from a shell, or about two dozen small ones made of turtle-shell; the teeth black like polished ebony, or red with chewing the betel-nut; his hair long and frizzy, cut in fantastic shapes, or twisted into dozens of cords, ornamented with paradise-bird's plumes, cockatoo feathers, and wild flowers. In some cases his waist compressed to wasp-like proportions by a broad belt of bark or a gaily-painted ribbon made from the same material, with long streamers in front and behind; shell armlets on his arms, and kangaroo's or dog's teeth necklaces round his

neck; a breast ornament of boar's tusk or pearl shell; armlets and kneelets of coloured flax or money shells; a small netted bag over his shoulder; a chunam pot in his hand; his bow and arrows hanging by his side, and a couple of miserably-fed dogs at his heels, and you have a fair idea of a New Guinea native. In the cannibal districts the ornaments are varied, many of them being of human bones.

I need scarcely say that the women are as fond of decorating themselves as the men. Human nature is pretty much the same all the world over. In addition to a profusion of ornaments, which are mostly worn before marriage, the women are prettily tattooed; wear a coloured girdle that reaches to the knees, and judiciously leave the tight-lacing to the men, although, like some of their fairer sisters, they think a little paint improves their appearance.

My first duty in landing amongst the cannibal tribes, with whom I have spent about thirty years of my life, was to acquire their language and gain their confidence, neither of which is so difficult to accomplish as many people suppose.

For instance, when we first come in contact with strange tribes without an interpreter to introduce us, our first concern is to get the key-sentence to their language. Everything about us is new to them—our clothes, umbrella, watch, hand-bag, boat, sails, oars, and indeed everything. They are naturally very much surprised and very inquisitive. We are on the look out for a sentence which we expect to hear over and over again, as they handle or point to different things, and we write it down phonetically, feeling sure that it means, "What is this?"

In reducing these languages to writing, we never use the English sounds to the vowels. A vowel with us is a pure, simple sound, and if we want *two* sounds, as in the English vowel *i*, we should use *a* and *i*, or in the English vowel *u*, we should use *i* and *u*, giving the Continental sounds to the vowels.

For instance, we had a servant whose name was *Pauauie*. To some this may seem a difficult word to spell, but it is really simple enough. There is one consonant and six vowels; every vowel must be distinctly pronounced, P-a-u-a-u-i-e, *Pauauie*. And so when I heard "*Nalu peik?*" so frequently, accompanied with an inquiring look, I wrote it down on a piece of paper, and then lifted a coconut and said "*Nalu peik?*" The native to whom I put the question looked astounded, and then delighted, having just discovered that I knew his language. He then poured out a torrent of words, supposing I understood all he said! However, my only reply was

"*Nalu peik?*" He soon caught the idea that I wanted the names of things, and seemed most anxious to give me a long list. Thus we easily get a vocabulary of words. To find out the grammar is not so easy, and is often the work of many years.

Still it is a great mistake to suppose that these cannibal tribes, who have no written language, talk a sort of gibberish which has no grammar at all. I have reduced several of these Papuan dialects to writing, and can testify that in some respects they are superior to our own. Some of them have a court and common language, inclusive and exclusive pronouns, dual and triad numbers; and the words are all as precise in their meanings as if they had been defined by Johnson. The grammar is as regular and uniform as if it had been formed by Lindley Murray, whilst the pronunciation is as exact as if it had been settled and phonographed by Walker, thus clearly pointing back to a higher state of civilisation from which they have fallen.

How came these cannibals to have such a language, if they have not brought it down with them? If all our civilisation is to be traced to a slow but gradual development from a state of primitive barbarism and savage existence, how are we to account for the state of the natives in New Guinea and the South Seas?

Here are two large sections of pre-historic men, who are still in the age of stone and lake dwellings. Where is the evidence that they are advancing in civilisation, intelligence, morality, or happiness? The fact is that there is abundant evidence that both races are retrograding, and none whatever that they are advancing, except under influences from without.

I have found some of the bush tribes in the vicinity of the Fly River practising cremation. If it is true that "the custom of burning the dead was well nigh universal in remote ages in the countries of the old world," then it is probable that the Papuans have brought the custom as well as others with them. It seems, from Homer, to have been the general custom in the most refined period in the history of Greece. It was also a Druidic rite, which is said to "agree better than burying with the venerable Druidic theory of transmigration, which is so little understood at the present day, but which is so closely associated with the doctrine of evolution."

By the side of cremation may be placed the rite of circumcision, which is practised in some parts of New Guinea and on some of the South Sea islands.

Their stone gods and charms, some standing erect from 1 to 8

feet in height, others portable and carried about by the natives, also point to very ancient forms of worship.

Many of their legends are remarkably like the records of Old Testament history. Those who would know who these natives are and what they are, should study their languages, legends, and *culte*—very fascinating topics to some people—but there is no time to make more than a passing reference to them here.

The Papuans amongst whom I have lived for so many years were notorious cannibals, although physically and mentally a fine race, which is to be determined more from the measurement of their skulls than from the colour of their skin. It is too often supposed that because natives are cannibals they must be most degraded. Yet we have only to remember that the aborigines of Australia (who are justly regarded as the lowest type of humanity) were not, as a rule, cannibals; whereas the Maories of New Zealand (whom all regard as one of the finest native races) were cannibals. Indeed, our forefathers were cannibals, as appears from the personal testimony of St. Jerome, who states that when he was a boy, living in Gaul, he “ beheld the Scots, a people of Britain, eating human flesh; and though there were plenty of cattle and sheep at their disposal, yet they would prefer a ham of the herdsman, or a piece of female breast as a luxury.” We must remember also that cannibalism is frequently referred to by classical and early Christian writers.

Baking and boiling may have a terrific sound, and are regarded as indications of a very savage condition; but we are painfully reminded in history that the greatest refinements in cruelty and the most brutal disregard of human suffering have been at one time or other, and in various places, connected with religion, at comparatively advanced periods of national progress. What would my New Guinea friends say of the combustion by fire of the living heretic, and the frightful tortures of the Inquisition? We are accustomed to hold the microscope over the cannibals, and exclaim with horror at their practices, when it might be well to turn it upon ourselves and consider some of the enormities associated with our civilisation.

I have been pleased to find some noble traits in the character of these cannibals. Although they consider that the right thing to do to an enemy is to kill, cook, and eat him, they are, as a rule, kind, generous, and faithful to friends. Considering that their wants are few and easily supplied, they are fairly industrious.

Let us take a walk in imagination, where I took the captain of a man-of-war in reality, through a native village.

The houses are neatly and strongly built, the sides as well as the roof being thatched. On many a verandah may be seen a beautiful cockatoo or parrot, kept to supply its master with feathers for his hair for the dance. The streets are wide and well kept, the rubbish being carried to a heap outside the village. As we pass along, in the midst of an admiring crowd, we see the women engaged in making pottery. Clay is lying about in different stages of preparation, amongst which fine grains of gold may often be discovered. Some of the pots, which are to be used for carrying water and cooking their food, are to be seen baking on a large fire of sticks, having been beaten into shape between two smooth stones kept for the purpose.

At another place the men are busy making and mending canoes. Some are hollowing out large logs with stone axes, which they are swinging with both hands. Others more skilled are carving the stems and sterns, and otherwise ornamenting and finishing the canoes; whilst others again are making light feather-edged paddles, large mat sails, and ropes of flax.

In another part of the village fishing-nets are to be seen hanging about the houses in all directions. The people are busy making and mending their nets. Some are returning from, and others starting upon, fishing expeditions. Upon the arrival of the canoes there is a market held, and fish are exchanged for vegetables, the women being the buyers and sellers. One portion of the village devote themselves exclusively to fishing, and the other to cultivating the soil, and both make every third day a day of rest.

On our way through the village we come to a few natives standing round a shallow grave, dug by the roadside in the middle of the village. A woman is being buried. The husband is lying by the side of the grave, apparently in an agony of grief; he sobs and cries as if his heart would break. When the time comes for filling in the grave, he suddenly stops crying, jumps into the grave, lies down beside his dead wife, and begins whispering earnestly into her ear. We ask a native what he is saying, and receive the answer, "He is asking the spirit of his wife to go with him when he goes fishing and make him successful; also when he goes hunting the kangaroo, and when he goes to battle, and so forth; his last request being 'And please don't be angry if I get another wife.'"

We mount a rickety ladder and enter one of the houses. It is floored with narrow strips of bark from a palm-tree; the sides and roof are enclosed with pandanus leaves, neatly sewed together with a needle made from a bone of the flying-fox. The interior of the

house is ornamented with what they regard as valuable pictures—human skulls and a variety of bones, bows and arrows, clubs and spears, being most conspicuous.

In a corner of the room a girl is lying on a mat, being tatoored by an old woman. The girl is trying not to show any sign of pain during the operation, although it must be very painful. On the other side of the house a man is making ornaments for the neck, nose, ears, arms, or legs, from pearl-shell, turtle-shell, ebony, or precious stones. Another man is carving drums, chunam spoons, spears, or ornaments for their houses or canoes. We give the master of the house a small present, and he offers us bananas and cocoanuts in return. We ask him how many wives he has, knowing that many have two, and some more. He replies that he has only one, and adds, with a glance towards the side of the room where the tatooring is going on, "I have trouble enough with one without seeking more."

We leave the village and take a walk through their plantations, and find them well cultivated and well fenced in. Their small canoes for fishing and larger ones for long voyages are well built, often highly ornamented, and always splendidly managed. On the whole, we get a very decided impression that these cannibal tribes are by no means the lowest type of humanity. Some people consider that these tribes cannot be civilised and saved; others say that they are not worth the trouble and expense. My own experience emphatically contradicts both these statements. Thirty-four years ago I went to the island of Lifû, near New Caledonia, and with my wife settled amongst the savages. The work was not so difficult and dangerous as in New Guinea, as native evangelists had gone before and somewhat prepared the way. Some of the people, however, were still practising cannibalism. Tribal wars, heathen feasts, and the night-dance were continued long after my arrival, and yet when we left in 1871 to commence the New Guinea Mission the natives had all embraced Christianity. Churches were built throughout the island, to which day-schools were attached. The language was reduced to writing, and the entire New Testament and Psalms, with hymn, school-book, and catechism, translated into it. A seminary for the training of teachers for the schools, pastors for the churches, and evangelists for the heathen on other islands was in full working order. European stores had been established in different parts of the island; education and trade were growing side by side; the native churches were liberally supplying men and money for the extension of the Gospel to the heathen beyond. And it was eight

of these island converts that we selected from numerous volunteers to be the pioneers of Christianity and civilisation in New Guinea.

The same revolution which has changed 300 islands in the South Seas is now going on in New Guinea, with results that are most encouraging. We have gained the confidence of thousands of savages; established sixty mission-stations, where there are regular day-schools; formed churches containing about 1000 communicants, reduced six of the languages to writing, and translated school-books, catechisms, and portions of the Scriptures into each of them; established two institutions for training pioneer evangelists and pastors from amongst the natives themselves, from which between thirty and forty trained young Papuans have already gone forth and settled as evangelists at heathen villages, doing good work.

This is very encouraging, but it has been accomplished amidst sickness, suffering, and death—deaths from fever, from the spears and clubs of the savages, and from poisoning. The foundation of the Mission in New Guinea, like the first mission to Jews and Gentiles, has been laid in blood, but, as of old, the blood of martyrs is the seed of the Church. At the mouth of the Fly River the first martyrs of our Mission were killed by the savages, who told me afterwards that they thought they were killing enemies, and only found out, when too late, that they had killed their best friends. There is now, and has been for many years, a prosperous mission-station at that village.

The civilising and elevating power of Christianity amongst the Papuan tribes is most remarkable. The contrast between a village of savage cannibal warriors and one of native Christians is almost incredible. Before I left, the Governor of British New Guinea paid a visit to some of our mission-stations. We first of all visited some of the wild tribes up the Fly River, and then spent a Sunday at the village where we commenced the New Guinea Mission.

When I first landed amongst those people, they were at constant war with the surrounding tribes. The village was guarded night and day. The houses were decorated with human skulls, the trophies of war. Before a young man could get a wife, he had to show by the skulls of his enemies hanging before the door that he had proved himself a warrior. They had murdered the crews of several vessels which had been wrecked in Torres Straits, and were a terror to captains who had to take their vessels through those dangerous waters. Their work was war, and their recreation the war-dance. The Governor now found them neatly clothed, attending to church and school, and developing the resources of their

country. He expressed himself as amazed at the change in so short a time; and yet for eight years the people of that village declared that they would not embrace our religion of peace. Three times they drove the evangelist (a Lifu man) from the place, and twice tried to poison him. Over and over again I re-established the Mission, and now they are themselves contributing both men and money to send the Gospel to the heathen beyond.

Their condition is the best answer to those who doubt their ability to rise, and the sincerity of their professions also the best argument in favour of an enterprise that is producing a most marvellous reformation in New Guinea. The result of mission-work there is another proof that the best way to civilise a people is to evangelise them.

IV.

CHIEF'S LANGUAGE IN SAMOA.

BY

THE REV. J. E. NEWELL.

WITH NOTE ON CHIEF'S LANGUAGE IN LIFU AND
PONAPE, BY S. H. RAY.

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IN venturing to offer to this Congress some observations on an interesting feature of Samoan speech, viz., the use of an arbitrary dialect of courtesy and respect, differing in some respects from the common and fundamental language of the people, I cannot but regret that the subject is not in abler hands than mine, and that unfortunately, both for myself and for those who have honoured me with this place in the programme, I have been unable to confer with any other South Sea missionaries competent to throw light on this special subject, or on its relation to any similar feature in cognate dialects of the Malayo-Polynesian stock.

The greatest—perhaps the only living—competent authority on the Samoan language is the Rev. George Pratt of Sydney, N.S.W., who was for upwards of forty years a missionary in Samoa. What my paper would have gained in accuracy and utility if I could have had the benefit of his splendid linguistic talent and experience I can well imagine. And I further deplore the fact that I have been able to consult so few of the books well known to students of Malayan languages. I would fain hope that illustrations of the use of ceremonial or polite language in other dialects unknown to me may be hereafter given to the Congress.

In some MS. Notes on the Malay Language, intended for the next edition of his grammar and dictionary of the Samoan language, Mr. Pratt remarks that the Samoan almost alone among Polynesians has retained the language of politeness from the original Malayan tongue. I propose to endeavour to show, from the position of the chief in Samoan life and thought, the probable reason for the use and development of a polite language, such as that used by the Samoans; then to give some illustrations of that language; and lastly, as far as my very limited acquaintance with other languages of the Malayan stock will permit me, to compare the use of this ceremonious speech by the Samoans with its use in other languages of Indonesia.

1. *The Chief in Samoa.*

The Samoan word for chief is *ali'i*, a term which in other Eastern Polynesian dialects appears as *ariki*. Etymologically the word has been thought to mean “a lofty one,” or one who is “before” others. It seems to be connected with, or perhaps derived from, the word found in Javanese, *aji*, meaning “king.”

Although he is in a limited sense elected, or perhaps I should say *selected*, from among others who trace their genealogy along the same line as himself, the true chief is hereditary. The hereditary name or title is called *ao*. I think, and Samoans think, the word is the same as that which in its original significance means “cloud,” from the Malayan *awan*, “cloud;” then *daylight*. How it comes to have the meaning conveyed in the idea of *title* conferring *supreme authority* would seem to be through its use as a verb, *perfect*, *excellent*, *superior*. The same verb is reduplicated, and means in that form *to be supreme*. As a noun the word *ao* means in this relation: (1) a chief's head, (2) his title.

The impersonal verb *ao*, “to be right,” “fitting,” “proper,” may be related.

The name or title is conferred by certain members of the clan, who have the traditional right to decide the claims of the individual, and to give the title in accordance with their decision. That decision is ratified by the bestowal of heirlooms of the tribe in the shape of fine mats called *tonga* or '*ie tonga*, "tongan cloth,"

The title once given is practically irrevocable. It could only be removed or transferred in one of two ways. It might be renounced by the individual holding it in favour of some one else, or it might be removed by the ceremony called "the washing away" (*faalanu*). That ceremony is seldom resorted to, for it is attended with risk of death to those performing it. Young warriors would be selected or (desirous of immortalising their names) would volunteer to carry a vessel full of water into the presence of the chief upon whom the title was conferred which is to be removed. The young men in his presence are required to lave out the water from the vessel with their hands until the bowl is empty; but in doing so, the chief and his attendants in defence of the title may fall upon the young heroes and put them to death before the title has been removed or washed away.

Every high chief has his genealogy-keeper or official recorder of the traditions of the tribe in which the descent of the "lofty one" is traced, and his lands and possessions sung. These records are partly mythical and partly historical. It is found, for example, that names occur which are the names of persons known to have lived; still myth and fable largely predominate. Not only have we the genealogy of the chiefs, but that of his possessions will be traced in these folk-songs. The principal mode of preserving a record of the important events of the past seems to have been the weaving of a mat (*ie tonga*), which was then named with a name significant of the event to be commemorated. One such heirloom in my possession is called *the founding of the government*, and refers to an event in far-off days long before the introduction of Christianity. A mat given to Mr. Albert Spicer on a recent visit to Samoa was called *given up with the government*, and was the record of the union of two royal houses which lasted until recent foreign political influence led to its absolute abandonment, along with the mat which commemorated it. Others tell of transactions in the transfer of tribal inheritances. There are others given to a chief on whom a title is conferred. When the late *Tui Aana* ambitiously sought to acquire the royal name of *Malietoa*, and the traditional rights of the tribes who owned the title were invaded, he was pursuing a policy which resulted in his overthrow. But the name held at that time

by one who was in exile was actually given to a relative of the exiled king. The restoration of the exile has consequently produced complications, for there are now two *Malietoas*. Pride of race and the incomparable greatness of a high chief of the race are the distinguishing features of the myths and songs.

The names of some Samoan chiefs tell, as many of the folk-songs do, of a somewhat intimate connection with the Melanese of Fiji. The name of *Tui*, which is Fijian for *king*, is contained in the ancient and hereditary name of many a Samoan chief; as *Tui Manu'a*, king of Manu'a, the easterly islands of Samoa, from which the whole group were peopled; *Tui Aana* and *Tui Atua*, king of Aana and king of Atua, two political districts in Upolu.

The name of *Malietoa*, the title of the king of Samoa, carries us back to the struggle in semi-historic times with Tongan invaders, when by a great effort the Samoans, under the leadership of two brothers, ancestors of the present king, expelled the Tongans, who were bound by solemn oath never to return.

Others trace their descent to Tangaloa, the supreme god of the Polynesian Olympus, who dwelt in the ninth heaven, the abode of peace and tranquillity. He had many emanations or manifestations, also named Tangaloa, whose duties and whose inclinations brought them to the help of mortal, dependent man. The human connections of these members of the family of Tangaloa (*Sā Tangaloa*) made them the progenitors of chiefs.

Many of the myths and songs recently published by the Royal Society of New South Wales tell the heavenly origin of the drink of chiefs; whilst others tell of the despotic days when great Samoan chiefs demanded human victims as their prime and favourite food.

The *kava* plant of Eastern Polynesia, from which the festive beverage of chiefs is made, according to the legends, first grew in heaven itself. It was the drink prepared for Tangaloa the Heavenly (Tangaloa Langi) and his sons, and drunk, as now, before the holding of a council of the great ones.

How it came to be the drink of men arose out of a visit of Tangaloa the Miracle-worker to this earth. Happening to be below, and desiring to drink his favourite beverage, he sent his attendants to heaven to fetch it. In their haste they tore the plant up by the roots. Only the root stem (the *rhizome*) was needed for the preparation of the drink, and so the roots were thrown away. Whereupon an enterprising mortal seized the sacred root, planted it, and so obtained the god-like drink.

A very interesting Samoan myth tells us that in ancient days

human sacrifices were offered daily to the Sun-god; another tells that Malietoa the Fierce (*Malietoa fe'ai*) feasted daily on the flesh of men. And as in the one myth we are told of the circumstances under which the Sun-god was led to abolish human sacrifice, so in the other we learn how by craft and guile the lard and liver of a pig were substituted for a portion of the human victim, and how the chief's own son allowed himself to be wrapped alive in leaves as though ready for sacrifice, and that when Malietoa saw the bright eyes of the young chief gleaming through the leaves he relented, and declared that henceforth the excellent food of which he had just partaken should be the dish of chiefs.

The Samoans have long ceased to be cannibals, and are very much horrified at the suggestion that they belong to a race whose traditions identify them with those original inhabitants of Java and of Sumatra who, previous to their intercourse with China, were known to be cannibals. (*Vide* "Marsden's History of Sumatra," where old authorities are quoted to show that the *Batta* people in the island of Sumatra and the inhabitants of Java were consumers of human flesh.)

The point to be noticed in connection with these myths from Samoa is the position assigned to the chiefs. Truly you cease to feel surprised that they required a language of respect when such are the traditions of their race.

2. *The Chief's Language of the Myths and Songs.*

Most of the myths from Samoa which have been translated contain chief's language like that in use in present days, and containing the same distinctions in the rank of the person addressed as now obtain in Samoa.

It is quite certain that these myths are old and have been unaffected by modern notions. The most valuable and authentic of these myths were collected by the late Rev. Thomas Powell, who got them from the legend-keepers in the ancient home of the Samoans, where alone the folk-songs have been preserved in their original purity and force. They contain words which the oldest and most intelligent orators and legend-keepers cannot now explain; and yet the words are carefully preserved in their original form. A legend-keeper will, in endeavouring to give you the supposed meaning of the word you are investigating, if it lies within the traditional folk-lore he has been intrusted to hand on, fall back upon his memory, and repeat the whole body of the myth in order

to find out the connection of the unknown word. The point, however, we desire to note is that the chief's language of the myths is still in use.

In one of the *kava* myths we have a boy (half human, half divine) who made his way to heaven, the abode of his divine father, and whose boldness led to the sending down to earth of the *ao*, (*supreme power* and dignity) and kingly privileges to men on earth. This *ao*, which in the myth means universal rule and royal dignity, was conferred upon To'e-o-Tangaloa, who was the first *king of Manu'a* (the *Delos* of the race) *and all Samoa*.

Another point definitely noticed is the absolute identity of the earthly dignities with these heavenly origins. The council (*fono*) in heaven observes in the distribution of the *kava* the same etiquette as now obtains in Samoan councils. The *kava* cup is offered first to the one highest in rank, and the order of rank is carefully maintained. Similarly as now, so in the days of the composition of the myths, the verb *to eat* had various forms. Instead of the common word '*ai* (*kai*), Tangaloa is said to *taute*, a word still used to a high chief to express the act common to himself, and in Samoan mythology to all gods and men.

The inferior gods in heaven receive little respect in the presence of the overpowering greatness of those highest in rank. When La'e, a mortal, continues to rub his axe as he salutes Tangaloa-a-Ui, Tangaloa replies in displeasure, "What do you mean by continuing your work while you address me? Have you no eyes to perceive that I am a chief?" Thus in an ancient myth you have the same kind of etiquette exactly as that which is now observed in Samoa.

In the salutation I have referred to the *dual* pronoun is used, "You *two* have come," just as in modern and more prosaic times a chief or stranger is saluted as though he were not alone, but was accompanied, as a chief should, by an attendant; or it may be the dual of majesty.

One mark of age in the myths is the word *Atua*, "God," derived from Malayan *tuan*, "master" or "lord." Now Tangaloa is called both *Atua* and *alii*, "chief," and if our derivation of *Atua* is correct, the terms are identical in meaning. Now the word *Atua*, "God," had ceased to be used by the Samoans before missionaries went in 1830, and was by them revived. The influence of Christianity has of course limited the use of the term to the Deity, and, in the plural, to the gods of heathen lands; but there seems to be a reminiscence of the fact that chiefs were deified not only in the meaning of the

term, but in the deification of non-Samoan chiefs. The name *Tui Fiti*, "king of Fiji," was the name of a god on Savaii; an interesting confirmation of the fact that a Melanesian king was known in Samoa, and was by them deified.

One of the myths, entitled *The Genealogy of the Sun*, so far as we know the most ancient of the Samoan folk-songs, presents a perfect picture of Samoan life. It is a mythical account of the origin of the sun. The legend is singular in this, that there is no chief's language. Mr. Pratt, the translator of the legend, remarks, in reference to that point, "that the entire absence of chief's language is one mark of the age of the legend. Such language as is used in the legend would not be tolerated in present times." The legend was obtained by Mr. Pratt from Savaii, the westerly island of the group, and contains the poetic and ancient name of Savaii, namely, *Salāfai*, used still in respectful speech.

It seems possible that chief's language was not used in the western part of the group at the time of the myth. A part of the same myth, which (if I mistake not) came from Manu'a, the home of the Samoans, calls Sunbeam (to whom the myth refers) Son of the Sun, the *alo* of the Sun. Now *alo* is chief's word for *son*, the common word being *atali'i*. There are other words in the Manu'an myth which confirm us in the opinion that this chief's language was (so far as the myths can tell us) always in use.

How is it that in the westerly island this decidedly ancient legend contains no chief's language? Is it that there was in Samoa an allied but more ancient race who did not so address their chiefs, or who had no recognised chiefs whose despotic power led to the adoption of a language appropriate to them? I am bound to reply that I do not know, but the possibility is suggested by a most interesting account of the Island of Bali, in the Malay Archipelago, by Dr. Friedrich (Miscellaneous Papers of the Royal Asiatic Society, 2nd Series, 1887).

Dr. Friedrich says that there the language is divided into *High* and *Low*. The High is that spoken by the lower to the higher, and the Low by the higher to the lower. "The High language is nearly pure Javanese, but possesses also many words which now belong to the Low tongue of Java. The Low tongue is a rude Malayan dialect agreeing with Sundanese and original Malay. The Javanese conquerors found this (the Low one) the prevailing one in Bali, and could not expel it, so they preserved as a High language the Javanese they brought with them; for their intercourse with the people of the land they had to learn the original Malay

tongue, which alone was spoken by the former, and which to this day has a wider prevalence on Bali than the Low language on Java."

I am unable to confirm the analogy between what existed or exists on Bali with what is seen in Samoa. After all, our chief's words which we are unable to trace to the original and common language are comparatively few, and do not constitute a foreign tongue, nor even an allied but distinct dialect. Still I venture to think that the analogy is suggestive, and *may* hereafter serve as a clue to the investigation of those words in Samoan chief's language which are distinctly a foreign element, and which being words, as I shall endeavour to show, which belonged to a real chief's language, came along with the idea of such a dialect, wherever that may have been derived. The myth from Savaii, which contains no chief's language, refers to the marriage of Sunbeam with the daughter of the king of Fiji, and describes the subsequent misfortunes and death of the hero in his voyage to Fiji. Can it be that the well-known connection of Samoa with Fiji has anything to do with the distinction given to chiefs of the Samoan race of having a language of respect? I am not able now to say.

3. *Chief's Language in Samoa, in what it consists.*

(a.) The most important element in the language of respect is the use of *verbs* which by implication refer to the degree or rank of the person addressed.

List of such Words.

English.	Common Word.	Respectful Term.	Term to Ruler or Headman.	To High Chief.
<i>come</i>	sau	maliu mai	susū mai	afo mai
<i>go</i>	alu	{ maliu ane (or) maliu atu }	susū ane, &c.	afo ane, &c.
<i>eat</i>	'ai (kai)	taumafa	tausami	tante
<i>sit</i>	nofo	alaala	susū	afo
<i>see</i>	{ matamata and iloilo with passive }	...	silasila and sisila	
<i>know</i>	iloa	...	silafia	

In these words the particular grade of a man's rank is indicated by the word used. Their derivation is not known. It is possible that the word *maliu*, "come," comes from the Javanese *marein*, especially as the Malay is *mari*, "come." But I do not know that

the resemblance is not accidental. *Alaala* comes from *ala*, "to awake," and is a respectful way of speaking of the sitting at night.

Other verbs of which the derivation is unknown are—

<i>fetalai</i> ,	"to speak,"	of a high chief,	for the common word	<i>fai</i> .
<i>finangalo</i> ,	"to will,"	"	"	<i>loto</i> .
<i>faafofonga</i> ,	"to listen,"	"	"	<i>faalongolongo</i> .
<i>to'atāma'i</i> ,	"to be angry,"	"	"	<i>ita</i> , "angry."
<i>toasā</i> ,	"pained at heart,"	or more respectfully,	<i>tingā-loto</i> .	
<i>usuia</i> ,	"to marry,"	of chiefs,	instead of <i>nafo</i> or <i>fai avā</i> .	

For sickness, *ma'i*, we have the following grades observed respectfully: *ngasengase*, "weariness," *faatafa*, "turn aside" for a chief; then his own "turning aside" in sickness; *pulupulusi*, "covered with a cloth," from verb *pulupulu*, and *taulia*, "to be dirty," also "to be ill" of a high chief. These are all derived from words in use in the common language.

Similarly many verbs in common use are avoided in chief's language by taking another common verb and giving it another meaning; "to bathe," *ta'ele*, for a chief is 'au'au, "to swim about," or *faamālū*, "to cool oneself," or *fufui*, "to dip," or *penapena* (in reference to the soaping of the head in bathing, instead of the common verb 'u'u, "to soap").

A significant euphemism is the word which is substituted for the verb "to commit adultery," *mulilua*. It is *ula*, "to sport or jest." For *moe*, "to sleep," we have the unknown word *tofā*, and the figurative word *to'a*, "to be at rest." For *talé*, "to cough," we have *malé*, probably one of the few instances of a factitious word in this chief's language of Samoa. *Tūlei* means "to speak" (of high chiefs), with a noun derived from the word *afio*, meaning his "presence" or "word," as *Ua tūlei mai le Afionga a le tupu*—The king speaks. The same word *tūlei* means "to vomit."

Instead of *taoto*, "to lie down," you would in chief's language use a verb from *fala*, "a sleeping-mat," and say *falafalana'i*. "To die," instead of *oti*, rarely used to speak of any person's death, we have *malu*, "to pass away, depart," and *folau*, "to go a voyage," or *folausola*, "to go away secretly on a voyage." Whilst every high chief's family has a special word for the death of the chief of the family.

Instead of *tanu*, "to bury," or the respectful term *teu*, "to adorn," we have *falelauasi*, "to house in leaves of the sandal-wood," i.e., to bury a high chief. In life, if a chief is conquered in war, and has

to offer submission, it offends his dignity less to use the verb *faasifo* than the common word *ifo*, "to bow down." A thing is never burnt (*susunu*, "to burn or consume"), but is *faavela*, "made warm." A chief does not *ala*, awake from sleep, but *māleifua*. Gods and chiefs may both be "silent from anger," and that attitude is represented by the word *nūnū* (with which the common word *ngūngū*, "to be dumb," seems connected). A chief does not wash his hands (*fafano*), but *tatafi*, "to clear a place of weeds," and the same word is used for operating on a chief for elephantiasis *in scroto*.

Recovery from sickness of a chief is not *mālōlō*, but a factitious word, *la'oifua*, would be used.

(b.) Many nouns are derived from verbs in this chief's language. Thus a village ruler or councillor would be addressed as *lau susunga* (from *susū*), "your excellency." A king or high chief would be *lau afionga*, "your majesty." But a chief's word would be *fetalainga*, or a high chief's word *afionga*. In Afionga the same word means "presence" and "word." A *taumafatanga* is an eating or a meal; a *tausaminga*, a feast or eating of a chief; a *tofūnga* (like *moenga*), a sleeping-place.

Other derived nouns are *alālafanga*, a chief's dwelling, or his coffin. A chief's grave would not be *tu'ungamau*, "fixed place," but *'oli'olisanga* (from *'oli'oli*, "to rejoice"), or *li'oli'osanga* (from *li'oli'o*, "to surround"). A visit to a chief would be *usūnga* (from *usu*, "to go early in the morning").

(c.) Familiar terms and names are avoided, or other words are used as synonyms. *Aitu* (from Malayan *nitu*, "a spirit," "spectre") has a respectful term, *saualii*, used by one afraid. For *alii*, "chief," we have *tapa'au*, "a cocoa-nut leaf," upon which a chief sits at a council of chiefs, and so for the chief himself. I have, in public speeches, frequently heard the Deity referred to as *O le Tapa'au o le lagi* = "the Chief of heaven."

An interesting word is one to which allusion has been made, viz., *ao*, "supreme authority;" then the title conferring, or supposed to confer, such authority; then the chief's head, instead of the common word *ulu*. In its reduplicated form, *aoao*, it is a verb or an adjective, "supreme," "perfect."

The noun *fafonga* is made to do duty for a chief's "countenance," "eyes," "ears," "mouth," or "tongue;" then for that which proceeds from the mouth or tongue, viz., his "word." But, on the other hand, the word is a common one in reduplicated form, *fonga-fonga*, and may mean "a great talker and liar;" and in compounds its first idea of "countenance" is kept as *fongafongaola*, "to look

lively and well;" *fongafongavale*, "to look sickly or frightened," and "cowardly."

Similarly *a'a'o* means the arm, hand, leg, or foot of a chief. As an adjective the same word significantly means "proud-bearing."

Alo means "the belly of a fish," and other things; then, since the common word for the belly of a man is *manava*, the word *alo* is used for the belly of a chief, his child, his disposition towards another.

Ola is the common term for "life," but it is never used to a chief to describe his own or his wife's life. The chief's word is *soifua*.

Very interesting is the chief's word for house (*fale* is the common word), *maota*. The word is the name of a tree (*Dysoxylon* sp.), which may have been the place of meeting for the chief and his councillors; it came then to mean the house and premises generally of the chief. But the small house to which a chief may retire for his siesta and remain undisturbed needs no special word of respect, because the adjective *to'a* in the name *fale to'a* is already a high chief's word, and the thing is sufficiently defined.

It would appear that the chief is exempt from the communistic principle, for his boat is his *sa*, not *va'a* (*vaka*), i.e., forbidden thing, or thing exempt and for his own use.

His canoe is not *vaa-alo* (paddling or fishing *vaka*), but his *uiuinga*, from the verb *ui*, "to pass along."

Should he drink water, it would not be called *vai*, but *taufa*; and should he bathe in sea or river, that would similarly be *taufa*. His wife would not be his *avā*, nor yet his *toalua* (double), but his *faletua* (1, "a back house;" 2, "a chief's wife"); and if he were very high in rank his wife would be *masiofo*.

If he be sick, his sickness is not a *md'i*, but a *ngasengase*, "weariness," or *faatafa*, "turning aside," or *pulupulusi*, "being wrapped in a plaid;" or if he be very weak and ill and near to death, *ua malumalu ao*, "the heavens are clouded over." If wounded in war in his body, his wound would be, not *manu'a*, but *māsoe*. Should his sacred head be injured, it would be described, singularly enough, by a word in the plural, *langi*. "Blindness in a chief" is *tāulangi*, not *tauaso*.

As amongst various tribes of Madagascar, so also in Samoa and other Polynesian peoples, a word is *tabooed* if adopted as a chief's name, and may not again be used by a chief's followers. Thus the edible arum *talo* is called *fuāuli*, "dark fruit," in the village whose chief's name is *Tālo*. The bat, or *pe'a*, is called *manulangi*, "the bird of heaven," where the name of the ruling chief is *Pe'a*. So

the vine, or *fue*, is called *fau* (*hibiscus*), where one name is *Fue*. Similarly the names of gods were not allowed by their worshippers to be used as common words, and substitutes were found for all such words as had become names of deified chiefs or gods.

Offensive weapons, and tools and animals (the pig) associated with objectionable ideas, cannot be named before chiefs. With regard to sharp instruments, an axe, *to'i*, or knife, would, if carried in the presence of chiefs, have its sharp edge "turned away," *aga'ese*, or hidden; hence the usual chief's word is *aga'ese* or *mea'ese*, "strange thing," or more particularly a knife or a bamboo used as a knife, or as a fishing-rod would be called *lau'i*, "dracæna leaf," or *launiu*, "cocoa-nut leaf." A pig would be spoken of as a living thing, or animal, or quadruped, or as pus, from a wound.

For the common word for "dog," *maile* or *uli*, would be substituted the word *ta'ifau*, from *ta'ita'i*, "to lead," and *fau* (bark of *Hibiscus tiliacens*), "led in a leash."

For so objectionable a thing as an ulcer, *papala*, a chief would have a "soft sickness." Intestines would be, not *nga'au*, but *taufale*, "reaching within." So of other parts and members of the body of a chief.

His spear would not be a *tao*, but a *valu fua*, "scraped smooth." Whilst such things as belong to chiefs do not need more than one name, *kava* or *'ava* is unchanged. A gun, *fāna*, is still a gun, whoever uses it, and so with many other things.

No change is made in any other part of speech except nouns and verbs. In the second personal pronoun the *dual* is used, for every chief is assumed to have an attendant; but there is no attempt to use a language known only to courtiers. The only thing aimed at in chief's language is to dignify a chief's body, his presence, his actions of body and mind, his possessions and connections, by a different term than that commonly used.

(d.) In sentences there is little to remark except the careful selection of polite forms of expression and the avoidance of a direct imperative even to dependants. Characteristic is the expression, *Se'i faagasegase mai lenā vai*, "May I trouble you (or weary you) to pass that water-bottle." *Se'i fa'aune mai lou sa*, "Kindly permit me the use of your canoe." *Ua tūlei mai le Afionga a le tupu*, "The word of the king is being uttered." A favourite mode of expression is, "The king's word has *fallen*."

4. *Notes on the Use of Chief's Language in Samoa.*

(a.) It is too vague and inadequate in terms for precise speech. The want of synonyms is especially seen in describing the members of the body.

It is not strictly speaking a court language, although it is probable that it is an outgrowth of what in a state with the governing power centred in an individual would have been a court language. The development of such a language in Samoa almost alone in Polynesia may be thus accounted for.

There was once a king of all Samoa in Manu'a, but as the Samoans spread over the group, and their connection with the somewhat distant islands they had left, and the king, who claimed lordship over the race, was ignored, so language which in the first instance was appropriate to his majesty and the lesser chiefs who surrounded him, became the language addressed to the chiefs of each of the many political districts into which Samoa was and still is divided.

Under such conditions a universal language of respect would be developed; whereas, on the other hand, in other Eastern Polynesian states the strongest chief became king and despotic ruler of the whole.

Among the Hova and some other tribes of Madagascar, notably the Betsileo, my friend the Rev. James Sibree has traced a number of words specially applied to chiefs. But in the Hova dialect, from the fact of the undisputed sovereignty of one ruler, the language is distinctly applied to royalty. The words so used are not factitious words, but are commonly used terms which have gained a distinct significance by being applied to the sovereign. The neighbouring Betsileo people have, however, developed such a language to a much greater extent. In the lists given by Mr. Sibree we have nouns and verbs, all of which could be paralleled in Samoan speech, although many of the terms would be curiously dissimilar in meaning. And the reason given for assigning such marks of honour to Betsileo chiefs is precisely that which underlies the idea the Samoans have of their own chiefs, viz., that for those who are more than human no ordinary speech will serve (vide *Antanarivo Annual*, Christmas, 1887). It does not, however, appear, from anything I have seen with reference to the Malagasy language, that this chief's language or words specially applied to chiefs would be used in courtesy to any other than chiefs.

In Samoa, on the contrary, the application of chief's language is

constantly extending. It is, in fact, except in reference to a few verbs, almost wholly an *altruistic* language at the present day.

It is probable that the use of this language of respect to strangers is a modern development, and marks a stage in the decline of the authority and influence of the chief. Then, as in a few cases, the greatest chiefs' families have died out, there are villages at least where, in the Samoan expression, they are all as "equal as the surface of a dracæna leaf" (*lauli laulelei*), and all will expect chief's language, for are they not equal in the village council?

But the reception of Christianity has done more than perhaps anything else to conduce to the extension of the use of the language of respect. The Deity is, of course, addressed in high chief's language most carefully used; and since His omnipresence is a recognised doctrine, all references to Him or to His acts and words are always made as such references would be made in the presence of an earthly chief or any of his representatives or people.

Similarly, and not so justifiably, as the representatives of any high chief or of the party of the chief would be addressed in language suitable to the chief himself, so by analogy this superpolite people would address a native pastor (or, by a stretch of courtesy, even a student of the Training Institution), as representing the Unseen God, in this language of reverence and respect. It is proper, however, to add that all such difference would be limited to the sphere in which such persons are supposed to move. In a political assembly, for example, a pastor or teacher, as such, would not rank with chiefs even by courtesy.

5. *The Use of Chief's Language among the Peoples inhabiting the Malay Archipelago.*

The main interest of our inquiry into this use of chief's language among the Samoans lies in the fact that it establishes one more claim (if such be needed) for including the Samoans among those peoples who derive their languages from a common source. It is agreed that the tribes of Eastern and Western Polynesia, together with the peoples inhabiting the Indian Archipelago, speak languages with a recognised affinity among themselves, and also to that general original language once spoken in Indonesia (Codrington's "Languages of Melanesia").

Is it, therefore, too much to conclude that the Samoans got the beginnings of their polite language, or at any rate the idea of so recognising their chiefs, where they got their common language?

To read Marsden's "History of Sumatra" is like reading an account of the Samoans themselves, and of Polynesians allied to them.

As to the polite language, Marsden says that "in Java, Siam, and other parts of the East, beside the common language of the country, there is established a court language spoken by persons of rank only." If Marsden had said "spoken *to* persons of rank only," one could have understood it better. He further says: "The Malays have also their *bhasa dalam*, or courtly style, which contains a number of expressions not familiarly used in common conversation or writing, but yet by no means containing a separate language, any more than in England the elevated style of our poets and historians," &c. . . . "Amongst the inhabitants of Sumatra in general, disparity of condition is not attended with much ceremonious distance of behaviour between persons." That is to say (I suppose) that the ceremonious distance between persons is only noticeable between chiefs and their dependants.

Of the ceremonial language of Java, Crawfurd ("Grammar and Dictionary of the Malay Language"), referring to the two styles of speech, writes: "The distinction in words between the two dialects does not extend throughout the whole language, but it extends to all words in familiar use, nouns, verbs, adjectives, and pronouns, prepositions, and in some cases even particles, by which the verb is modified. In framing it, the object seems to have been to avoid every word that had become by frequent use familiar."

We have seen that the Samoan polite speech is limited to verbs and nouns, and does not affect grammatical forms. Still, as compared with the Javanese, the Samoan is poor in grammatical forms, and it would imply a much more complex language than that of Samoa to form upon its basis a complete dialect of ceremony.

Crawfurd further gives what seems a more likely account than that given by Marsden, that "the polite or ceremonial language is that of courtiers, but the sovereign and members of his family address others in the vulgar tongue, while they themselves are addressed in the ceremonial. In epistolary writing, however, the ceremonial is always used, even by superiors to inferiors, unless the party addressed be of very inferior rank indeed."

Thus, according to this testimony, the Javanese ceremonial language was not, as to its application, dissimilar to the Samoan.

Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, in his "History of Java," thinks "that in the earlier stages of society the terms of respect used towards a superior were comparatively few; that the second dialect has been gradually formed with the growth of arbitrary power;

and that at one period the extent of these terms did not exceed what is to be at this day found among the less cultivated dialects and among the more independent races of *Madura* and *Sunda*," and (one might add) *Samoa*.

Perhaps more interesting still, as throwing light upon this question, is Dr. Friedrich's account of the Island of Bali, from which I have already quoted. He alludes to the language as having separate and distinct words for degrees in rank. He says of the two languages of Bali: "It is exceedingly difficult for a common man to express himself intelligibly in the high language, and to speak to each rank of a higher or lower degree with full conformity to the laws of politeness."

Here I venture to think we have a complex illustration of that which, in similar but vastly simpler forms, we have in the Samoan verbs expressing common actions where difference of rank is noted in the word used.

Whether any Malayan scholar will ever consider it worth while to compare the words themselves with the words used in the polite languages of Indonesia seems doubtful; but at least one feels that the solution of the question where to locate the original Malayan tongue of the Samoans and Eastern Polynesians generally would help us to trace the words which, both in the Betsileo language of Madagascar and in the Samoan, gave rise to a similar custom in countries so remote from each other.

Or perhaps some Malagasy scholar may complete the work begun by H. N. Van der Tuuk (*Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, N.S., vol. i. pp. 419-446), and show us to which of the dialects of Indonesia Malagasy has closest affinity. When that is decided, we shall not be far from the home of the original ancestors of Eastern and Western Polynesia.

Taking the lists given by Van der Tuuk, it is almost startling to find how much closer the Samoan language is to the Toba dialect of Batak than either Javanese or Malayan.

It seems, therefore, that the Samoans had at least the suggestion of a polite language for their chiefs when they were still in their original home in the Indian Archipelago. I cannot doubt that future investigations into the comparative philology of these allied languages will, besides proving the real unity of Eastern and Western Polynesians, and the tribes of Madagascar and the Malaysians of the Archipelago and of New Guinea, will also reveal the fact that at least on parallel lines, and working from a common original basis, their various dialects of respect were developed.

NOTE ON CHIEF'S LANGUAGE IN LIFU AND PONAPE.

BY S. H. RAY.

The custom of using words distinct from those in common use, when speaking of or addressing chiefs, is one which is found in many of the Oceanic islands, and is, no doubt, a subject which would be worth closer study. In Java the custom is seen in the use of the Basa Krama or ceremonial dialect. It has lately been shown to exist in the Malagasy,¹ and has long been known in several of the languages of the Eastern Pacific. In Melanesia it appears only in the Loyalty Islands, but is found in the Micronesian language of Ponape (Carolinë Islands), and formerly existed in the Marshall Islands.

In Lifu, Loyalty Islands, the ceremonial speech differs according to the rank of the person addressed or referred to. This is especially seen in the pronouns. Thus, in addressing an inferior person, "thou" is *hmune*, but one of equal rank with the speaker is *eö*. A person of higher rank, though not a chief, is addressed as *nyipë*, or more respectfully as *nyipëti*. A chief is *cilie*, or respectfully *cilieti*, but a chief of very high rank is *enëtilai*.

Usually, however, the word concerning a chief is rendered polite by the addition of the syllable *ti*, or, in a few cases, by the prefix *anga*. Thus the vocative *kaka*, father, is politely *kakati* or *angakaka*.

In other cases the words are distinct. The following are a few examples:²—

	Common.	Chief's.
<i>House</i>	uma	ēnē
<i>Charm</i>	haze	akōtesie
<i>Arm</i>	ime	themie
<i>Head</i>	he	kohiëj
<i>Foot</i>	ca	fenie
<i>Face</i>	qēmeke	xajawa
<i>Mother</i>	thine	teifenie
<i>Body</i>	ngōnetei	ngōnale
<i>Weep</i>	teij	sheitō
<i>Sleep</i>	meköl	huedē
<i>No</i>	pekō	qatikō

The Nengone use is very similar to the Lifu. Examples are given in Rev. Dr. Codrington's "Melanesian Languages." In Ponape,

¹ Rev. J. Sibree, "Curious Words and Customs connected with Chieftainship and Royalty among the Malagasy." Jour. Anthropol. Inst., vol. xxi. p. 215.

² I owe these examples to the Rev. J. Sleight.

Caroline Islands, words are also graded to indicate the rank of the person referred to or addressed. Thus the pronoun "thou," as commonly used, is *kö*, but a chief is addressed as *köm*, and a high chief as *kömwī*. Other examples are :—

	Common.	Chief's.
<i>Nose</i>	tumwa	kaununi, ajiapwai
<i>Feet</i>	ne	alualua
<i>Ear</i>	jalonga	koronga
<i>Hand</i>	pa	kumuti, nilim
<i>Head</i>	monga	kotoka-n-mai
<i>Face</i>	maja	nilani
<i>Hear</i>	rong	angi
<i>Weep</i>	mauk	tonir, ututomwar

One of the important points to be considered in the study of chief's language is whether we have in it a survival of the language of former conquerors of an island who, having established themselves as chiefs, used their own speech as a kind of court language in order to enhance their authority. So far, however, as our present knowledge extends, the custom seems to have arisen entirely from motives of respect, and is analogous to the *un* speech of the Banks' Islands, whereby words not in common use are substituted for those which occur in the names of relations (*cf.* Codrington, "Melanesian Languages," p. 255).

SECTION X.

ANTHROPOLOGY AND MYTHOLOGY.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

BY

PROFESSOR E. B. TYLOR, D.C.L., F.R.S.,
President.

It seems a suitable introduction to the work of this Section to survey broadly the races belonging to the vast Oriental region, and to examine the information now available as to the order of their stages of civilisation. In the large definition adopted by this Congress, the Oriental world reaches its extreme limits. It embraces the continent of Asia, stretching through Egypt over Africa, and into Europe over Turkey and Greece, while extending in the far East from group to group of ocean islands, where Indonesia, Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia, lead on to the continent of Australia and its outlier, Tasmania. Immense also is the range of time through which the culture-history of this Oriental region may be, if often but dimly, traced. History illuminates its comparatively later periods. The earlier can only be inferentially reconstructed by comparison of the still representative races and languages, and their remains materially preserved in the soil and intellectually in culture, that is, in the arts, institutions, and beliefs which have lasted on from the ancient world. On the maps which represent the Oriental world as known to history, we see a band of civilised nations stretching from Egypt through Phoenicia, Babylonia, Assyria, Medo-Persia, India, China. This compact culture-band is underlaid by traces of former barbarism, and geographically skirted by barbaric border-lands, while a savage region is either actually met with beyond these limits, or its former existence inferred inside as well as outside them. In agreement with recognised principles of the development of culture, it may, I think, be taken that the low culture extending widest represents the earliest platform of culture over the whole region, that an inner but still vast inlying district rose to the barbaric level, and that within this again the higher culture-area was formed. Indeed, the terrace-temple of Babylonia, where terraces narrower, but more lofty, rise one above another, seems to my mind a suggestive model of these stages of

culture, where the higher degree covers the smaller area. It is to the wide foundation-platform of Oriental culture that my remarks to-day specially refer, not from any over-estimation of the importance of this basis as compared with the higher stages, but because these latter have, with the aid of historical record, become more familiar to the studious world; while as to the lowest and widest Oriental culture level, I have even some new evidence to offer.

The former presence of races of low culture in countries where none now remain, is more than by any other symptom proved by the presence in the ground of stone implements and other objects characteristic of low culture among modern savages and barbarians, and doubtless also characteristic in the remote past. Thus the Stone Age is practically identified with the savage and low barbaric periods. Moreover, the usual division of the Stone Age into the later and higher Neolithic or ground stone period, and the earlier and lower Palæolithic or chipped stone period, the evidence for which has been thoroughly threshed out, may here be taken for granted. As to the Palæolithic period, discoveries of the last generation have established the presence of tribes of men over a large part of Europe, whose high antiquity is shown by the geological position in which their relics are found in quaternary gravel-beds and caves, and by their association with that extinct fauna which gives their age the concise name of the Mammoth period. That their stage of culture was that of savage hunters and fishers is obvious from the rude stone implements themselves, and from other objects of more or less Esquimaux type, while at the same time carvings and scratched outlines of animals show an extraordinary sense of art. It has been proved also that the rude tribes whose existence was argued from their rudely-chipped stone instruments were not confined to Europe. Let us notice their few but important occurrences within our Oriental area.

Egypt, it is important to notice, has yielded implements of well-marked Palæolithic type, a solid basis for its history of culture. They may be traced on into Syria, while the laterite beds of South India, by their similar quartzite implements, testify to the former habitation of the Peninsula by tribes there representing the primitive savage life. In Siberia, where the remains of the mammoth have been preserved so perfectly, I should think that the weapons of coeval man might probably be found in corresponding quantity, but, so far as I know, no thorough quest for them has yet been made.

At the furthest extreme of our Oriental boundary, in Tasmania, stone implements which must be classed as low Palæolithic in type

appear. So remarkable are the characters of these implements and the circumstances of their occurrence, that, as they are very scarce in Europe, I have placed on the table all the specimens I have been as yet able to obtain. The point I have to draw attention to is that, though of rudeness beyond that of the remotest ages known, they remained in use into our own time. It is now more than thirty years since my attention was aroused by seeing a stone implement from Tasmania in the Museum of the Somersetshire Natural History Society at Taunton, which led me to make inquiry at the International Exhibition of 1862 of Dr. Milligan and other representatives of Tasmania. Their answer I printed in 1865, with a comparison with the implements of the Palæolithic age. "The Tasmanians sometimes used for cutting or notching wood a very rude instrument. Eye-witnesses describe how they would pick up a suitable flat stone, knock off chips from one side, partly or all round the edge, and use it without more ado; and there is a specimen corresponding exactly to this description in the Taunton Museum. An implement found in the drift near Clermont would seem to be much like this" (Early History of Mankind, p. 195). This, if not the earliest published notice of these Tasmanian implements, was one of the earliest; but it will be observed that it did not yet amount to stating that these rude savages used no stone implements except such rudely-chipped ones, for it was not yet proved that they did so. This proof was required to bring the Tasmanians into the position where I wish to place them before you now, that of modern savage representatives of the remotely ancient Palæolithic ages. The requisite evidence has since been supplied by the archæologists and geologists of the Royal Society of Tasmania. It was not a question merely of studying the make of implements buried in the ground, as the time was not yet past for descriptions by Englishmen who had actually seen how the natives made and used these roughest of human implements. They might be mere fragments picked up or detached by a blow from the rock, but the more artificial tools were much improved upon by skilfully with another stone striking off chips along the margin, so as to give a good cutting edge; but this edge-chipping was only done on one side. The natives were never known to grind an edge, nor to fix the chipped stones in any kind of handle. Of this the accounts of observers who saw the art carried on, and who, one would think, must have been aware if the natives could do anything better, may be taken as good testimony. At any rate, it is proof positive that such specimens as are here exhibited are characteristic of the general standard of the Tasmanian implement-maker's art. It

is seen by comparison with ordinary Palæolithic implements from the drift-gravels and bone-caves that the modern savage was distinctly lower than the ancient. The pick of the Europeans of the Mammoth period, edged and pointed by alternate chipping on both sides, is far superior to anything seen or described in Tasmania. The typical "hatchet" or "tomahawk," as it is sometimes called, of Tasmania, is at most the equivalent of the one-side-edged "scraper" of Palæolithic Europe. Thus it appears that in this far-off corner of the Oriental world Palæolithic man, not even of the highest, had survived within living memory. The question must of course be raised as to whether the low stage of Tasmanian implements may be due to degeneration; but it is difficult, without altering our conceptions of human nature, to suppose the rude ancestors of these savages to have habitually edged their chopping-stones on both sides, and given up this for the one-edged flake, for many purposes much less effective. Not less instructive is the fact that the Tasmanians were not known to fix their chopping-stones in any kind of handle, but only to grasp them in their bare hands. What was the practice in this respect among the Europeans of the Mammoth period is not yet quite conclusively known. Some of their tools or weapons were obviously made for grasping in the hand. Others may have been fixed to wooden hafts, though it is hardly proved that they actually were. At any rate, the Tasmanian example warns us not to rely on the argument that to put a handle to a hatchet must have suggested itself naturally to the lowest savages, for it seems not to have suggested itself to the Tasmanians. When they saw the European hatchet and how to use it, they were "transported with joy," and took to it at once. If their ancestors, having fixed their chipped stones in withes or boughs, afterwards held them in their naked hands instead, man is a less intelligent animal than other experience of him would seem to warrant. Even if it should prove by further quest that stone implements of higher finish, say equal to the Australian, occur in the ground or were made by the Tasmanians, this would not much alter the inferences as to their culture-history, but would still leave the Tasmanians as a people actually seen in modern times to pursue their life on a Palæolithic footing under circumstances where Neolithic man would have practised his higher art.

We can hardly over-estimate the anthropological importance of this negroid race, whose grievous extirpation so sadly clouds our colonial history. In the light of these facts, Palæolithic man ceases to be a mystery, now that we can see the portraits and examine

the life of his far Eastern counterpart. They enable us to realise, at least in vague outline, a state of man in geological antiquity which has lasted on into modern life. It is most instructive to examine what the condition of these modern Palæolithic people was in other respects, and the labours of Mr. Ling Roth, who has collected in a single volume ("The Tasmanians," London, 1890) almost every scrap of record, puts it before the world in a picture which, considering how much of the evidence comes from uneducated witnesses, is on the whole remarkably consistent. Of savage tribes not in a state of decay, the Tasmanians may be reckoned among the lowest known. Their want of art in stone implement-making agreed with their condition as to other weapons and tools. They had no bow and arrow, like that of their Australian neighbours, no throwing-stick to hurl their spears, and their spears, though they seem to have known how to point them with a human bone, were usually long sticks straightened by bending, and the points of which had been thrust into the fire and sharpened. These, and waddies or clubs tolerably shaped, were their weapons of the chase and war. They had not even the rude bark canoe of the Australian, but a canoe-like raft of rolls of bark. They were string-makers, good plaiters, and basket-makers, and it is noticed that some of their stitches and plaits are familiar in our own basket-work and point-lace. They made fire with the ordinary fire-drill. Their wandering life accounts for the rudeness of their simple huts and wind-shelters of boughs and bark. Mentally, they have been well defined in the following words: "Their intellectual character is low, yet not so inferior as often described. They appeared stupid when addressed on subjects which had no relation to their mode of life, but they were quick and cunning within their own sphere." Morally, it is not difficult to understand how two kinds of statements are made about them, which seem incompatible, but are not really so. Their inoffensiveness when not ill-treated or alarmed or hostile gave place to sly and rancorous cruelty toward those they regarded as enemies. Their nomad life brought with it the ancient savage custom of abandoning the sick and aged. As nomad hunters, they had but the first rudiments of government by the strong man of the tribe; but as usual among such tribes, when war broke out, the authority of a leader or war-chief was recognised. The two great tests, language and religion, hardly place the Tasmanians below recognised savage levels. Enough of their language is preserved to show it as simple and scanty, of an agglutinating type, *mi-na* = I, *mi-to* = to me; *pugga-na* = man, *lowa-na* = woman;

timy = no; *lugga-na* = foot; compounds of these latter, *lowa-timy* (woman-no) = bachelor, *pugga-lugga-na* = (black) man's footstep. The numerals do not go far, but reach to *pugga-na mara* = 5, verbally man-one (obviously he held out one hand). There is a proportion of emotional and imitative words, and no doubt it is true, as described, that their sentences depended much on tone and gesture. It would have been most instructive to have had examples of how this was managed, but unfortunately here the information fails. The Tasmanian is distinctly a low organised language, but not at all a language belonging to man in what is called "a state of nature." Still less is this the case with the Tasmanian religion, which is a well-marked animism, extending about as high in its development as among other savages. The accounts given by a number of Europeans, of whom some confused white man's ideas with native, require criticism; but the mistakes generally disappear on comparison, and the vocabularies, which show what religious ideas the natives had words for, are an excellent test. It is quite clear that the word *warrawa* = shadow, served them to describe the souls of the dead, who became guardian spirits of their friends and hostile ghosts to their enemies, so feared that men would not willingly go out at night; that there was a good land of the dead, with life like this continuing, or that this land came to be identified with England, whence the dead came back as white men; that demon-spirits could possess men with epilepsy, and other spirits could expel them; that the land and forest swarmed with spirits, among whom is especially mentioned the echo, which they called *kuk-anna wurrawina* = talking shadow. The spirit or god *Rediarapa*, whose name was identified with thunder and lightning, and who was feared accordingly, is vouched for by full evidence; but the deity "whom they call the good spirit," and who presides over the day, is not to be found in the vocabularies, and collapses on comparison of documents.

Taken all together, there is definiteness in these accounts of a low Stone Age people seen in actual modern existence. How is it that modern savage man should differ so little from man at the highest geological antiquity? The answer seems to be that of possible permanence as well as possible development in culture. Let a tribe arrive at a condition of equilibrium with surrounding nature, its "*milieu environnant*," to use the phrase of Lamarck, in which it can hold its own, this may be a condition which suggests no progress. As there were shells of the Tertiary period indistinguishable from those now living, so there are men. Behind

the Palæolithic period lies that undefined past which, whether keeping tribes unchanged under unchanged conditions, or changing under changing conditions, has to account for the condition of savage man, which, indeed, is within a moderate interval of our own. It is a question not of nature, but of degree.

The Oriental area thus presents a basis of man in the Palæolithic stage of culture, relics of which remarkably occur in boundary districts. Let us now examine the Oriental area occupied by traces of the Neolithic stage.

The South Sea Islanders are the best known of high Stone Age peoples. On the continent of Asia, history knows of some peoples, the Ichthyophagi of the Beluchistan coast and the aboriginal tribes of China, as still using stone tools or weapons, but for the most part the former use of these is only apparent by the celts and arrow-heads of stone found in the ground, and explained mystically by peoples who have forgotten their real purpose. Hindus still worship a polished celt under a sacred tree as a symbol of Mahadeva, and the Japanese see in the arrow-heads they pick up in the fields the spirit-arrows of storm fights in the sky. Egypt here, as usual, vindicates its place as the museum of culture-development. The flint arrow-heads and ceremonial flint-knives have long been known, and now the researches of Mr. Petrie show Egypt, not in its remotest antiquity, actually emerging from the age of stone into that of copper and bronze, flint-flakes remaining in use for cutting and chipping tools and to arm the reaper's sickle. This is an industrial condition which may remind us of that of Mexico before the Spanish conquest.

This consideration of the Oriental world during the Neolithic or later Stone Age raises a problem which is complementary, and in some respects converse, to that of the development of culture. It leads us to trace the migration of culture from the higher nations into the lower. Even in what is called the unchanging East, the culture of the ruder tribes is far from being (so to speak) their own, so palpably has it been affected by the influence of foreigners of higher and consequently more powerful organisation, thoughts, and arts. In the present state of anthropology it is particularly desirable to ask the opinions of special students of the great Oriental nations, from Egypt to China, as to what may be called the old trade-routes by which ideas have been carried over the barbaric world. It seems that this carrying has been actively going on within the limits of what is technically known as the Stone Age. Ever since Cook's voyages, the Polynesians have stood, and rightly

so, as especially representative of the Stone Age. And yet the traces of their communication with cultured Asia are shown by various symptoms. Playing on the Jew's harp and flying kites are the sports of Asiatic nations, but they spread continuously from Asia over Melanesia and Polynesia, where they may have been before the late times in which they find their way into Europe. Especial interest attaches to the system of the universe prevalent over the South Sea Islands, examined so as to show how far it differs from the simple doctrine of the three worlds, the *triloka* of earth, firmament, hell—a system which, resting on the apparent direct evidence of the senses, belongs everywhere to man in the earliest stages of knowledge. The Polynesian systems I take as so obviously belonging to the borrowed and degenerate forms of the Babylonian planet-system, that I think the questions open are merely in which form and by what route they spread over the Pacific Islands. According to the ideas of the Mangaians themselves, the earth they live on is on the top of a vast hollow coconut shell, the interior of which is Avaiki, the under-world, into which the sun and moon descend by western openings and rise in the east. Above, the ten heavens of the blessed spirits rise one above the other. Below, the dismal Hades is divided into stages of gloom and decay, down to mere nothingness.

In the New Zealand cosmology, as recorded by Mr. John White in his "Ancient History of the Maori," we have a system of the same source, only varying in details. Above the flat earth the ten heavens rise in successive strata. The lowest three contain the clouds and storms, and the lake which by its overflow pours down rain and hail. Above these are seven heavens inhabited by human souls, other spirits, and gods, up to the highest, where Rehua dwells. The counterpart, ten hells, or rather stages of the under-world, have the four uppermost under Hine-niu-te-po, Great Woman Night, so that it is there that the sun sets. Below are six more dismal regions, in the lowest three of which is the goddess Meru, the lowest of all being called Meto—that is, extinct or putrid.

Now it is plain that the knowledge of astronomy of the Polynesians neither needed nor authorised these schemes of strata above and below, of which they could know nothing; but regarded as degenerate versions of the Babylonian-Greek astronomy, where the orbits of the sun, moon, and five planets were interpreted as indicating the seven concentric spheres, with others for the fixed stars, the difficulty is met. Even in the Hindu, Buddhist, and Moslem systems of the universe, though derived from this planetary source,

the planetary part (all indeed that gives the system its value) has long since dropped out of sight, and the spaces the heavenly bodies occupied have been turned to account in complex series of heavens and hells. Both the Indian and Moslem systems may be easily traced into the Indian Archipelago, and it is a last, and I think not unreasonable, step to suppose them spreading over the Pacific Islands. The Mangaian and Maori schemes even bear a closer resemblance to the Hindu than to the Moslem, indicating Indian religions as their carriers.

Thus I close this attempt to lay a Stone Age basis, if I may use the expression, for the study of Oriental civilisation. Not attempting here to rise to the Metal Age and to begin the study of the higher stages, to which alone it has been habitual to confine the term civilisation, I commend to Oriental scholars the thought, which it is well never to lose sight of, of the more ancient and humbler stages of life which underlie it.

II.

LE FOLK-LORE ASIATIQUE.

PAR LE

COMTE ANGELO DE GUBERNATIS.

LE monde du folk-lore s'est tellement élargi dans les dernières années, le nombre des chercheurs et des travailleurs sur ce vaste terrain a tellement augmenté, qu'une orientation devient de nos jours extrêmement difficile, et l'œuvre de la synthèse, malgré l'apparition de quelques essais fort remarquables, n'est pas seulement laborieuse, mais naturellement et nécessairement incomplète. La discipline de la méthode a souvent manqué au plus grand nombre des investigateurs, et les matériaux ont été plus souvent amassés que distribués d'une manière systématique. Les lignes générales ont fait défaut pour organiser le travail de la recherche et celui de la publication des matériaux; on peut dire que la mine ayant été découverte a été seulement jusqu'ici déplacée et mise au jour, mais qu'elle demande encore et exige une entente collective de tous les fouilleurs, pour en rendre l'exploitation productive. Chacun de nous a senti qu'il y a là des trésors enfouis inépuisables; les fragments qu'on en a retirés ont fait présumer que la lumière cachée au fond du folk-lore le jour où tous les rayons seront ramenés à leur source pour ne former qu'un seul grand soleil, se projetera sur l'histoire intime de l'humanité, se déroulant à nos yeux comme toute autre histoire naturelle fondée sur l'observation des faits dûment classifiés. Mais la classification est encore à faire, et difficilement elle sera faite tant que nous ne mettrons un peu plus d'ordre dans nos recherches. Je dois donc féliciter tout d'abord les organisateurs de ce Congrès des Orientalistes de ce qu'ils ont admis le folk-lore comme l'objet d'études de l'une des sections. Certes ils ont compris que le folk-lore, nous ramenant non pas seulement aux premières pages de l'histoire civile de l'humanité mais à un âge préhistorique, pour le reconnaître à ses origines et le retrouver dans ses premières manifestations littéraires, c'est aux Orientalistes qu'il faudra réserver le premier, si non le dernier mot.

Il n'y a pas de doute que les Orientalistes ont le dépôt sacré des plus anciennes traditions écrites de l'humanité. De ces anciennes traditions qui nous sont révélées par les monuments, une partie est la manifestation locale ethnique, certaine ou probable, de la civilisation au milieu de laquelle elles se sont formées ; et quoiqu'il soit difficile pour nous de démêler à une si grande distance, et avec des monuments souvent fragmentaires la partie traditionnelle spécifique et caractéristique d'un peuple historique, du fond traditionnel préhistorique dont presque tous les éléments se confondent avec ce qui en reste encore au milieu des peuples demeurés à l'état sauvage, et même au dessous de presque toutes les civilisations au fond des villages et dans l'intimité de la vie de famille, leur co-existence ne saurait être mise en doute ; de nos jours encore, il est facile de reconnaître sous le sol historique, chez les différents peuples civilisés, un substratum de croyances, usages, traditions qui remontent à une époque préhistorique ; combien plus serons nous forcés d'admettre que dans les anciens documents et monuments des grandes civilisations orientales, objet spécial de nos études, se trouvent à chaque pas des indices du folk-lore préhistorique, commun à presque toute l'humanité parce qu'il se fonde essentiellement sur des sentiments naturels qui appartiennent à toute la race humaine ; d'un folk-lore spécial à la race indigène au milieu de laquelle chaque civilisation orientale s'est développée ; d'un folk-lore mélangé qui résulte de l'amalgame des sentiments et des traditions de deux races ; d'un folk-lore, enfin, élaboré et développé, dont la première souche peut-être bien éloignée, mais qui prend une nouvelle forme, un caractère historique, une sorte de figure idéale, grâce aux qualités spéciales de la race qui l'a adopté pour le transformer *ad imaginem suam*.

Ce n'est qu'en parcourant les différents sillons des littératures orientales qu'il me semble possible d'en arriver à une analyse à peu-près satisfaisante de la constitution primitive du folk-lore. Cet exemple donné, cette œuvre achevée sur le domaine oriental, il me semble qu'il sera beaucoup plus aisé d'appliquer ensuite le même système à l'analyse du folk-lore dans les littératures classiques, du folk-lore dans la littérature du moyen âge, et, enfin, du folk-lore de la tradition orale, soit que cette tradition remonte à des origines préhistoriques, soit qu'elle existe par le seul reflet de quelque brillante tradition littéraire. Mais il est évident que cette élimination et distinction n'est point possible, tant que nous n'aurons sous les yeux toute la matière première du folk-lore littéraire, distribuée par ordre de temps et de régions historiques. Ce n'est que lorsque

nous connaissons au juste ce qui a pénétré de folk-lore dans les anciennes littératures orientales, que nous pourrions nous demander combien en a passé en Grèce et en Italie; et ce n'est qu'ayant approfondi la connaissance du folk-lore littéraire oriental et classique que nous pourrions nous hasarder à l'analyse du folk-lore littéraire du moyen âge. J'ose même ajouter que le folk-lore de la tradition orale contemporaine ne saurait être bien compris qu'à condition d'avoir pris connaissance préalable de ces trois grands sillons de tradition littéraire folk-lorique. Je vais en donner un petit exemple que j'espère assez probant. Un certain nombre de contes populaires russes offre une analogie frappante avec certains contes populaires siciliens. Devrait-on en conclure que les Siciliens et les Russes ont apporté directement de l'Orient Asiatique les mêmes récits, et hasarder quelque nouvelle possible théorie ethnologique sur le voisinage des deux peuples sur le sol de l'Asie, dans un âge préhistorique, pour expliquer cette ressemblance? Par cette conjecture nous finirions par nous égarer. Le fait s'explique seulement par la tradition byzantine du moyen âge, et par les Grecs, qui en ont été les intermédiaires en Sicile et dans l'Italie méridionale, aussi bien que dans les pays Slaves; seulement nous assistons à un phénomène curieux de développement national du folk-lore général; l'ennemi qui était le démon, dans les anciennes mythologies, est devenu un Sarrasin en Sicile, un Tatare, un Turc ou un Chinois en Russie.

Chez les peuples parmi lesquels les faits historiques n'ont pas laissé de grands souvenirs, l'ennemi est resté l'homme noir mythologique ou est devenu l'humble charbonnier à la figure noire qui fait peur aux enfants. Par ce seul exemple, nous assistons à la genèse et à la marche de tout un ordre d'idées, dont la tête était bel et bien au ciel, mais dont les pieds sont profondément enracinés sur la terre, et même sur un terrain national.

La connaissance réelle des faits historiques n'est pas seulement utile, mais nécessaire pour éliminer du folk-lore certaines notions qui peuvent avoir une explication toute naturelle. Certaines images, certains symboles qui semblent rentrer dans l'ordre mythologique aussitôt expliqués n'ont plus aucune raison d'y rester. Bien des lecteurs en Occident peuvent s'étonner par exemple que dans l'Évangile le Christ puisse dire au mort ressuscité: *prends ton lit et marche*. Avec l'idée que nous nous faisons du lit d'après nos usages nous avons pu supposer que le Christ ait recours à une de ces hyperboles de langage si fréquentes dans la littérature orientale; le voyageur en Orient, au contraire, ayant pu constater que le lit

de l'Oriental est presque toujours une simple natte ou un tapis, et doit conclure de ce fait que le Sauveur à cette occasion a parlé avec le langage le plus naturel du monde. Ainsi, lorsque on lit dans l'Évangile cette sentence du Sauveur : "En vérité, je vous le dis, un chameau passera plus aisément par le trou d'une aiguille qu'un riche n'entrera dans le royaume des cieux," on peut s'étonner quelque peu de cette figure rhétorique qui serait quelque peu forcée ; pourquoi donc un chameau essaierait-il de passer par le trou d'une aiguille ? Mais les voyageurs en Terre-Sainte nous ont appris qu'on y appelle *trou d'aiguille* la petite porte pratiquée dans la porte cochère, qui s'ouvre seulement pour y faire entrer les chameaux avec leur fardeau, tandis-que les hommes, en se baissant, passent aisément par la petite porte, par le *trou d'aiguille*. La notion du fait réel détruit ici le langage prétendu symbolique, et ce fait réel en ce qui concerne le folk-lore oriental ne peut être constaté que par un Orientaliste ou par un voyageur en Orient.

Dans un ordre d'idées différent, connaître la vérité historique veut dire s'expliquer une foule de notions mythologiques. Par la Bible nous savons que les premiers patriarches étaient des rois pasteurs ; d'Abraham à David, de David au Christ, l'image du pasteur qui devient Seigneur des peuples se continue ; et la philologie comparée a confirmé dans le domaine arien la même correspondance entre le fait historique et réel de la vie pastorale et la donnée mythologique du fils de pâtre devenu roi. Ceci nous rapporte à un premier stage de vie historique et de formation folk-lorique. Mais observez ce qui arrive dans une période plus récente de formation ou d'évolution du folk-lore ; en Russie, où, dans la vie réelle, la vie agricole a remplacé la vie pastorale, le roi pasteur de l'ancien conte mythologique devient un roi paysan, l'esprit du peuple russe ne concevant son tsar, que comme l'élu de Dieu parmi les paysans.

Le folk-lore n'est, à certains égards, autre chose qu'une *histoire voilée* ou poétisée. En déchirant le voile mythologique, on trouve quelquefois le fond d'une vérité historique ; mais ce qui est encore propre au mythe, ce qui devient intéressant à étudier, est justement le principe psychologique qui préside à cette œuvre de transformation et d'élaboration de la matière historique qui est passée dans le domaine légendaire. Or cette étude ne saurait être faite que par la méthode historique, à l'aide de nombreuses connaissances spéciales, qui sont le patrimoine scientifique de la grande famille des orientalistes, à laquelle nous nous honorons d'appartenir.

Encore récemment dans son œuvre magistrale sur la *Migration des*
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Symboles, l'un de nos illustres collègues belges, le Comte Goblet d'Alviella, nous a signalé un exemple de l'utilité de l'exploration scientifique en Orient pour s'expliquer la présence de certains survivants mythologiques et symboliques restés dans la tradition et représentation européenne. C'est ainsi que l'archéologie de l'Asie Mineure nous a donné la clef de l'aigle à deux têtes adoptée par l'Autriche et par la Russie et introduite en Occident au quatorzième siècle par les Turcs. "Quelle ne fut pas la surprise des voyageurs anglais Barth et Hamilton, quand, explorant l'Asie Mineure, il y a une cinquantaine d'années, ils découvrirent un aigle bicéphale du même modèle, sculpté au milieu de scènes religieuses dans des bas-reliefs de la Ptérie qui remontent à la civilisation des Héthéens ? Peut-être les Turcomans avaient ils eux-mêmes emprunté le symbole aux sculptures taillées par leurs mystérieux devanciers sur les rochers d'Euiuk et de Jas-ib-Kaia. Mais il est également possible qu'ils l'aient reçu par l'intermédiaire des Perses. On rencontre, en effet, dans la collection de M. de Gobineau une entaille qu'il fait remonter à l'époque des Arsacides et où l'on trouve gravé le type traditionnel de l'aigle à deux têtes, tenant comme à Euiuk, un lièvre dans chaque serre."

Ici nous voyons à quel point des connaissances archéologiques sur l'Orient peuvent nous aider à pénétrer le mystère des symboles. Je dois encore ajouter que la connaissance de la tradition orale contemporaine, la connaissance d'une croyance actuelle, d'un survivant mythologique dans la superstition populaire pourrait à son tour nous aider à mieux comprendre le folk-lore populaire. J'en citerai un exemple. On se rappelle l'épisode d'Hanumant qui vole en traversant la mer pour arriver à Lankà, et dont l'ombre est saisie par le bout, par le monstre marin Sinhikâ qui l'a vu passer. Les voyageurs dans l'Afrique méridionale nous ont appris que, d'après la superstition des Bassoutos, le crocodile parvient à dévorer un passant aussitôt qu'il arrive à en saisir l'ombre. Cette croyance est possiblement passée de l'Inde chez les Bassoutos, si elle n'appartient pas au fond des croyances préhistoriques commun à tous les peuples en état demi-sauvage ; mais il serait intéressant de constater dans l'Inde méridionale où la légende de Sinhikâ s'est développée quelqu'indice de la survivance de la croyance superstitieuse qui a donné lieu à cet épisode mythique ; et de retrouver l'ancêtre indien au lieu du survivant africain, qui a bien son intérêt au point de vue de l'histoire de la propagation des mythes, mais n'est pas suffisant, peut-être, à nous donner pleine satisfaction sur l'évolution indienne du mythe. Je ne puis abuser de votre patience, en poursuivant

l'indication de tous les points qui pourraient servir à éclaircir et confirmer ma thèse sur la nécessité d'en venir à la création d'un premier *corpus* de folk-lore oriental, par le concours essentiel des Orientalistes.

Ma première intention était d'entretenir mes illustres collègues et confrères sur le rôle du mythe dans le conte populaire. Mais lorsque j'ai abordé ce sujet délicat, une question plus générale et plus urgente s'est présentée à ma pensée, et j'ai espéré que cette section du Congrès daignerait appuyer la proposition, par laquelle je terminerai cet entretien.

S'il est parfaitement vrai que le folk-lore se trouve et doit être retrouvé partout, il y a dans le folk-lore même différents degrés de noblesse et de complication. Le plus noble et le plus compliqué est à coup sûr, à cause des nobles races qui ont contribué non pas seulement à le créer, mais à l'élever et à le faire marcher, le folk-lore arien. Ce n'est que chez les Ariens et par les Ariens que le folk-lore a donné des mythologies, des épopées, et des nouvelles populaires brillantes et complètes. Glorieuses minorités conquérantes, les Ariens ont pu adapter et adopter une foule de matériaux préhistoriques, qu'ils ont trouvé sur leur chemin ; et avant de se mettre en marche, ils avaient sans doute, déjà reçu l'inspiration religieuse de deux races hiératiques telles que l'égyptienne et l'assyrienne.

Peu nous importe, maintenant, de savoir si des presque trois cent millions dispersés sur le vaste sol indien un dixième à peine remonte à une origine arienne ; nous n'avons jamais demandé le nombre des Grecs qui créaient le Parthénon ; des Étrusques qui civilisaient l'Italie centrale ; des vrais Romains qui suivaient César à la conquête du monde ancien ; des vrais Germains qui accompagnaient Arminius. Nous ne demandons point combien de compagnons avait Christophe Colomb dans son voyage à la conquête d'un nouveau monde ; Ferdinand de Lesseps lorsqu'il réunissait deux mers par un trait de génie ; Livingstone lorsqu'il évangélisait le centre de l'Afrique. Pour l'œuvre de la civilisation, le nombre ne compte guère ; ce qui compte est la lumière qui devient une volonté. L'histoire et la civilisation sont le fait de cette lumière concentrée essentiellement dans la volonté de la race arienne. Les instincts supérieurs de cette race et des races qui lui sont les plus proches, telles que les Sémitiques, n'ont pas seulement permis à leur religion d'être plus pure, à leur art d'être plus exquis, mais de donner une sorte de supériorité idéale et une forme presque artistique à la littérature et à la science des humbles, contenues dans le folk-lore. Livré aux seules races indigènes et sauvages le folk-lore, n'aurait jamais donné les *Mille*

et une Nuits. Il est donc nécessaire pour bien comprendre et expliquer le folk-lore de tenir compte de tous les éléments de la civilisation qui l'ont pénétré ; et puisque à la tête de l'histoire de la civilisation se trouve l'Orient, c'est à nous Orientalistes qu'appartient le devoir d'initier une nouvelle exploration du folk-lore. Toutes les civilisations de l'Orient se touchent ; l'une sans l'autre serait presque inexplicable ; elles ont vécu d'emprunt, donné et reçu presque également de tous les côtés ; c'est pourquoi l'accord des Orientalistes qui cultivent des disciplines différentes est absolument désirable ; on ne s'isole que pour se condamner à la mort ; toutes les races, au contraire, qui se sont communiquées, se sont agrandies et ont compté sur plusieurs renaissances. L'histoire de l'Orient nous en persuade à chaque pas et c'est aussi ce qui rend particulièrement importante et intéressante l'étude du folk-lore oriental, et ce qui m'a fait appeler l'attention bienveillante de mes illustres frères et confrères en Orient sur la proposition que j'ose soumettre à la Section, pour qu'elle discute le projet de Constitution d'un Comité pour la publication du folk-lore Oriental.

COMITÉ POUR LA PUBLICATION DU FOLK-LORE ORIENTAL.

La Section Mythologique et Anthropologique du IX. Congrès International des Orientalistes réuni à Londres ayant adhéré à la proposition de la Constitution d'un Comité permanent résidant à Londres pour la publication du folk-lore de l'Orient, ces principes généraux ont été adoptés :—

1. Le Comité sera composé d'une trentaine d'Orientalistes et Anthropologistes (ces derniers ayant visité l'Orient), choisis dans les différents pays.

2. Le Président assisté par deux Conseillers et un Secrétaire du Comité résideront en Angleterre ; ils seront désignés par la Section du Congrès, et choisiront à leur tour leur collaborateurs.

3. Toutes les publications seront faites en anglais. Le format et le type seront ceux de la série des *Sacred Texts of the East*.

4. Les publications du folk-lore oriental seront partagées en deux séries ; l'une contiendra la partie du folk-lore qui ressort des monuments littéraires des différentes nations de l'Orient. Le folk-lore littéraire indien pourra, par exemple, contenir de 20 à 25 volumes ; soit deux ou trois pour le folk-lore védique, tel qu'il se trouve dispersé dans les Samhitâs, dans les Brâhmanas, dans les Sûtras et dans les Upanishads, avec des notes illustratives au point de vue du folk-lore au pied de la page, pour compléter la notion védique, avec les autres notions indiennes, qui peuvent la rendre plus claire

et plus complète ; deux ou trois volumes pour les extraits du folk-lore dispersé dans les épopées ; quatre ou cinq volumes pour les extraits folkloriques des Pouranas ; un volume pour les extraits des codes ; quatre ou cinq volumes pour les extraits des recueils de nouvelles brahmaniques ; quatre ou cinq volumes pour les extraits des recueils jainiques ; quatre ou cinq volumes pour les extraits des recueils bouddhiques. La tradition orale pourra être partagée dans ces différentes sections ; recueils de contes populaires des différentes parties de l'Inde, illustrés avec les usages des pays d'où les contes proviennent ; recueils de proverbes, possiblement illustrés ; recueils de croyances et usages se rapportant à la naissance, à l'éducation et à la nourriture ; id. aux voyages et à la profession ; id. à l'agriculture ; id. à la médecine ; id. aux animaux, aux plantes, aux pierres, aux étoiles, aux eaux, au feu ; id. aux mariages ; id. aux funérailles ; id. au culte des dieux, des démons et des esprits. Chaque recueil de traditions orales doit avoir été fait sur lieu, et contenir en note tous les détails d'illustration qui peuvent compléter les renseignements.

5. Le même procédé serait suivi pour les autres pays orientaux. Chaque recueil ne doit contenir que des faits rangés d'après un ordre rationnel, sans aucune discussion, et chaque fait devrait être résumé et donné dans ses caractères essentiels. Il est à présumer que, même par cette réduction du folk-lore indien à son expression la plus simple, les seules séries littéraire et orale indienne occuperaient une cinquantaine de volumes dans la Bibliothèque Orientale du Folk-Lore ; de manière que toute la Bibliothèque Orientale du folk-lore pourrait se monter jusqu'à 300 volumes.

Cette Bibliothèque Orientale, le travail étant partagé entre une trentaine de savants, dont chacun s'engagerait à fournir un volume par an, ne serait achevée que dans une dizaine d'années ; mais une fois achevée, elle pourrait devenir typique pour toutes les autres collections de folk-lore, et permettre enfin une histoire philosophique à peu près définitive de la tradition populaire.

III.

NOTES SUR LA MYTHOLOGIE ARMÉNIENNE.

PAR

MINAS TCHÉRAZ.

FEU Jean-Baptiste Émin a été le premier et est resté le seul savant qui ait essayé de reconstituer le panthéon arménien. Il a réuni, dans ses "Recherches sur le paganisme arménien," tout ce que les historiens nationaux et étrangers nous ont légué sur l'antique religion du peuple de l'Ararat, et ses remarques sont en général judicieuses. Ces matériaux m'ont pourtant paru insuffisants, et j'ai pensé que le peuple arménien devait avoir conservé dans son sein bien des vestiges du paganisme, qui pourraient combler les lacunes des vieux livres. Je me suis donc mis en contact avec les classes illettrées des Arméniens chrétiens de Turquie et de Russie, et c'est ainsi que j'ai pu recueillir des fragments inédits de mythologie arménienne et découvrir des déités arméniennes que personne n'a encore signalées.

Les dieux immortels que les anciens Arméniens avaient empruntés à la mythologie grecque (Artémis, Apollon, Aphrodite, Zeus, Athéné, Héphaistos et Héraclès) ou à la mythologie syrienne (Napak, Bel, Pathnikagh, Tharatha et Parchamin), sont morts depuis bien longtemps dans la mémoire du peuple. Celui-ci a également oublié ses vieilles déités nationales ou nationalisées, pour ainsi dire classiques, c'est-à-dire enseignées par les prêtres : Aramazt, père des dieux ; Anahid, d'un culte licencieux selon Strabon, mère de toute chasteté (comme l'Aditi des Hindous) selon Agathange ; Asdghig, la Vénus arménienne ; Nané, fille d'Aramazt ; Dir, conducteur des âmes dans les enfers ; Mihr, dieu de la chaleur invisible, manifesté par le feu, par Arek-agn (le soleil apparent et le symbole du feu sexuel de l'homme) et par Loussin (la lune et le symbole du feu sexuel de la femme) ; Amanor, dieu du nouvel an, qui, suivant Agathange, s'appelait aussi Vanadour (hospitalier ou plutôt donnant abri) ; Ahriman, le principe du mal ; Santaramed, identifié avec le Sapendamat (l'esprit de la terre) des anciens Perses. Le peuple arménien a

aussi oublié les esprits de son antique mythologie : Houshgabarig, Hamparou, Baï, Baïg ou Baïag, Arlez ou Haralez et Katch, et ses demi-dieux (*tutazn*) : Vahakn, Dork et Haïg. Mais il a conservé le souvenir des déités et des esprits pour ainsi dire populaires, c'est-à-dire conçus par lui-même, et il a remplacé les vieux demi-dieux par des héros qui sont mentionnés dans les contes populaires de l'Arménie. Voici une partie du résultat de mes investigations, à l'exclusion des demi-dieux.

AREV.

Arev (soleil, comparer avec le *Ra* des Egyptiens), adoré par les ancêtres des Arméniens comme la manifestation visible de la lumière immatérielle, est encore aujourd'hui tenu en grande vénération par le peuple arménien. Celui-ci évite de fixer le soleil, croyant qu'en le fixant, il aurait manqué de respect envers lui (en Orient, un inférieur évite de regarder en face un supérieur et, en sa présence, il baisse les yeux); pour amener les jeunes à imiter l'exemple des vieux, ceux-ci les assurent que s'ils fixaient le soleil, ses "aiguilles" les aveugleraient. Les Arméniens évitent également, pour le même motif, de le montrer du doigt (les Orientaux s'imposent cette réserve à l'égard de leurs souverains, et pensent que celui qui se permettrait de les montrer du doigt, mériterait qu'on le lui coupât. Pour satisfaire un besoin naturel, ils préfèrent tourner leur dos au soleil, et assurent qu'en faisant le contraire, on serait puni d'une affection cérébrale ou corporelle. Ils se signent en général lorsqu'ils assistent au lever du soleil, et font trois génuflexions. Les autels des églises arméniennes sont tournés vers l'orient, et lorsqu'un Arménien prie chez lui, il se tourne toujours vers l'orient. On tourne vers l'orient la tête des animaux, au moment de les égorger. C'est vers l'orient aussi qu'on tourne la tête d'un mort dans sa tombe (c'est pourquoi les vivants couchent tournés vers l'occident). Pour les musulmans d'Arménie, c'est l'occident qui joue ce rôle.—Le mot *arev* est employé, encore aujourd'hui, comme synonyme de vie. Les Arméniens prient, jurent ou maudissent par lui, et ils se servent, dans leurs épanchements affectueux, des phrases suivantes : *Arévēt sirem* (que j'aime ton soleil) ; *Arévout mernim* (que je meure pour ton soleil) ; *Arévout godrdim* (que je sois brisé pour ton soleil) ; *Arévout tzatgrdem* (que je sautille vers ton soleil) ; *Grndzim arévout orérout* (que je sois paralysé pour ton soleil, pour tes jours).

LOUSSOUNGA.

Loussounga (lune, comparer avec le *Lousna* des Etrusques) inspire aussi aux Arméniens de la vénération, bien qu'à un degré plus faible.

Ils évitent de la montrer du doigt et de la fixer, et assurent que la personne qui la fixerait pendant quarante jours n'aurait pas manqué de perdre la raison. Emin pense avec Moïse de Khoren que les Arméniens prenaient le soleil pour homme et la lune pour femme, et ajoute qu'ils différaient en cela des anciens Germains, qui, suivant l'opinion de J. Grimm, appelaient le soleil *frau sonne* et la lune *herr mond*. Mais j'ai recueilli une légende arménienne qui donne une conclusion différente. D'après cette légende, le soleil et la lune étaient sœur et frère. La lune dit au soleil, qui voulait paraître pendant le jour : "Tu es une fille, et il est plus convenable que tu paraisses pendant la nuit, afin que l'obscurité te voile à des regards insolents. C'est à moi à paraître pendant le jour." "Non, frère," lui répond le soleil ; "je préfère paraître pendant le jour. J'aveuglerai de mes rayons les yeux des impertinents." Et il fut comme il avait été dit.

ASKH.

Les anciens Arméniens adoraient les astres (*asdgħ*, prononcé aujourd'hui *askh* par le peuple). Leurs fils les vénèrent encore, bien que beaucoup moins que le soleil et la lune. Ils évitent de les fixer longtemps, et pensent qu'il n'est pas bon d'essayer de les compter, car on verrait ses mains couvertes d'aussi nombreuses verrues. Dans l'opinion du peuple, chaque homme a son étoile, le riche une étoile brillante, le malheureux une étoile terne. On meurt quand son étoile tombe ; de là les étoiles filantes. L'étoile joue un grand rôle dans la naissance d'un enfant, sous le rapport physique aussi bien que sous le rapport moral. On est bien ou mal constitué en venant au monde, suivant qu'on est né sous une bonne ou une mauvaise étoile.

AKHBOUR.

Emin rapporte que l'eau était aussi l'objet du culte des Arméniens, qui la nommaient Source-frère, en opposition au Feu-sœur. J'ai trouvé des vestiges de l'adoration de la Source (Akhbour). Dans certaines provinces de l'Arménie, et spécialement dans celle de Van, les Arméniennes jettent du blé à la source ou à la fontaine, en lui répétant ces vers :—

Ar hadig (Prends blé),
Dour zadig (Donne pâques) ;
Ar gari (Prends orge),
Dour bari (Donne biens).

Quelques-unes remplacent *zadig* (pâques) par *hatzig* (petit pain).

La source, la fontaine et le puits sont souvent mentionnés dans les contes et légendes populaires, et l'on se sert journellement de cette expression : *Djourî bess aziz* (sacré comme l'eau).

Dans leur patrie historique, les Arméniens vont en pèlerinage aux innombrables sources sacrées, qu'ils intitulent du nom expressif de *lous-akhbour* (source-lumière) et aux eaux desquelles ils attribuent la faculté de guérir toutes sortes de maladies, y compris le mystérieux *drsévé*. Ils emportent avec eux cette croyance dans tous les pays où ils émigrent. C'est ainsi qu'à Constantinople ils fréquentent avec ferveur les sources sacrées (*aïazmas*) des Grecs, pour lesquelles leur brillante imagination brode toutes sortes de légendes. S'ils sont atteints de fièvre, ils vont se laver dans les eaux de l'*aïazma* de l'église grecque de Kalamish (aux environs de l'antique Chalcédoine), dédiée à S. Jean Chrysostome. S'ils souffrent de l'ophtalmie, ils se lavent les yeux dans l'*aïazma* d'une maison arménienne à Haskeuy, sur la Corne d'Or, et surtout dans celui de l'église grecque du village de Belgrad, aux environs de la capitale, où un prêtre grec lit d'abord l'évangile sur leur tête, en y appuyant le couteau dont il se sert pour couper le pain béni (*maci danag*); les malades jettent des perles sans trou (*andzag marcerid*) au fond du puits dont les eaux servent à leur ablution. Les rachitiques sont conduits à l'*aïazma* de Hissar-Dibi (Stamboul), qui appartient à un musulman et qui est orné d'images de saints grecs; les Turcs l'appellent *aïërd aïazmacë* (source décisive), car ils prêtent à ses eaux la propriété de guérir le malade ou de le tuer; cet établissement contient une chambre spéciale où l'on fait déshabiller le rachitique et où l'on jette sur son corps trois seaux d'eau fraîche, destinée à le sauver ou à le perdre; on cite l'exemple de deux enfants, dont l'un, au sortir de cette douche, est mort dans la barque qui le ramenait chez lui, et l'autre a si bien regagné son appétit qu'il s'est mis à dévorer les dures gimblettes (*simits*) qu'il y a trouvées. On croit que ce fameux *aïazma* communique, au moyen d'un corridor souterrain, avec l'*aïazma* du Zndan (cachot central) ou avec celui de l'église arménienne de S. George à Psammathia; ce dernier est si profond qu'il faut descendre un escalier de quarante degrés pour l'atteindre; il est, de plus, enfoui dans une obscurité effrayante et est censé abonder en poisson. Il y a, près de Psammathia, une église légendaire, convertie en mosquée; une foule nombreuse, formée de gens de toutes les religions, assiste à la fête annuelle de son *aïazma*, et un Turc à turban, installé ce jour-là à l'entrée, verse de sa cruche l'eau de la source sacrée dans les bouteilles qui lui sont tendues de toutes parts. L'*aïazma* de Baloukli, aux environs de Stamboul, est dédié à la Panagie; il est historique,

car, suivant une tradition populaire, c'est là que l'empereur Constantin l'Ivrogne apprit que 18,000 Turcs avaient pénétré dans sa capitale; il s'y était rendu pour présider un banquet, et ses cuisiniers faisaient frire le poisson au moment de l'arrivée du messager; l'orgueilleux monarque répondit qu'il ne croirait à la nouvelle que si les poissons quittaient leur poêle pour se jeter au bassin; ils le firent, bien qu'ils fussent déjà frits d'un côté, et l'on montre encore, dans l'*aïazma* de Baloukli, leurs descendants, un côté du corps resté blanc, l'autre côté tout noir.

L'EUPHRATE.

Tacite rapporte que les Arméniens attachaient à l'Euphrate un caractère sacré et lui offraient un cheval en sacrifice. J'ai recueilli parmi les Arméniens de l'Arménie Mineure que traverse l'Euphrate, une légende relative à ce fleuve. D'après cette légende, l'Euphrate a un génie. C'est une femme, couverte de haillons et à la chevelure inculte, qui, chaque année, avale plusieurs hommes. Quand *Vartavar* (fête de la Transfiguration) arrive, elle s'assied sur un roc et crie: *Vartévarn égav, méguë tchégar!* (Vartavar est arrivé, et personne n'est venu encore!)

ARBRES SACRÉS.

Les anciens Arméniens adoraient le *sos*, genre de peuplier argentifère, et le *pardî*, espèce particulière de peuplier, en croyant que les *devs* y avaient établi leur résidence. Les Arméniens contemporains attachent aux rameaux de certains arbres des lambeaux d'étoffe enlevés aux habits des malades, dans la croyance que ceux-ci seraient guéris, leurs maladies ayant été abandonnées sur l'arbre avec les loques de leur vêtement. J'ai recueilli parmi les Arméniens de l'Arménie Mineure des légendes qui rappellent l'antique croyance nationale. Ils racontent qu'à Eguine, une fille qui chaque matin faisait ses prières sous un arbre, découvrit un jour, au pied de l'arbre, deux morceaux de savon, qu'elle s'empressa de porter chez elle. La chose se répéta les jours suivants, et la fille garda le savon sans rien dire à personne. Son père remarque enfin que toutes les armoires étaient fermées à clef; il ordonne à sa fille de les ouvrir, et voit avec étonnement des piles de savon. "Fille de chien!" lui crie-t-il, "je t'ordonne de me dire le nom de la personne qui t'a apporté tout ce savon." La fille se voit forcée de livrer le secret, mais le père regrette beaucoup de le lui avoir arraché, lorsqu'il s'aperçoit que depuis cet aveu le savon diminue chaque jour et finit même par disparaître complètement. Les pèris de l'arbre, qui l'avaient fourni, avaient repris tout leur savon.—

Dans la même ville, une jeune mariée, qui priait sous un arbre, découvrait chaque jour, au pied de l'arbre, deux brillantes pièces de monnaie, et elle fit ainsi sa fortune. Elle avait plu aux pérís de l'arbre (les Arméniens désignent en général les pérís sous le nom de *méné aghekner*, ceux qui sont meilleurs que nous, de même que leurs ancêtres les appelaient *katch*, braves ou bons).—Tout arbre paraît inspirer aujourd'hui au peuple arménien de la vénération. Les Arméniens croient que Dieu punit de mort toute personne qui se permet de couper un arbre; si elle y échappe, c'est un membre de sa famille qui est puni à sa place. Cette piété s'étend aux arbustes et jusqu'aux épines, qu'on suspend dans une partie visible de la maison, afin de conjurer les ennemis et le mauvais œil. Le noyer seul fait exception à la règle, puisque, suivant une légende arménienne, toute personne qui plante un noyer est punie de mort, dès que le tronc de l'arbre atteint la grosseur de son cou (suivant les Arméniens, c'est le corbeau qui multiplie les noyers, en laissant tomber de son bec, du haut du ciel, leur semence ou leur suc).—Une curieuse coutume conservée chez ce peuple indique même qu'il considère les arbres comme des êtres animés, capables de comprendre le langage des hommes. Le Vendredi-Saint, deux Arméniens se rendent auprès d'un arbre infructueux; l'un d'eux lui donne trois coups de hache, après quoi ils se livrent à ce dialogue: "Que fais-tu?—Je vais le couper.—Et pourquoi donc?—Parce qu'il ne donne pas de fruits.—Non, non; il en donnera cette année." Et les Arméniens assurent qu'il en donne en général après avoir entendu ces menaces.—Il existe aussi une coutume non moins curieuse. Les filles qui sont affligées d'un sommeil trop prolongé, croient y remédier en répétant aux premiers fruits du printemps (à ceux de l'amandier, du prunier, &c.): "Prenez notre sommeil, donnez votre beauté."

DRAGON.

Moïse de Khoren raconte que les Arméniens adoraient deux dragons (*vichab*) tout noirs. Les Arméniens modernes ont conservé, avec le mot d'*ouchab* (altération de *vichab*, rappelant le sanscrit *visha*, poison, ou *vishanī*, *vishāra*, serpents), le sentiment de terreur qu'inspiraient à leurs pères le serpent noir (V. plus loin le chapitre relatif à Khara-Khondjolo) et le dragon. Dans leur opinion, ce dernier est un serpent court et épais, et c'est la femelle du buffle qui lui donne le jour. Elle le sait. Aussi, chaque fois qu'elle fait un petit, elle s'enfuit et observe de loin. Si elle voit qu'elle a donné naissance à un buffle, elle se hâte de le rejoindre pour le lécher. Si elle voit qu'elle a donné le jour à un dragon, elle fuit de toutes ses forces. Le dragon nou-

veau-né s'enfle au fur et à mesure qu'il respire le vent, et il devient un monstre terrible. Mais une chaîne descend du ciel, et les anges, l'attachant avec, le transportent au sommet du mont *Caf* (Caucase?), situé près de l'océan et dépourvu de tout habitant. Ils y enchaînent également d'autres bêtes féroces ou monstres, tels, entre autres, que le dragon marin (*aïghër*), dont la queue se termine en dard et qui ravage la terre aussi bien que la mer, et le serpent-flèche ailé, ange déchu qui a jadis trompé Adam et qui a été maudit par le Christ.

CULTE DES ANCÊTRES.

Les historiens nationaux rapportent que certains rois d'Arménie ont érigé des statues à la mémoire de leurs parents et invité le peuple à les adorer. Le culte des ancêtres est encore pratiqué par les Arméniens, modifié, cela va sans dire, sous l'influence des idées chrétiennes. Toute personne qui voit passer un convoi est tenue de se lever en l'honneur du mort, et l'on doit se lever même à l'approche de celui qui revient d'un enterrement; si l'on ne le fait pas, on devient *mérelgokh* (foulé par le mort) et l'on attrape une maladie de consommation (*inguilmarsh*). Cette maladie s'acharne surtout aux enfants et aux adolescents; elle est considérée comme une sorte de rachitisme incurable. Pour guérir la personne qui a été foulée par l'esprit du trépassé, on la conduit sur la tombe d'un homme récemment décédé, et on lui lave la tête, les mains et les pieds avec l'eau d'une carafe qu'on brise après l'ablution. Si le malade est incapable de se rendre au cimetière, on le lave chez lui, on porte ensuite l'eau au cimetière dans une carafe et sans parler en route, on casse la carafe sur une tombe fraîche, et l'on invite un prêtre expatrié (*kharib derder*) à lire l'évangile sur le sépulcre d'un martyr (*nahadag*). Chaque cimetière arménien contient le tombeau d'un martyr, c'est-à-dire d'un Arménien qui a été décapité par les musulmans pour avoir refusé d'embrasser l'islamisme ou, d'après l'expression populaire, d'échanger sa religion d'or contre une d'airain, et qui, au moment du supplice, a prié Dieu de guérir les malades qui viendraient sur sa tombe. Chaque samedi, surtout chaque Vendredi-Saint, de nombreux malades vont en pèlerinage au sépulcre du martyr, où est en général gravée la scène de sa décapitation avec une inscription commémorative; là, un prêtre lit sur leur tête l'évangile et un porteur d'eau leur offre de l'eau puisée dans un puits voisin; ils se lavent avec et croient laisser sur les lieux leurs maux de tête, d'estomac, etc. Le cimetière turc (*gorel*) d'Eyoub (Constantinople) renferme cinq sépulcres nommés *Karabashlar* (les têtes noires) et appartenant à des vartabeds martyrisés; un moine

musulman lit sur les malades arméniens et grecs qui s'y rendent, et mesure la tombe et le pèlerin avec un fil de coton, qu'il lui attache ensuite au poignet. Au sommet de Couroutcheshmé, sur le Bosphore, il y a un cimetière turc avec un *tekké*; ce cimetière contient quinze sépulcres nommés *Chéhidler* (les martyrs); ils sont couverts d'inscriptions turques, mais ils appartiennent à des non-musulmans, et les malades et sollicitateurs y attachent des morceaux de drap rouge et autres nœuds et invitent le cheik du *tekké* à lire sur leur tête; on prétend qu'il y a là un puits à galerie souterraine, praticable pour les passants.

Suivant les Arméniens, le mort entend les lamentations causées par sa perte, car son âme, sortie de sa bouche, se repose sur son cœur pendant ses funérailles, jusqu'à ce que le prêtre ait entonné le *Gloria in excelsis*. Cette croyance explique pourquoi certains Arméniens pleurent les morts avec tant de vacarme.

On met dans le cercueil une hostie (*nishkhark*), comme une provision pour le voyage du mort. Dans l'Arménie Mineure, les prêtres jettent sur le mort un des meilleurs tapis de sa maison; ce tapis est offert, après l'enterrement, à l'église locale, qui met aux enchères les tapis acquis de la sorte lorsqu'ils deviennent trop nombreux. Dans certaines provinces, on enterre les morts avec des ouvrages religieux, imprimés ou écrits sur parchemin; beaucoup de manuscrits arméniens ont été détruits de cette manière.

Les Arméniens appellent *hokou hatz* (pain d'âme) les mets qu'ils distribuent aux pauvres pour le repos de l'âme de leurs morts ou quand ceux-ci leur ont apparu dans un songe. Ces mets consistent en *helva* (pâte sucrée) étendu sur des tranches de pain, en pilau et en viande bouillie (*madagh*).

Les Arméniens pensent que les voleurs sèment dans la maison qu'ils se proposent de visiter, de la terre formée du corps d'un mort et placent sur le seuil un crâne, afin que les habitants dorment comme des cadavres et n'entendent point le bruit de leurs pas.

Au jugement dernier (*dadasdan*), chacun doit se présenter au tribunal suprême, accompagné de sa femme. C'est pourquoi une vieille coutume arménienne exige que les veufs ne puissent épouser que des veuves. En cas contraire, la seconde femme risque de rester seule, son mari devant accompagner sa première femme.

Après le jugement dernier, les âmes se sentiront les unes les autres, et c'est au moyen de l'odorat qu'elles reconnaîtront les âmes de leurs parents et alliés.

KICHERMOUT.

Kichermout est une déité qui personnifie les ténèbres de la nuit. Il intervient dans certains contes populaires arméniens. En voici un :

Une jeune mariée souffrait beaucoup de la part de sa belle-mère. Celle-ci, non contente de la faire travailler toute la journée, la forçait de tisser la nuit une certaine quantité de toile, ce qui l'empêchait de dormir. A peine la malheureuse fermait-elle son œil vers l'aube, que sa belle-mère se réveillait et l'invitait à vaquer à ses affaires journalières. La jeune dame maigrit à vue d'œil et finit par tomber malade. Son frère l'apprend, trouve un moyen pour la délivrer et l'informe de son stratagème. Il met un bonnet et des habits de feutre noir, prend une massue, pénètre avec les ténèbres dans la maison, éteint la bougie et crie : "Je suis Kichermout ! je suis Kichermout ! Faites votre souper, et couchez-vous vite !" Il brise les os de la belle-mère à coups de massue, tandis qu'il ne frappe que sur le plancher chaque fois qu'il approche de sa sœur. La misérable belle-mère se met à crier : "Pitié ! pitié ! nous ne veillerons plus !" Le péri s'en va, mais dès lors, chaque fois que la jeune mariée se mettait au travail après le souper, sa belle-mère criait avec terreur : "Couchons-nous vite ! couchons-nous vite, pour que Kichermout ne revienne plus !"

LA FILLE D'ALEXANDRE.

Suivant une légende arménienne, chaque fois qu'Alexandre-le-Grand avait à livrer une bataille, il buvait de l'eau d'immortalité, tirée de la graine de l'ail. Il ordonne un jour à sa fille de lui apporter le flacon qui contenait ce liquide. Elle eut la curiosité de le goûter et but même tout le contenu. Alexandre, qui habitait alors sa maison d'été, située au bord de la mer, entre dans la chambre de sa fille et est saisi d'une grande colère à la vue du flacon vide. Il tire son épée et court à sa fille, qui, frappée de terreur, se précipite de la fenêtre dans la mer, où la moitié de son corps fut transformée en poisson, et où elle vit encore et vivra éternellement (depuis ce jour, l'ail a perdu sa graine, et on le fait pousser en plantant sa gousse). La fille d'Alexandre se marie avec les poissons ; de là les êtres moitié homme et moitié poisson. Pourtant, elle préfère la société des hommes et cherche à les attirer. La belle enfant s'assied la nuit sur un rocher et peigne en silence sa chevelure d'or ; elle porte en général une robe bleue. Elle poursuit les vaisseaux et les nageurs, et lorsqu'on descend dans la mer un seau pour y puiser l'eau, elle le saisit et le tire à elle, afin d'attraper la personne qui en tient la

corde; mais elle s'enfuit en tremblant si on lui crie: "Voici le roi Alexandre qui arrive!"

MAGIE.

Nersès de Lampron, qui vécut au xii^e siècle, rapporte que les femmes, chez les Arévortis (habitants arméniens de Samosat qui adoraient le soleil), préparaient différents maléfices, à l'aide desquels elles enflammaient d'un amour coupable les personnes des deux sexes, en les leur offrant, soit dans leur nourriture, soit dans leurs boissons. J'ai trouvé des vestiges analogues chez les Arméniennes contemporaines, qui, en général, invitent un sorcier ou une sorcière à prononcer des charmes sur les cheveux, l'ongle ou l'habit de la personne à qui elles désirent inspirer de l'amour. À la moindre erreur dans l'opération, le bon est converti en mauvais et la personne en vue perd la raison. On se sert également de la magie (*buyu*) pour jouer un mauvais tour à une personne qu'on déteste. Voici des contes que j'ai recueillis à ce sujet parmi les Arméniens de Constantinople:

L'architecte grec qui a construit le pont d'Oun-Capan sur la Corne d'Or, avait un gendre qui lui a fait perdre la raison au moyen de la magie, afin de lui succéder dans ses fonctions.—Un jeune richard avait une blanchisseuse, qui l'ensorcela pour lui faire épouser sa fille; le jeune homme en devint fou, et il criait toujours ces mots: *Ëlla bidi!* (Ce sera!).—Une femme pauvre, qui voulait donner sa fille à un richard, fit prononcer des charmes sur une assiette, où la sorcière avait inscrit certains caractères; l'assiette, réchauffée sur le feu, aurait réchauffé pour la fille le cœur du richard; mais quelqu'un entra par hasard dans la chambre où la magicienne se livrait seule à cette opération, et le talisman fut rompu.—Une courtière voulait faire épouser à un jeune richard sa fille; elle le fit ensorceler, et la mère du jeune homme en fit sa belle-fille; mais le sorcier avait commis une légère erreur, et le jeune homme devint fou après le mariage. La courtière avoua sa tentative, et s'adressa avec la mère du jeune marié au même sorcier, qui ne put réparer son erreur, vu que les péris l'avaient déjà consacrée. Le malheureux jeune homme se tua en se jetant du toit de la maison.—Une dame s'amourache d'un jeune homme, qu'elle désire attirer à sa maison, en faisant prononcer des charmes sur ses cheveux. Elle s'adresse donc à son barbier pour en avoir. Le barbier comprend qu'il s'agissait de sorcellerie, et lui remet quelques poils d'une peau noire qu'il possédait. La dame les fit ensorceler, et l'on vit la peau marcher dans la boutique et sortir dans la rue, pour s'acheminer vers la maison de l'amoureuse.

On appelle *pakhla-nédogh* (jeteur de fèves) un sorcier ou une sorcière qui a reçu dans un songe l'autorisation de deviner l'inconnu en jetant des fèves. Ce sont des fèves sèches ordinaires ; elles portent certaines marques qui rappellent au magicien que telle fève désigne un mâle, telle autre une femelle, telle un chagrin, telle autre un cercueil, etc. Il les jette trois fois, et tire ses conclusions de la position de chaque fève. Les *pakhla-nédogh* divisent les maladies en deux catégories : mal de Dieu (*Asdoudzou tzav*), où les péris n'ont rien à voir, et *drsévé*. Si les fèves indiquent qu'il s'agit de *drsévé*, l'individu en entreprend la guérison. Les *pakhla-nédogh* devinent si le malade sera guéri ou non, le voyageur arrivera ou non, la richesse convoitée sera obtenue ou non, l'objet perdu sera retrouvé ou non ; ils décrivent même la personne qu'on a en vue.

On appelle *hor-naïogh* (qui regarde dans le puits) un sorcier ou une sorcière qui devine en regardant dans un puits. Les Arméniens et autres habitants de Constantinople font grand cas d'une Arabe qui habite à Eyoub une chaumière ayant devant elle un large puits. Toute personne qui veut lui poser une question relative à une maladie, un vol ou autre chose, emmène avec elle un enfant de sa maison. Sur un ordre de la négresse, l'enfant regarde dans le puits pour observer la silhouette qui passe sur l'eau et l'identifier avec une personne de sa connaissance, et cette dernière est proclamée le voleur ou la voleuse, l'amant ou l'amante, etc. À défaut d'enfant, l'Arabe y regarde elle-même, et décrit la silhouette qu'elle fait semblant de voir. Si elle juge que le malade souffre d'un mal naturel, elle déclare qu'il s'agit d'un "mal de Dieu" ; mais si le péri du *drsévé* passe sur la surface de l'eau, elle guérit le malade en invitant toute la race des péris, ce qui impose au malade l'obligation de la payer plus largement, afin de la mettre en état de faire les dépenses nécessaires.

D'autres sorciers font des divinations analogues au moyen d'un chapelet, d'un livre, de cartes ou de chiromancie. Tous ces prêtres et prêtresses des sciences occultes sont appelés *gakhart* en arménien et *bakhedji* ou *buyudju* en turc.

Une Arménienne, qui avait rencontré un cas surnaturel (*hantebki gal*), eut recours à un sorcier, qui lui conseilla de prendre un chapelet, de 101 grains et de l'épeler dix fois par nuit, en prononçant à chaque grain les mots *Der oghormya* (Kyrié éléison). Elle devait dire chaque nuit mille et un Kyrié éléison, et cela devait durer pendant quarante jours. Mais la dame fut effrayée, car la maison tremblait dans ses fondements ; elle ne put continuer sa tâche, et sa maladie s'en trouva aggravée.

VÉTZAZARYA.

Dans l'opinion du peuple arménien, Vétzazarya (Vetzhazaryag) est un livre mystérieux qui a deux parties : divine (*rahmaniyé*) et diabolique (*cheytaniyé*). Ceux qui ne lisent que la partie divine sont capables de guérir toutes les maladies ; ceux qui lisent la partie diabolique sont capables de commettre toutes sortes de maux, en ayant recours à l'entremise des pèris. Les lecteurs de cette dernière partie se rendent invisibles, et vont ainsi aux bains publics pour voir les dames en costume d'Eve. Un d'eux fabriquait avec du papier des monnaies d'or et d'argent ; les boutiquiers les acceptaient comme de vraies pièces de métal, mais elles se rechangeaient en papier dès qu'ils les mettaient à la poche. Un autre se retirait dans sa chambre, et sa femme l'entendait causer, bien qu'il fût tout seul ; un jour elle a la curiosité d'ouvrir la porte, et est irritée de voir son mari entouré de filles très belles et à la chevelure d'or ; mais ces pèris lui rendent le mal (*tchar dal*), et elle perd à l'instant la raison ; de plus, elles enroulent sa chevelure autour de leur bras afin de traîner chez elles la jalouse, mais son mari coupe avec un ciseau la chevelure, qui seule est emportée. Les Arméniens de Haskeuy, un faubourg de Constantinople où je suis né, croient que les deux plus savants prêtres de l'église locale, feu P. Erémia et P. Kévork Ardzrouni, ont été de si habiles lecteurs de Vétzazarya qu'ils ont pu faire descendre un jour les astres dans l'école locale Nersissian, à la grande terreur des élèves. Les personnes qui se livrent pour la première fois à la lecture de Vétzazarya, croient voir de terribles derviches et Arabes, et entendre le craquement de fenêtres et de portes qui s'ouvrent et se referment sans interruption ; si elles ont le courage de continuer la lecture, elles apprennent la science ; sinon, elles sont paralysées (*tcharplmish ëllal*) et elles trouvent la mort. Quant au livre lui-même, le peuple pense qu'un patriarche arménien de Constantinople, le légendaire Hagop Asvadzapan (Jacques le Théologien), a réuni, il y a 226 ans, tous les exemplaires de Vétzazarya (il en était lui-même un lecteur aussi assidu que son contemporain le grand-vézir Rakoub Pacha), et les a jetés au feu, de sorte qu'il serait bien difficile de s'en procurer aujourd'hui un exemplaire, même en offrant 200 livres turques. Un évêque syrien, qui vivait à Péra, possédait un exemplaire, en caractères arabes, rouges et verts ; la moitié était divine, la moitié diabolique, mais cette dernière était fermée d'un quadruple sceau. L'évêque possédait également deux dés à queue ; en les jetant, il découvrait la cause de la maladie et remettait au malade un papier long comme une chasuble et couvert de prières, destiné à exorciser le démon qui le possédait.

On reconnaît ce même pouvoir au chapitre *Koumar khmpitz* du livre de Narégatzi. A celui qui, pendant quarante nuits, le lirait en silence et sans craindre les accidents (on lui donne des coups de poing à la poitrine et au dos, on lui fait passer des ombres sous les yeux, etc.), une ravissante fille se présente le dernier jour ; on peut lui demander tout ce qu'on veut, car elle est toute-puissante ; elle est capable d'apporter au lecteur tous les biens, voire même le trésor du roi. S'il perd le courage, il est puni d'une maladie de consommation. Le peuple se représente le lecteur du Nareg comme un moine en guenilles, à longue barbe, à poils si épais qu'ils couvrent tout le visage à l'exception des yeux, et se nourrissant exclusivement de pain sec.

LES DEVS.

Les Devs, ces esprits malins de l'antique mythologie arménienne, n'ont pas été oubliés par le peuple. Celui-ci se les représente aujourd'hui comme des êtres d'une force et d'une voracité surhumaines ; de là ces phrases : *Dévi ouj ouni* (il a une force de Dev), *Dévi bess goudé* (il mange comme un Dev). Dans les contes populaires, le Dev joue un grand rôle, et est en général représenté sous le corps d'une vieille femme, très laide, souvent cruelle et même adonnée au cannibalisme. Il est souvent confondu avec le démon ou plutôt le diable. Le peuple pense que la traduction arménienne des Psaumes de David contient trois versets sans la lettre *a*, et qu'en les copiant sur un papier qu'on dissimulerait dans une amulette (*nouskha*) et suspendrait au cou d'un démoniaque, on parvient à chasser les Devs (comme le mot arménien *Asvadz*, Dieu, commence par un *a*, les Arméniens croient que sans *a* veut dire sans Dieu et se rapporte à Satan). On se sert d'ailleurs du même talisman pour échapper au serpent : afin de pouvoir le lier, on pense qu'il suffirait de prononcer un verset sans *a* de la traduction arménienne des Psaumes.—Quand un épileptique tremble et écume, on croit qu'il est torturé par le diable, et l'on crie : *Crisdos métchernis* (que le Christ soit parmi nous !). On lui couvre la tête d'un peignoir noir afin que personne ne puisse le voir, et l'on enfonce, dans le plancher de la chambre et tout près de sa tête, un couteau à manche noir. Ou bien, sa mère se débarrasse de son vêtement le plus indispensable et passe trois fois par-dessus le corps de l'épileptique. C'est à ce remède héroïque qu'on a également recours en faveur d'une personne en agonie, bien qu'on craigne que les bons anges ne frappent (*tcharpmish enel*) la mère. Quant à la coutume relative au couteau, on y a recours pour faire taire le chien, qui hurle à la vue de l'ange exterminateur, chargé de faire mourir un malade dans le quartier où erre cet animal.

LES PÉRIS.

Les Pêris sont ces esprits que l'antique mythologie arménienne désignait sous le nom de Barigs, et jouent un grand rôle dans les contes et légendes arméniens. Nous les avons déjà rencontrés dans les chapitres précédents. Les Arméniens pensent que chaque personne a son péri, et si un Arménien éprouve de la sympathie pour quelqu'un, il lui dit : *Pêris chad sîretz kézi* (mon péri t'a aimé beaucoup), de même qu'il répète dans le cas contraire : *Pêris tchi sîretz* (mon péri n'a pas aimé). On croit que les pèris hantent les maisons, et que certaines familles profitent de leur visite, d'autres y perdent. — On leur prête un rôle de justiciers. C'est ainsi que les pèris enlèvent les provisions des riches qui ont refusé d'en offrir au pauvre, en lui disant : *Tchik* (il n'y a pas). Habillés de rouge, ils organisent des noces et des réunions, où ils chantent, dansent, jouent de la musique et banquettent. Ils mettent au milieu de la salle une immense chaudière, où ils promènent une grande cuiller en répétant : *Tchikin yegh, merghn ou alourn é* (C'est le beurre, le miel et la farine du *Tchik*). La chaudière se remplit d'elle-même, et les pèris font bombance. Ma grand'mère Takouhi m'a raconté que les pèris s'étaient réunis une nuit dans notre maison paternelle à Eguine (Arménie Mineure) et avaient crié à la belle-fille : *Nazlou khatoun, égou kézi hed bar cachink !* (Madame Nazlou, viens danser avec nous !). Mais Nazlou, saisie de frayeur, ne s'est pas rendue à l'invitation. Au premier chant du coq, qui dispersa les pèris, ils partent en lui criant qu'ils avaient laissé sa part et qu'ils l'engageaient à la manger. Nazlou trouve en effet du rôti, du *helva* et du *lavash* (pain très mince) en grande quantité ; toute la famille mange pendant des années ces vivres qui se reproduisaient toujours, mais ils disparaissent le jour où un de ses membres révèle le secret à un étranger. — Pour les Arméniens, il est de mauvais augure d'uriner, de cracher et de jeter de l'eau pendant la nuit, car il peut se faire que les pèris soient assis et qu'en les mouillant on soit puni d'une maladie de consommation. Pour guérir ce mal réputé incurable, on achète chez un épicier du sucre ou sel en poussière, sans le faire peser (*anguichark*), et on le sème la nuit, alors que toute la maison sommeille, dans la cuisine, auprès du puits ou sur l'escalier, partout enfin où le malade croit avoir eu peur (car la peur aussi peut causer cette maladie, qui s'appelle *drsévé*), tout en répétant aux pèris : *Arek dzer bernin hamě, douvek hivantnous pijishgoutině* (prenez le goût de votre bouche, donnez la guérison de notre malade). — Pour guérir le *drsévé*, on recueille également de l'eau de sept sources sacrées, on en lave pendant la nuit la tête, les mains et les pieds du malade, on la

remplit dans une bouteille qu'on place derrière la porte, et, le lendemain matin, on jette la bouteille à la mer ou dans une autre étendue d'eau, tout en évitant de parler en route ou de regarder en arrière. — Il existe une foule d'autres remèdes. La chemise et le caleçon du malade sont portés chez un *hodja* (moine musulman), qui récite des prières sur eux, et on les fait endosser de nouveau à la personne atteinte de *drsévé* ; ou bien on obtient du *hodja* une amulette qu'on suspend au cou du malade ; ou bien encore on suspend sa chemise dans le puits de la maison, etc. Voici pourtant le remède le plus solennel pour les habitants de Constantinople : On fait rédiger à un *huddam* ou *bakhédji* (sorcier) expérimenté, moyennant une demi-livre turque, une pétition où est détaillée l'histoire de la maladie. Un parent du malade ou bien un brave mercenaire se charge de se rendre un vendredi, pendant la nuit, à Edirné-Capou (une des portes de Constantinople) et de présenter la pétition au roi des pèris. Pour se donner du courage, il se soûle copieusement, car sa tâche n'est point facile : il ne doit pas se laisser ébranler par les pèris, sans compter les matelots turcs qui amènent des prostituées au cimetière d'Edirné-Capou et dont les orgies nocturnes sont souvent accompagnées de coups de yatagan. A cinq heures à la turque, on entend un sifflement, qui indique que l'armée des pèris s'est mise en route de Yédi-Koulé (les Sept-Tours) pour s'avancer vers Edirné-Capou. L'individu doit alors élever de ses deux mains la pétition et la tenir ainsi jusqu'à l'arrivée du roi, qui passe par là vers les six heures (minuit). Alors que fantassins et cavaliers défilent en sifflant, les généraux et les ministres essayent d'enlever la pétition ; il faut pourtant ne la remettre à personne, jusqu'à ce que le roi arrive, ordonne de la prendre, la lise et fasse décapiter séance tenante le pèri qui a nui au malade. Celui-ci est guéri là-dessus, et le mercenaire obtient cinq livres turques, après avoir juré, suivant sa religion, sur la leçon des Myrophores ou dans la mosquée, qu'il a réellement accompli toutes ces prescriptions. — Les pèris aiment les bains publics. Après le départ des clients, la maîtresse du bain brûle de l'aloès et frappe toutes les portes de l'établissement. C'est par la fumée de l'aloès que sont invités les pèris, non moins que par la lecture de Vétzazarya.

AL.

Al est une déité qui a pour mission d'étrangler toute accouchée (*lohoussa*) laissée seule. Les Arméniens ne sont pas d'accord sur son sexe. Quelques-uns croient qu'il y a des Als mâles pour les mariés et des Als femelles pour les mariées. Bien d'autres pensent que cette

déité est une femme et qu'elle craint les hommes ; d'ailleurs, chaque fois qu'on est forcé de laisser seule l'accouchée, on jette sur elle un vêtement d'homme, dans la conviction qu'il peut éloigner Al. D'autres prétendent qu'Al est un homme, et un grand nombre lui attribuent une fille avec une mission identique.

Cette fille est d'une beauté merveilleuse. On raconte qu'une accouchée, qui l'avait vue en songe, l'aperçoit le lendemain dans sa maison. La fille d'Al paraissait avoir de quatorze à quinze ans ; elle était très blanche, avec des cheveux et des sourcils d'or ; elle avait mis à ses pieds nus des souliers jaunes, et elle portait une coiffure rouge, une ceinture rouge, une robe et un pantalon rouges. L'accouchée était seule quand cette fille frappa à la porte, entra, et resta debout et raide comme une statue, en fixant sur elle ses grands yeux. La dame, terrifiée, se mit à faire le signe de la croix et à réciter des prières, tout en lui criant de sortir. Al partit enfin, regardant en arrière, les yeux collés toujours sur l'accouchée, alors que celle-ci priait sa famille de visiter les coins et les recoins de la maison pour s'assurer si la terrible fille ne s'y était point cachée.—On raconte également qu'une accouchée eut la bonne chance d'attraper un jour la fille d'Al, en enfonçant dans sa nuque une alène (c'est là le talisman). La fille fut obligée de la servir douze ans comme une esclave, car personne ne consentait à retirer l'alène. Elle servait sa maîtresse mais raide et insensible comme une statue. La famille reçut un jour la visite d'un étranger qui ne savait rien de tout cela. La fille s'approche de lui et le prie de lui dire quel était l'objet enfoncé dans sa nuque et qui lui faisait tant de peine. L'étranger s'empresse de retirer l'alène, et la fille, déchaînée, s'éloigne de sa prison, en lançant mille malédictions sur la tête de toute la famille.

Al est invisible grâce à son précieux bonnet, pointu et couvert de grelots, que bien des personnes ont essayé de lui enlever afin de se rendre invisibles à leur tour. A l'insu de tout le monde, il s'approche donc de l'accouchée, se jette de tout son poids sur sa gorge, retire ses poumons et va les laver dans la mer, ce qui la fait mourir à l'instant. (Voir, pour plus de détails, mon article intitulé "L'Orient inédit," dans *L'Arménie* du 15 août dernier.)

Pour arracher l'accouchée aux griffes d'Al, les vieilles femmes mettent sous son oreiller, pendant quarante jours, ce qu'elles appellent une tête d'Al ou de *Gal* (loup). J'en ai vue une à Constantinople ; grosse comme le poing, elle représentait la mâchoire supérieure du loup avec ses dents, son museau et la place de ses yeux, et était couverte d'une peau noire qui ressemblait à de la toile cirée, tant elle avait été usée à force de servir.—Le bréviaire de Cyprien contient des prières contre Al.

KHEBELIG.

Quelques personnes pensent qu'Al s'appelle aussi Khebelig. D'autres croient que Khebelig est une autre déité. Personnifié en homme, il porte comme Al un bonnet qui le rend invisible, mais c'est un être espiègle, s'amusant à teindre de *henna* les mains des hommes et des femmes pendant qu'ils sommeillent. A leur réveil, ils trouvent des taches de *henna* sur leurs doigts et se rappellent qu'ils ne les avaient pas faites eux-mêmes.

KHEDERELLEZ.

Le 5 mai, les Arméniennes dans un état intéressant restent inactives et même immobiles en l'honneur de la déité Khederellez. Tout objet qu'elles auraient touché, laisse une tache ou une marque quelconque sur le corps de l'enfant. S'il leur arrive de tenir un objet, elles se hâtent d'essuyer leurs mains sur leur dos, afin que l'enfant reçoive la tache au moins dans une partie du corps qui ne saurait l'enlaidir,—le dos ; ou bien, elles s'empressent d'aller frotter leurs mains sur l'âtre de la maison, en murmurant ces mots : " C'est ici que je laisse tout." Si elles ne le font pas, Khederellez passe sur elles et marque leurs enfants.

GROGH.

Emin voit une épithète de Dir dans le mot *Grogh*, que son traducteur français a mal rendu en transcrivant *Gerokh*. *Grogh* signifie en arménien porteur ou écrivain. Comme porteur, il pourrait être identifié avec le Charon et même l'Achéron de la mythologie grecque, qui servaient au transport des trépassés (Voir plus loin Choudig—*Styx*). Comme écrivain, il correspond à Hermès ou au Thoth des Egyptiens. Cette seconde étymologie me paraît aussi plus admissible, d'autant plus que le peuple arménien, même après sa conversion au christianisme, a conservé la croyance à des êtres qui inscrivent les actes des humains. Il croit, en effet, que chacun porte, sur son épaule droite, un bon ange (*bari hirishdag*) qui inscrit ses bonnes actions sur un livre mystérieux, et, sur son épaule gauche, un mauvais ange (*tchar hirishdag*) qui inscrit ses mauvaises actions dans un autre livre. Ces livres sont comparés au jour du jugement dernier, et l'individu est envoyé au paradis (*arkavoutin*, mot d'origine grecque) ou à l'enfer (*dijokhk*, mot d'origine persie), selon que ses bonnes ou ses mauvaises actions, pesées par Dieu dans une balance d'or, se trouvent être les plus lourdes. Grogh est pour les Arméniens une déité agile comme

un messager des dieux, laide, méchante. De là ces phrases : *Grogh glmani* (il ou elle ressemble à Grogh); *Groghës dani kézi!* (que mon Grogh t'emporte!); *Groghin béraně ertas!* (que tu ailles dans la bouche de Grogh!). Ils lui attribuent également l'adresse, la ruse, l'espièglerie, qualités que les Arcadiens attribuaient à Hermès. C'est pourquoi ils disent à une personne dont ils admirent la finesse : *Intch Grogh ess or!* (quel Grogh tu es!).

GAGHĚND.

Amanor est oublié, mais Gaghënd (calendes ou plutôt jour de l'an) paraît tenir aujourd'hui sa place.

Les Arméniens de l'Arménie Mineure et de la Cappadoce fêtent le jour de l'an de la façon suivante : Dès la veille, on couvre une table de fruits et de douceurs faites de lait et de miel (*anouchabour*, *gatnabour* et *pelté*), on y met aussi du vie et de l'eau-de-vie, et l'on verse des raisins secs noirs sur la tête des enfants. De plus, on achète à l'église autant de cierges qu'il y a de personnes dans une maison, et l'on allume autour de la table en question ces cierges, chaque personne ayant devant elle le sien; puis on fixe les bouts de ces chandelles sur la fontaine, quand la maison en a une, et l'on continue de les allumer là. La nuit, la bru, la fille ou une autre personne, va puiser au puits de la maison ou du quartier de l'eau dans une cruche de cuivre, qu'elle apporte à la maison pour y répandre, dit-on, l'abondance. Minuit passé, des mains inconnues suspendent au robinet de la fontaine une gimblette, et celui-là l'obtient qui est le plus matinal au jour de l'an. Ce jour-là, on va suspendre de grand matin, aux robinets des fontaines publiques, des gimblettes, que d'autres essayent d'enlever; on s'efforce de remplir d'eau la cruche, tout en luttant pour maintenir les gimblettes, qu'on ramène en triomphe à la maison comme des talismans d'abondance. On attache une certaine vénération à ces gimblettes, qu'on emmène à l'église la veille de la fête de Dérëndas; on les garde toute une année, et, en en croquant un morceau, on croit guérir l'odontalgie.

On m'a raconté à Trébizonde que les villageois arméniens du Pont fêtent le jour de l'an, qu'ils appellent *Galandar*, de la façon suivante : La veille, les femmes balayent le toit, le plafond, la poutre centrale, les murs des chambres et du cellier, les niches et le plancher de la maison, et font jeter les balayures hors des limites de leur propriété, dans la conviction d'avoir éloigné du sein de la famille toutes espèces de maux. Elles préparent sept plats, où entrent pour beaucoup la poire et la pomme, alors que le doyen de la famille va couper une branche à l'olivier de la cour de l'église locale pour en faire un arbre

de Galandar. Après le souper, on couvre la table de raisins, de poires, de pommes, de figues sèches, de marrons, de noix et d'autres fruits, et le doyen de la famille jette au plafond trois poignées de noisettes en répétant ces mots : *Chen guéna galandar ! parov galandar ëlli !* (que le jour de l'an soit joyeux ! que le jour de l'an soit heureux !). Il verse sur la table une grande quantité de noisettes et invite les assistants à en manger à discrétion, leur rappelant qu'il ne serait permis à personne, le lendemain, de casser une noisette (on considère de mauvais augure de casser des noisettes le jour de l'an). On met au milieu de la table un grand pain, sur lequel on fixe une orange où l'on enfonce la branche d'olivier ; on en détache les rameaux pour les distribuer à chaque assistant, qui doit garnir le sien de noisettes et de noix, dans la conviction que son "soleil" sera également orné jusqu'à sa mort et que les arbres du verger commun se couvriront de fruits. Le doyen de la famille désigne pour chaque assistant une pomme, et pratique un trou dans chaque pomme à l'aide d'une pièce de monnaie, qu'il déguise enfin dans un de ces fruits ; on garde le tout dans un vase, qu'on ouvre le lendemain, et la personne dont la pomme aura contenu la pièce de monnaie coud celle-ci au fond de sa bourse, dans l'espoir qu'elle sera pleine pendant toute l'année. Le matin du jour de l'an, on se lève de bonne heure, on se lave le visage, on se tourne vers le soleil, on se signe, on fait trois génuflexions, et l'on s'efforce de passer toute la journée dans la joie et le travail, afin que l'année entière passe de même. Comme on croit que la nuit précédente l'univers dort d'un profond sommeil, que les arbres et les herbes, la terre et les pierres, les mers, les fleuves, les ruisseaux et les fontaines restent immobiles, et que celui-là verrait tous ses désirs réalisés qui, le lendemain matin, serait le premier à saluer le réveil du monde et à aller chercher de l'eau à la fontaine, les femmes s'empressent de s'y rendre avec leur cruche et étrennent la fontaine en mettant dans sa niche du blé et du maïs bouillis et des noisettes grillées (on étrenne aussi les églises, les garde-manger et les caves). Le doyen de la famille va à l'église pour faire bénir au prêtre l'arbre de Galandar, qu'il ramène chez lui pour le fixer sur la poutre centrale, où restent également fixés les cheveux de chaque membre de la famille. En sortant d'une maison ou en y entrant, on prend soin d'avancer d'abord le pied droit ; on n'accepte, de plus, comme premier visiteur, qu'un enfant à pieds de bon augure, ce qui doit avoir été démontré par l'expérience de l'année précédente (c'est le *qualtagh* des insulaires de Man) ; cet enfant reçoit pour étrennes des fruits en abondance. On ne sort de la maison qu'après la cérémonie de l'entrée du bœuf : Le doyen de la famille se rend à l'étable, frappe les murs, les crèches et

les bestiaux d'une branche de *lachi* (arbrisseau à larges feuilles), passe deux gimblettes sur les cornes du meilleur bœuf (ordinairement moucheté), fixe au bout de ses cornes deux cires allumées, le pousse vers la porte, tout en prenant soin de lui en faire franchir le seuil du sabot droit, et le conduit enfin à la maison ; si l'animal y entre par le sabot droit, on y voit un talisman d'abondance et toute la famille rayonne de joie.

DÉRËNDAS.

La fête de Dérëndas a lieu le quatorze—vingt-six février, en général peu avant le carnaval. Les enfants parcourent les rues en criant : “Donnez du bois à Dérëndas !” Avec le bois procuré de la sorte et avec des monceaux de broussaille, on élève des bûchers dans les villes et les villages, on y met le feu, et les personnes mariées après la fête de Dérëndas de l'année précédente sautent par-dessus les flammes, chaque mari donnant le bras à sa femme (qui porte à cette occasion une robe et une coiffure neuves), ou dansent autour du bûcher avec les autres membres de la famille et les amis des deux sexes, afin, dit-on, de donner naissance à des enfants de feu (*hourî*). Dans certaines localités, les femmes seules exécutent cette danse, et les nouveau-mariés restent dans un coin, tenant à la main le cierge qu'ils allument à l'église pour la cérémonie. Les spectateurs applaudissent et chantent l'hymne de *Crîsdos paratz* (le Christ de la gloire). Dans les districts vinicoles, le bûcher n'est formé que de sarment, appelé en Cappadoce *guilémédé*, et c'est le nouveau-marié qui y met le feu avec le cierge allumé à l'église. On promène autour de ce feu les enfants nés depuis un an. On offre aux assistants de petites gimblettes et des sorbets de rob. On illumine les églises, et chaque Arménien allume son cierge à la lampe du maître-autel, se rend chez lui en tenant à la main le cierge allumé et s'en sert pour allumer la bougie de sa maison. Dans certaines localités, on allume encore un pareil bûcher dans la cour de l'église et quelquefois dans l'église même, et les prêtres tournent tout autour en chantant des hymnes, un usage qui était jadis très répandu. Quelques auteurs arméniens pensent que le mot *Dérëndas* est une altération du mot *Dyarnëntaratch* (Chandeleur). D'autres croient que ce dernier nom a été donné par S. Grégoire l'Illuminateur à la fête païenne de *Dérëndas* qu'il n'avait pu supprimer, de même qu'il changea la vieille fête de Vartavar en celle de la Transfiguration, et ils considèrent *Dérëndas* comme une altération de *Diri hantess* (fête de Dir, considéré par les anciens Arméniens comme l'écrivain des dieux).

CHOUDIG.

Choudig est, pour les Arméniens d'Ionie, à peu près ce que Grogh est pour le reste des Arméniens. Il paraît réveiller chez eux l'idée d'une déité plus agile et moins repoussante que Grogh.

GUDJUG.

Gudjug est pour les Arméniens, et spécialement pour ceux d'entre eux qui habitent l'Arménie Mineure et la Cappadoce, une déité qui personnifie le mois de février et qui porte une barbe. Pour faire diminuer le froid, disent-ils, ils lui "brûlent la barbe" à la fête de Dérëndas, en allumant un grand feu dans la cour de la maison.

CHEVOD.

Chevod est une déité pleine de vie et de vigueur. Les vieillards en parlent dans un langage allégorique, pour ne pas éveiller la curiosité de la jeunesse sur un sujet qu'ils considèrent comme indécent. En février, quand le rut se manifeste chez les chats, ils disent d'un air mystérieux : "C'est le mois de Chevod." La dernière nuit de février, on se livre à la cérémonie du *chevodahan* (expulsion de Chevod), qui consiste à frapper les murs et les crèches des étables d'une branche de *lachi* (arbrisseau dont on met les feuilles sous les nouveau-nés dans leur berceau), d'une peau ou du vêtement le plus indispensable de la maîtresse de la maison, en répétant ces mots : *Chevod i dours, Mard i ners!* (Chevod au dehors, Mars au dedans!). Chevod paraît jouer aussi le rôle du croque-mitaine.—A Eguine, on répète le conte suivant : Serkissoug (petit Serge) se rendait un jour à l'église, bien avant l'aube, quand Chevod (appelé aussi Khondjolos) le saisit, le mit dans son sac et l'emporta pour le dévorer. A mi-chemin, le jeune enfant déclare avoir un petit besoin à satisfaire. Chevod rouvre le sac, lui permet de sortir et attend son retour. Serkissoug met dans le sac une grosse pierre et va se cacher derrière un buisson. Chevod remet le sac sur son dos et poursuit son chemin, croyant emporter sa proie. Pourtant, chaque fois que la pointe aiguë de la pierre lui faisait mal au dos, il s'arrêtait pour dire : "Serkissoug ! Serkissoug ! retire ton petit . . . doigt !"

KHONDJOLOS.

Khondjolos ou Khara-Khondjolos est une déité mâle et invisible, qui renaît toujours la veille du jour de l'an, parcourt la terre pendant quarante jours et quarante nuits, et se consume dans le bûcher de Dérëndas. Il ne nuit qu'aux personnes qui, la nuit, s'absentent de leur maison pour rôder dans les rues ; mais il disparaît dès que le coq

chante. Les enfants, frappés de terreur, attendent le chant du coq pour sortir de chez eux. Un soir, quelques amis désirent jouer aux cartes, mais n'ont pas de cartes et craignent d'aller à la rue pour s'en procurer. Un d'eux ose s'aventurer dans la rue, mais, une fois là, Khondjolos le met sur son dos, l'emmène dans l'Inde et le place sur une haute muraille afin de l'en précipiter pour le tuer. Soudain, on entend le coq chanter, et le jeune homme saisit au collet Khondjolos, qui se met à le supplier, et lui ordonne de le reconduire à sa maison. Khondjolos obéit, et le jeune homme coupe quelques branches aux arbres de l'Inde afin de les produire comme des preuves de son voyage improbable. Khondjolos le dépose à la porte de sa maison et disparaît. Ses amis s'étonnent de le voir revenir si vite. Il raconte son aventure; personne ne le croit, mais les branches du noyer des Indes, qu'il avait laissées devant la porte, finissent par convaincre tout le monde.—Pour se rappeler les sept semaines du Carême, les femmes enfoncez dans un oignon sept plumes de poule, en jettent une à la fin de chaque semaine et suspendent à l'oignon, la dernière semaine, un œuf rouge pascal. En général, elles dessinent sur l'oignon des yeux, des sourcils, etc., et l'agitent de temps à autre, en prévenant les enfants turbulents que Khara-Khondjolos est en train de les menacer. Elles l'appellent également Chevod, qui, d'après elles, personnifie février. Dans certaines localités, elles découpent dans le papier une espèce de marionnette grotesque, brandissant un sabre, la collent au mur et placent à côté sept ronds en papier, le tout pour le même usage.

Une déité aussi ancienne que celle de la fécondité universelle ne saurait manquer au panthéon arménien, et ces données sur Choudig, Gudjug, Chevod et Khondjolos, semblent nous mettre sur les traces d'une pareille déité. Il serait difficile de préciser l'origine du mot *Gudjug*, dont se servent également les Turcs, à moins qu'on ne le regarde comme une altération de *Choudig*. Ce dernier, s'il ne provient pas du mot arménien *choud* (vite) ou s'il n'est pas une altération de *Chevodig* (petit Chevod), pourrait être une altération du *Styx*, le plus célèbre des fleuves des Enfers, de même que *Groggh* pourrait être une altération de l'Achéron; il est également probable qu'il soit une altération du mot grec *stoicheion* (monstre), cette langue étant fort répandue parmi les Arméniens de l'Ionie. Quant à Khondjolos ou Khara-Khondjolos, nous en verrons l'étymologie plus loin. Tous ces noms peuvent avoir été appliqués, à l'origine, à des déités différentes, mais ils se présentent aujourd'hui confondus dans la mémoire du peuple, qui paraît en faire une déité unique, tenant du Priape des Grecs et du Siva des Hindous, bien que modifiée par la chasteté des Arméniens chrétiens.

L'Arménie Mineure et la Cappadoce, où est répandue la légende de Gudjug, sont à l'est de la Phrygie, berceau de la race arménienne suivant quelques auteurs grecs et limitrophe de la Mysie, où est né le culte de Priape. Il porte comme celui-ci une grande barbe. On représentait Priape avec une couronne de feuilles de vigne, que rappelle de loin la coutume arménienne de verser des raisins secs noirs sur la tête des enfants. Priape est le dieu des chèvres et des moutons de même que *Suветar* (comparer avec *Chevod*) était le dieu des troupeaux chez les anciens Finnois, identifiés en général avec ces Scythes qui semblent avoir eu pour berceau le voisinage de la mer Caspienne. Il est aussi le dieu des champs, des jardins et des abeilles, et on lui offre des fleurs, des fruits, du miel et du lait, et la coutume des Arméniens de couvrir, au jour de l'an, leur table de toutes sortes de fruits et de douceurs faites de lait et de miel, pourrait être interprétée comme une réminiscence du culte d'une déité analogue, d'autant plus qu'un écrivain arménien du iv^e siècle, Agathange, mentionne le dieu Amanor (Nouvel an), protecteur des fruits. Comme Priape représente la force productive de la nature, la gimblette attachée au robinet de la fontaine ou à la corne du bœuf pourrait être une réminiscence du symbole de Priape ou plutôt du *lingam* et du *yoni* de la mythologie des Hindous. Les gimblettes et les gâteaux en forme d'oiseaux (*Koushlar-Koumrourlar*) que l'on débite au jour de l'an dans les rues de Constantinople, nous rappellent de loin ces gâteaux de forme obscène que, suivant le témoignage de Plutarque, les Grecs promenaient dans des processions indécentes en l'honneur de l'Asiatique Bacchos ou Dionysos, divinité solaire et génératrice.

Le puissant *Chevod* (comparer avec *Sviatovit*, dieu suprême des Slaves) a peut-être plus d'analogie avec Siva (Shiva), de même que, dans l'opinion d'Emin, Vahagën-Vischapakach est l'Indra-Vritrana du Rig-Véda; d'ailleurs, un écrivain arménien du iv^e siècle, Zénop de Clag, atteste que des divinités indiennes étaient adorées depuis cinq siècles, dans le district arménien de Daron, par des descendants d'émigrants de l'Inde, qui portaient de longs cheveux comme les religieux du culte de Siva; leur vigoureuse attaque sur les néophytes de l'Illuminateur prouve qu'ils jouissaient d'une très grande influence dans le pays. Siva, qui aime toutes les femmes, qui représente la reproduction et qui a pour symbole le *lingam*, compte parmi ses domestiques principaux Tandu (comparer avec les mots arméniens *tëndal*, s'ébranler ou retentir, *tzëndzal*, se réjouir, *khëndal*, rire), qui enseigne la danse et la mimique, d'où Siva est considéré le patron des danseurs. La fête de Siva, qui a lieu au commencement de février et dure trois jours, correspond au carnaval arménien, qui a lieu au

mois de *Chevod* (comparer avec *choubat*, février syro-macédonien) et qui dure à peu près trois jours. En général, cette fête suit de près celle de *Dérëndas*. La danse religieuse exécutée autour du feu, qui purifie et qui ranime, n'est pas non plus un détail insignifiant, d'autant plus que Siva représente également, comme Mithra, le soleil et le feu. Ce mot de *Dérëndas* nous rappelle d'ailleurs le sanscrit *tretā* (les trois feux sacrés pris collectivement, c'est-à-dire le feu méridional, le feu du foyer domestique et le feu des sacrifices), et le védique *tretinī* (la triple flamme des trois feux de l'autel). *Chevod* entre dans la composition des mots arméniens *chevaïd* (débauché) et ses composés, *vavash*, *vavachod* (lubrique) et leurs composés, peut-être aussi dans *zevardj* (agréable), *zevart* (joyeux), *avish* (lymphe, suc), etc. Siva représente aussi le temps (*Kāla*) ; il marque les mois avec un croissant et les années avec un serpent roulé autour de son cou. Il pourrait se faire que les semaines marquées à côté de la marionnette ou sur l'oignon en fussent une réminiscence, de même que la figure humaine dessinée sur son écorce hérissée de plumes et représentant *Khondjolos* soit une vague réminiscence des crânes (*Kandala*, gén. *Kandalas*) qui servent de collier au terrible Siva, ou une représentation du soleil (*Kaṇtāra*, gén. *Kaṇtāras*, ou *Kaṇjara*, gén. *Kaṇjaras*) et de ses rayons. Quant au nom de *Khondjolos* ou *Khara-Khondjolos*, il n'a rien d'arménien, et, comme le nom du premier mois de l'année chez les anciens Arméniens (*Navassart*, du sanscrit *nava-sarda*), a l'air d'une provenance de l'Inde, mentionnée d'ailleurs dans le conte du joueur de cartes. *Khondjolos*, dont on se sert pour terroriser les enfants, me paraît être une altération du sanscrit *Kaṇḍukālu* (gén. *Kaṇḍukālus*), qui désigne le serpent, objet de terreur, encore aujourd'hui, pour les Arméniens, dont les ancêtres n'étaient pas étrangers au culte de l'ophiolâtrie. *Khara* pourrait provenir du sanscrit *Kāla*, noir et serpent venimeux, épithète de Siva (comparer avec les mots arméniens *Karatosh*, lézard noir, *Karp*, aspic, etc.). Le mot *khara-khada*, dont se servent les Arméniens dans le sens vague de violent poison, est certes identique aux mots sanscrits *gara* et *gada*, qui signifient poison, ou au mot *kālakūṭa*, poison mortel. L'arménien *kharnakhsi*, usité à peu près dans le même sens, semble offrir des éléments analogues. *Khara-Khondjolos* serait donc une variante du *Kāla-sarpa*, le serpent noir et très venimeux des Hindous.

Ma conclusion est qu'on pourrait dire de la mythologie arménienne ce qu'on dit de la mythologie slave : Elle contient des éléments analogues à ceux d'autres peuples indo-européens avec qui les Arméniens sont venus en contact, tels que les Indiens, les Persans, les Grecs, etc., peut-être même de peuples en dehors de la famille indo-européenne, tels que les Finnois, etc.

IV.

INFLUENCES IRANIENNES.

PAR

PROFESSEUR MAXIM KOVALEVSKY.

D'après les descriptions des historiens arabes, le Caucase était peuplé par les "Isides" avant l'arrivée des envahisseurs conduits par Abou-Moslim. Sous le nom d' "Isides" on connaît encore aujourd'hui parmi les Kurdes nomades, qui parcourent avec leurs troupeaux les steppes entourant l'Ararat, certaines tribus chez lesquelles les savants modernes et entre autres, M. Egiasarof, ont trouvé des traces évidentes de Zoroastrisme.¹ La mythologie arménienne dans l'exposé qu'en a fait M. Emin,² confirme à son tour l'existence jadis au Caucase d'un culte semblable à celui de l'ancien Iran. La religion des Arméniens, dit ce savant, avait comme fondement le dualisme. C'est là du moins le caractère avec lequel elle se présente dans les renseignements fragmentaires qui nous en sont parvenus. On y rencontre à chaque pas le nom de la divinité suprême Ormuzd. Son sanctuaire se trouvait dans la forteresse d' "Ani," lieu où étaient enterrés les rois arméniens Arsachakides. En sa qualité de dieu suprême Ormuzd était appelé chez les Arméniens le père de tous les dieux. Ses épithètes constantes étaient : grand, vaillant, créateur du ciel et de la terre, distributeur des richesses et des bonnes récoltes. Les anciens Arméniens connaissaient également le culte de Mithra, qui chez eux avait le nom de "Mihr." "Mihr" était le dieu du feu invisible, ce que prouve encore le mot qui en dérive "hour," lequel de nos jours sert chez les Arméniens à désigner l'idée du feu invisible et immatériel ; les Arméniens considèrent le soleil et la lune comme une manifestation visible de Mihr. Bien que l'adversaire d'Ormuzd, Angra-Maïniou, l'Ariman des écrivains grecs, ne soit pas nommé une seule fois dans les sources arméniennes, ses satellites les "devas," et leurs incarnations sous la forme de dragons, sont connus par la mythologie nationale.

¹ Voy. 2^e edit. du xiii^e livre sur le Caucase Occidental.

² Voy. annexe xiv. à l'Histoire Universelle d'Étienne Taronsky. Moscou, ann. 64.

Moïse de Khoren raconte qu'au commencement du iv^e siècle les Arméniens adoraient deux dragons noirs dans lesquels ils croyaient que les mauvais esprits étaient entrés. Que ces dragons étaient des incarnations particulières d'Angra-Maïniou—ressort de ce fait, que dans les récits des Parsis, qui ont conservé les principes du Mazdéisme, le chef des mauvais esprits, après son agression malheureuse contre l'empire d'Ormuzd, et cherchant son salut dans la fuite, se serait précipité sur la terre sous forme d'un dragon. C'est pourquoi on est en droit de croire que dans le culte des Arméniens anciens pour les dragons, il faut voir un phénomène spécial du culte dont les Iraniens antiques entouraient Ariman de même qu'Ormuzd. D'après Moïse de Khoren les Arméniens faisaient aux dragons des sacrifices humains de vierges et de jeunes garçons innocents. Le rocher sur lequel se faisaient ces sacrifices était entouré de profondes crevasses, remplies de vipères et de scorpions, c.-à.-d. des animaux que la religion d'Avesta regarde comme la création et le symbole d'Ariman.

Les Arméniens de l'antiquité avaient sur la vie d'outre-tombe les mêmes idées que les Perses. Le royaume infernal leur était connu sous le nom de "Djoch." Ce terme rappelle le "Douzach" des Parsis, qui est la demeure d'Ariman. Cet empire, relié à la demeure des bienheureux par un pont appelé "tchivad" dans le Zend-Avesta, est gouverné par un seigneur indépendant qui n'est pas nommé, mais dans lequel il est facile de reconnaître le maître de l'enfer, Ariman.¹

En nous rapportant aux sources géorgiennes, nous trouvons plus d'une preuve que la religion d'Ormuzd a jadis été répandue dans tout le Caucase. Reproduisant le témoignage de Moïse de Khoren sur St^e Nuna ou Nina, l'apôtre de la Géorgie, qui renversa l'idole d'Ormuzd, lançant la foudre à Mchet,² la chronique géorgienne du roi Vachtang rappelle l'érection à Mchet d'une idole d'Ormuzd, et les sacrifices d'esclaves qui ne lui étaient pas faits plus tard qu'en l'année 237 avant Jésus Christ.

À propos du roi Parnadje, ou plutôt Pharnadje, qui régna en Géorgie dans la période de 112 à 93 avant Jésus Christ, le même historien raconte les détails suivants : "Il éleva une idole à Zindeno ce qui veut dire Satan. Après quoi étant devenu partisan du culte du feu, répandu à cette époque en Perse, il fit venir de ce pays des adorateurs du feu et des mages, qu'il établit à Mchet dans le lieu appelé Moguta."³ À propos du Prince Merian, qui fut converti au christian-

¹ Taronsky, pp. 260, 261, 272, 278 et 279.

² Voy. Jean Chopin, Nouvelles Remarques sur l'Histoire Antique du Caucase et de ses Habitants. Pétersbourg, a. 66, p. 78.

³ Chopin, p. 237 et 241

isme par la dite S^{te} Nina en l'an 331 de l'ère chrétienne, la chronique géorgienne dit qu'il adorait sept idoles et le feu.¹

Même en ne voyant dans les chroniques géorgiennes qu'un recueil désordonné et récent de traditions nationales, il faut quand même reconnaître que les fragments qui nous en sont parvenus, suffisent pour convaincre qu'aux yeux des Géorgiens eux-mêmes l'époque de leur conversion au christianisme a été précédée par une très longue période dans laquelle ils ont été partisans du Mazdéisme.

Passant à la partie orientale du Caucase connue dans l'antiquité sous le nom d'Agovanie ou d'Albanie, c.-à.-d. aux provinces situées, l'une sur le cours inférieur de la Koura, et l'autre dans les limites du Daghestan actuel, nous trouvons dans l'histoire de l'Agovanie, écrite par Moïse Kagkantovazi, écrivain du viii^e siècle, le renseignement que les provinces dont il est question, malgré la propagande chrétienne et sous l'influence de leurs maîtres persans, restèrent longtemps fidèles au "culte du feu des mages." Ce culte était lié, comme le montre ce même historien, au culte des démons. Kagkantovazi raconte à cette occasion que les partisans de la secte des adorateurs des démons attribuaient aux mauvais esprits des sortilèges, et leur reconnaissaient le pouvoir d'aveugler et de marquer le corps de ceux qui refusaient de leur servir. À une époque aussi récente que celle de Théodore le Grand, les dominateurs persans cherchaient encore à maintenir en Agovanie le culte du feu et la doctrine des mages.²

Nous ne trouvons ni dans les annales de l'Arménie ni dans celles de la Géorgie de témoignages directs quant à l'extension de la religion antique des Iraniens au nord des Monts Caucases ; mais les données de la langue et de la mythologie Ossètes, étudiées avec soin par M. Vsevolod Miller, font penser qu'au sein de cette tribu iranienne le culte des bons et des mauvais génies, ainsi que celui du foyer familial et des objets sanctifiés par son voisinage, n'était pas moins répandu que parmi les tribus reconnaissant ouvertement les doctrines de l'Avesta.

Dans "La Coutume Moderne et la Loi Antique" j'ai cherché à approfondir en détail les analogies que le culte Ossète des génies protecteurs de la famille présente avec le culte des "Fravashis" de l'Avesta. Je répète ici ce qui a été dit par moi dans le chapitre sur les doctrines religieuses et l'organisation sociale des Ossètes. "La 2^e partie de l'Avesta offre à mon avis un excellent commentaire du culte dont les Ossètes entourent leurs morts. Le livre sacré des Iraniens nous présente les âmes des morts comme occupées con-

¹ Chopin, p. 265.

² Ibid., pp. 428, 429, et 437.

stamment par une seule pensée : "qui nous honorera et nous vénérera, qui nous fera des sacrifices, qui nous préparera une nourriture suffisante pour que nous ne manquions jamais de rien ?" La nourriture des morts sous forme de sacrifices commémoratifs en leur honneur est la partie principale du culte des Ossètes envers leurs ancêtres. L'Ossète regarde comme son devoir de nourrir les morts dans l'espoir d'obtenir ainsi leur protection active et leur aide dans toutes ses entreprises.

Or c'est le même motif que l'Avesta donne pour les sacrifices faits en l'honneur des "Fravashis." Voilà en quels termes un "Fravashi" bénit un descendant empressé à le vénérer : "que dans sa demeure se trouve toujours une foule d'hommes et d'animaux ; qu'il possède un cheval doux et un char solide ; que dans sa famille se trouve toujours un homme sachant adorer Dieu, gouverner les assemblées du peuple et offrir les sacrifices," etc. Les Fravashis, contents de leurs descendants qui ne les laissent pas sans nourriture, s'empressent à leur venir en aide ; ils combattent à leurs côtés, défendant leurs anciennes demeures ; ils ont aussi une grande influence sur les récoltes, envoient de l'eau en abondance à leurs familles, à leur bourg, ville ou province, avec le désir de les voir prospérer et s'enrichir. Les Ossètes et les partisans de Zoroastre reconnaissent également la doctrine que les morts ont le pouvoir de donner à leurs descendants non seulement la prospérité et le bonheur, mais encore toute espèce de malheurs. Ils sont rancuniers par nature et punissent volontiers celui qui les laisse sans nourriture, sans boisson et sans lumière. La santé et les maladies sont selon l'Avesta en leur pouvoir ; leur colère est terrible pour celui qui l'excite. Dans les épithètes dont l'Avesta orne les "Fravashis" on retrouve les qualités que les Iraniens attribuent aux âmes des ancêtres. Les "Fravashis" sont généreux, vaillants, miséricordieux, puissants, forts, et avec tout cela rapides comme les oiseaux et légers comme l'air. Ce sont là toutes des qualités dont sont ornées les âmes des ancêtres aux yeux des Ossètes, qui les comparent souvent aux étoiles filantes.¹ La mythologie nationale des Ossètes présente encore ce trait commun avec la religion de l'Avesta, qu'elle rend le foyer familial l'objet d'un culte particulier ainsi que tout ce qui y touche, et surtout la chaîne (rachis) par laquelle est suspendu le chaudron où se préparent les aliments. Cette chaîne est regardée chez les Ossètes comme étant sous la protection d'une divinité spéciale, Sapho, dont dépendent les richesses et la fortune.

¹ La Coutume Moderne et la Loi Antique, tom. i. p. 99. Ces mêmes idées ont été développées par moi dans une communication faite à Stockholm et reproduite dans le Journal de l'Anthropologie Suédoise sous le titre de "Om dyrkan af förfädren hos de Kaukasiska folken."

Le mauvais esprit, l'Ariman, n'est pas non plus ignoré des Ossètes. Ils l'appellent Amiran. Dans leurs récits il est présenté comme un oppresseur, qui ne donne pas un instant de paix aux hommes, et reste toujours en lutte avec les "dzouars" (saints) de Dieu, et avec Dieu lui-même. Dieu l'a une fois saisi par ruse et l'a enfermé sous terre. Ce même Amiran est mis en rapport d'une façon mystérieuse avec la chaîne du foyer familial, dont il a absolument besoin pour se tirer de sa prison. N'est-ce pas pour cela qu'Ariman peut, comme nous le montrent les récits des Parsis, prendre la forme d'un dragon et se dérober ainsi aux poursuites ? La fantaisie populaire n'identifie-t-elle pas dans ce cas le dragon avec la chaîne ? Ce n'est pas en vain que dans les récits Ossètes on parle de la chaîne comme d'un objet venu du ciel.¹

En passant aux tribus Kartvels qui occupent le penchant méridional de la chaîne du Caucase, nous nous arrêterons d'abord au témoignage de la chronique géorgienne du roi Vachtang. Les chroniques géorgiennes, recueillies par le roi Vachtang, en racontant le passé des montagnards Kartvelles, parlent : "des coutumes abominables qui se sont introduites chez eux : celle de ne faire attention dans les mariages à aucun degré de parenté, celle de se nourrir de la chair de n'importe quel être vivant, et celle de ne pas enterrer les morts, mais de les dévorer."²

Il est intéressant de déterminer jusqu'à quel point ces légendes populaires recueillies par Vachtang se trouvent confirmées par l'archéologie et l'ethnographie du Caucase. Nous notons d'abord ce fait que dans le Daghestan chez les Didoitzi, tribu voisine de la Georgie et à moitié géorgienne, de pair avec le culte des idoles et des puissances impures on rencontrait encore du temps de Klaproth ce trait curieux que dans leurs unions ils ne tenaient aucun compte de la parenté ;³ en d'autres mots, leur mariage, au lieu d'être exogamique comme chez la plupart des peuples du Caucase, était endogamique ; mais cette endogamie était limitée par les interdictions du "Schariate," qui régne sur toute l'étendue du Daghestan. Dans les données officielles qui m'ont été fournies sur l'organisation des "tochoums" ou clans du Daghestan, il est dit clairement que le mariage n'est pas permis avec des femmes d'un autre clan, qu'il faut mettre au dessus de la richesse et de la naissance le fait que la fiancée appartient au même clan que le fiancé, et que la coutume considère comme le mariage le plus honorable celui qui est conclu entre cousins. La

¹ Voy. Miller, *Études Ossètes*, 1^{re} partie, La Légende d'Amiran, p. 69.

² La Chronique du Roi Vachtang, Chopin, p. 229.

³ Klaproth, *Voyage autour du Caucase*, tom. i. Chopin, p. 345.

source de toutes ces règles se trouve à mon avis dans les idées morales et juridiques qui se rattachent à l'ancienne religion des Iraniens. La sainteté du mariage conclu entre parents et allant jusqu'au mélange du même sang, est clairement reconnue par l'Avesta. Jusqu'au temps des Sassanides les mariages de ce genre étaient obligatoires pour les prêtres ou mages, mais depuis ce temps ils sont devenus la règle générale en Perse,¹ et le mariage était permis aussi bien entre ascendants et descendants qu'entre frères et sœurs.² Une confirmation indirecte du règne illimité de l'endogamie au temps qui précéda l'introduction du Koran est donnée par le nom dont les Arabes ont doté la chaîne qui traverse le Caucase, "les monts des concupissants" (Djebal al Kachp).³ Pour les confesseurs du Koran, le mariage entre frères et sœurs, entre mères et fils, ne pouvait se présenter sous un autre jour.

Ainsi une des accusations portées par la chronique de Vachtang contre les idolâtres du Caucase est confirmée par l'endogamie qui régnait encore dans le Daghestan, ainsi que par l'indifférence complète avec laquelle la tribu des Didoitzi, géorgienne d'origine, envisage le mélange du sang entre parents dans le mariage. Ces deux faits ne sont pas accidentels; mais ils proviennent du Mazdéisme jadis répandu parmi les montagnards.

Nous verrons maintenant en quelle mesure se justifie par les données de l'archéologie et de l'ethnographie du Caucase la seconde accusation portée par la chronique du roi Vachtang contre les anciens habitants du Caucase; ils n'enterrent pas leurs morts mais les dévorent.

Pendant mon voyage en Khevsourétie et en Touschéti, ma curiosité fut vivement piquée par les nécropoles antiques que je rencontrais sur mon chemin. Ces nécropoles sont situées loin de toute habitation, loin de toute forêt et de toute eau courante, sur des hauteurs dénudées. Il suffit d'en décrire une seule pour se faire une idée de toutes les autres.

Sur la route qui mène de Schatyl, aoul Khevsour, à Ardoty, situé dans le voisinage du Mont Azount, au delà duquel commencent les villages touschines, sur une hauteur dénudée, s'élèvent sept sanctuaires, chacun ayant la forme d'un quadrangle allongé. Ces sanctuaires sont bâtis en pierres brutes, cimentées d'argile, et recouverts en haut de plaques en ardoise; chaque chapelle n'a que deux ouvertures carrées;

¹ James Darmesteter, *Introduction to the Vendidad*, p. xlv.

² Voy. Rodolphe Dareste, *L'Ancien Droit des Perses*, dans "Études d'Histoire du Droit," Paris, 1889, p. 108.

³ Chopin, p. 20 et 21.

l'une du côté de l'orient et l'autre du côté du midi ; chaque ouverture donne facilement accès au corps d'un homme de taille ordinaire. Entré à l'intérieur d'une de ces chapelles, je me trouvai dans un couloir des deux côtés duquel étaient placés sur des dalles de pierre des squelettes de morts dont quelques uns étaient étendus tout de leur long, et les autres avaient le dos appuyé à la muraille. Comme les ouvertures faites à la chapelle laissent le passage libre aux oiseaux et aux animaux, il se pouvait très bien que le détachement des muscles des os, ne fût pas le résultat uniquement de la décomposition. Au milieu du couloir il y avait dans le sol une fosse sous forme de canal. Elle était remplie d'ossements de squelettes détruits par le temps.

Dans d'autres nécropoles visitées par moi en Khevsourétie et principalement dans celle qui est située sur une hauteur considérable et dénudée non loin de l'aoul Moutso, la fosse au milieu de la chapelle, fosse profonde d'un arschine et demi, était toute pavée de dalles non cimentées, de sorte que les cadavres, même après la destruction du squelette, ne touchaient pas la terre immédiatement.

À Anatori et Moutso les chapelles sont également des quadrangles allongés avec une seule ouverture carrée, commençant à partir du sol. En me rapprochant d'Ardoty j'eus l'occasion de voir des nécropoles d'une forme un peu différente, notamment des carrés réguliers avec deux grandes ouvertures et deux petites ; les grandes commençaient à partir du sol, les autres étaient percées dans la muraille à quelque distance des premières ; leur grandeur est calculée de façon à donner passage à l'air et aux eaux du ciel.

Les détails suivants des cérémonies funéraires des Khevsours, complètent ce tableau des coutumes funéraires que ces anciennes nécropoles font entrevoir. M. Chudadof, qui en qualité de juge d'instruction du district a eu l'occasion de faire connaissance avec les particularités de la vie Khevsoure, communique à ce sujet des détails en tout conformes à ceux que j'ai recueillis moi-même en interrogeant des habitants du pays. À peine l'agonie commence-t-elle à se produire qu'à côté du mourant se réunissent parents et étrangers. Quelques-uns de ces derniers, appelés "narevi," emportent le mourant de sa demeure et l'installent au dehors dans une enceinte préparée exprès ; c'est là qu'ils l'exposent. Aucun des parents ni des gens de la maison ne touchera au mort ; seuls les "narevi" s'occupent de lui. Ils l'habillent et le portent à la nécropole. Le reste du public réuni aux funérailles s'abstient de donner la main aux "narevis," ne mange ni ne boit à la même table avec eux ; personne ne touche même aux ustensiles qui auront pu leur servir. Cela s'explique par l'idée des Khevsours que

le mort est un objet "impur," et que tout ce qui le touche est "souillé." On enveloppe le mort dans un "linceul" blanc, puis dans un "linceul" rouge, et on le laisse à ciel ouvert de cinq à sept jours pendant lesquels les "narevis" doivent le garder. Quand arrive le moment de l'enterrement ils prennent le mort et le portent au lieu de sépulture; aucun des parents ne l'accompagne.¹

Les montagnards du Pirikiti, c.-à.-d. les Khevsours vivant sur le versant septentrional de la chaîne caucasienne, et leurs voisins les Kistines, avaient la coutume d'enfouir leurs morts dans des caveaux ou dans des chapelles semblables à celles décrites plus haut. Dans ces derniers temps ils éludent l'interdiction religieuse d'ensevelir leurs morts en pleine terre, en revêtant les caveaux de plaques d'ardoise.

Pour connaître l'origine des coutumes funéraires des Khevsours, il faut selon moi recourir au livre sacré de l'Iran, à l'Avesta. Dans la partie de ce livre qui est connue sous le nom de Vendidad, il est parlé de la pureté comme du plus grand bonheur après la vie.² La conception de ce qui est pur et de ce qui est impur, remarque M. Darmesteter, est toute autre dans l'Avesta que chez nous; ces mots de pureté et d'impureté expriment toute condition d'être du corps et de l'âme humaine. L'impureté dans cette conception est l'état dans lequel le corps devient la proie du démon; le but de toute purification sera donc de chasser ce démon. La façon la plus ordinaire dont cette impureté s'empare de l'homme est la mort, qui marque la victoire des forces impures ou du démon. A peine le mourant a-t-il rendu l'âme que le "démon des cadavres" (Drug Nasu) quitte l'enfer et entre dans le corps du mort; celui qui s'approche de ce corps est "souillé," et peut souiller quiconque touche à lui. Reconnaisant un caractère sacré aux éléments de la nature, les anciens Iraniens cherchaient à éviter le contact des morts avec le feu, la terre, ou l'eau. De là, la défense de brûler les morts ou d'ensevelir leurs corps dans la terre; de là la nécessité de bâtir les nécropoles à une certaine distance de l'eau et du feu, c.-à.-d. des rivières, des puits et des foyers des habitations, et de les élever au dessus de la terre; de là enfin la provenance de ces nécropoles (dakhmé) situées loin de toute habitation sur des hauteurs dénudées, et dont parle le Vendidad avec tant de détails, ainsi que le cérémonial prescrit par lui pour les soins à donner aux morts. Dans chaque village doivent être construites de petites maisons pour les morts, dans lesquelles les morts sont exposés pendant les deux premières nuits après la mort; puis le corps est transporté sur une hauteur où l'on sait que se trouvent continuelle-

¹ Notices sur la Khevsourétié, par Choudadof.

² Voy. Fargard V. 21, Sacred Books of the East, Vendidad, p. 55.

ment des chiens qui dévorent les cadavres et des oiseaux de proie qui les déchirent. Le corps du mort n'est pas porté par les parents et les amis, mais par deux personnes étrangères, "qui après avoir ôté leurs vêtements de peur de les souiller par le contact du mort, le transportent à la maisonnette bâtie en pierres et en argile, destinée à servir de caveau funéraire (dakhmé). Pour se purifier de la souillure, les "porteurs des morts" font des ablutions dans lesquelles ils emploient à la place de l'eau l'urine de vache et de mouton, et comme dernière ressource l'urine d'un proche parent ou d'une parente du mort.¹ Les corps portés dans la dakhmé doivent être attachés à l'endroit où on les dépose, de peur que les bêtes qui s'en nourrissent ne dispersent les os et ne souillent ainsi les rivières et les arbres.² Pendant une année le corps reste dans la dakhmé. Les pluies qui tombent de temps en temps, don de Agura Mazda, emportent les restes décomposés des morts, et au bout de l'année le squelette débarrassé de ses parties charnues, tombées en pourriture, devient par le fait, libre de la présence du mauvais esprit.³

Le rituel funéraire prescrit par l'Avesta n'est pas resté lettre morte, ainsi que prouvent les récits des missionnaires chrétiens en Perse, et surtout le récit fait au xvii^e siècle par le jésuite Chinon, récit qui a servi de source à tout ce qu'ont dit sur le compte des Guèbres les voyageurs Chardin et Tavernier.

La plus grande accusation portée contre les Guèbres, dit Chinon, est celle qu'ils n'enterrent pas leurs morts; le corps du mort est regardé chez eux comme un objet impur; ils le dévêtissent de ses vêtements et l'habillent de vieux haillons; le visage reste découvert; ils transportent le cadavre dans un endroit spécialement destiné à cet usage, et après l'avoir attaché à la muraille, ils le mettent assis.

Les prêtres eux-mêmes ne peuvent accompagner le mort, mais cela ne les empêche pas de prier pour l'âme du défunt. On m'a raconté que les Guèbres attachent une grande importance au fait des corbeaux arrachant d'abord l'œil droit ou l'œil gauche; dans le premier cas ils voient un signe que l'âme du mort est allée dans le séjour des bienheureux; dans le cas contraire elle doit aller en enfer. Quand, dit Chinon, je me mis à interroger un Guèbre de mes connaissances pour savoir en quelle mesure était vraie cette assertion, il me répondit négativement, mais à la même occasion il me raconta quelque chose de plus absurde encore: que le gardien des morts doit remarquer avec soin le temps au bout duquel la décomposition finit et les os se

¹ Fargard, VIII. ii. 11, 12, et 13.

² Vendidad, Fargard VIII. ss. 10, IV. ss. 16, V. ss. 45-47.

³ Fargard, VII. i. ii.

dépouillent de leurs muscles. Les Guèbres voient dans une prompte décomposition du cadavre un signe que l'âme est déjà au ciel. Ceux qui portent les corps des morts, enlèvent chaque fois tout ce qu'ils ont sur le corps, après quoi ils lavent tout cela dans un lieu destiné à cet usage, jamais dans leurs habitations. Les porteurs eux-mêmes se lavent avec soin de l'urine de vache, comptant ainsi se débarrasser de toute souillure ; tout ce qui a pu toucher au mort, de quelque façon que ce fût, est regardé comme impur ; c'est pourquoi, quand on a transporté le mort hors de la maison, on recueille soigneusement la terre sur laquelle il a reposé, et on la jette comme une "chose impure," au loin hors de la ville.¹

En comparant les rites funéraires des Khevsours et le type décrit par nous de leurs nécropoles, avec les prescriptions religieuses de l'Avesta sur les cérémonies funéraires et l'illustration qui nous en est fournie par les coutumes des guèbres, nous arrivons aux conclusions suivantes : le fait noté par les historiens géorgiens, "Les Kartvels n'ensevelissent pas leurs morts, mais les dévorent," est confirmé par les coutumes modernes des Khevsours. • L'accusation de dévorer les cadavres peut facilement être interprétée dans ce sens : que les peuplades Kartvelles comme tous les adeptes du Mazdéisme, et particulièrement les Guèbres, exposaient leurs morts pour être dévorés par les bêtes et les oiseaux de proie. On voit par là qu'il n'est pas nécessaire, ainsi que le fait Chopin,² de recourir à la supposition que les Kartvels étaient des cannibales pour expliquer l'origine de l'accusation lancée contre eux par la chronique géorgienne.³

La source du rituel funéraire des Khevsours est la même que chez les Guèbres. J'entends par là les prescriptions religieuses sur la conservation de la pureté physique et sur la nécessité d'éviter tout contact avec les cadavres, dont parle l'Avesta. En évitant d'ensevelir leurs morts et en les exposant aux atteintes des chiens et des oiseaux de proie, les Khevsours agissaient il n'y a pas longtemps absolument de la même façon que les anciens Perses, qui, suivant le témoignage d'Hérodote et de Strabon, et de l'écrivain byzantin Agathias, n'enterraient leurs morts qu'après les avoir préalablement exposés aux chiens. On peut par conséquent appliquer aux Khevsours les paroles de Cicéron : "Majorum mos est non humare corpora eorum, nisi a feris sint ante laniata ;" ⁴ ce qui n'empêche pas qu'ils ont eux-mêmes perdu

¹ Relations Nouvelles du Levant. Lyon, 1671, p. 466.

² Chopin, p. 328.

³ L'Avesta défend très sévèrement le cannibalisme, menaçant le coupable de la destruction de toute sa famille et de le rendre à jamais impur, et de le livrer "jusqu'au bout des ongles," au démon du cadavre mangé par lui (Vend., Fargard IV.-VII. 24).

⁴ Hovelacque, L'Avesta, p. 486.

depuis longtemps la notion des origines de la coutume qui leur défend d'enterrer leurs morts.

Ils en donnent régulièrement l'explication suivante : La Khevsourétié est un pays de montagnes ; il y a si peu de terre cultivable qu'il est nécessaire d'en économiser chaque parcelle ; voilà pourquoi, disent-ils, nous ne pouvons en consacrer à des cimetières ; au bout de quelques années, ordinairement de sept ans, nous ramassons les os de nos morts et nous les jetons dans une fosse commune ; de cette façon nous faisons de la place aux nouveaux morts, et la terre n'est pas occupée en vain. Les Khevsours sont évidemment loin de penser que les mêmes pratiques amenées par les prescriptions religieuses de l'Avesta, se continuaient encore au xvii^e siècle chez les Guèbres des environs d'Ispahan. Quand il n'y avait plus de place pour les nouveaux morts dans la chapelle, dit Chardin, les Guèbres jetaient dans une fosse au centre du sanctuaire, semblable à celles que j'avais vues à Anatori, les corps les plus décomposés, et mettaient les nouveaux à leur place.¹

Les Khevsours ne sont pas les seuls à garder ces usages curieux. D'après le récit de M. Khokanof, les Pschavs, voisins méridionaux des Khevsours, regardent également la femme comme un être impur du moins pendant certains jours du mois et la période de l'enfantement. La femme passe ces périodes de sa vie dans une hutte bâtie exprès, où personne n'ose entrer ; on lui fait passer la nourriture par un trou de peur de se souiller par son contact.²

Au nombre des règlements de la vie journalière contenus dans l'Avesta il faut rapporter ces articles de la Vendidad où il est question de la souillure causée par le contact des cheveux et des ongles coupés, chaque fois que ce contact ne se fait pas suivant les rites prescrits par la religion. Les cheveux détachés de la tête, les ongles coupés et la barbe rasée, en tant que parties mortes séparées d'un organisme vivant sont regardés comme possédés par les mauvais génies ; c'est pourquoi il est prescrit qu'on doit les tenir loin de l'eau et du feu, et les enterrer dans la terre en accompagnant cet acte de conjurations destinées à chasser le démon.³ Notons par conséquent ce fait curieux, que les Khevsours et les Pschavs ne jettent pas de côté les ongles et les cheveux coupés, mais les cachent dans la terre de peur que les démons s'en emparent.⁴

La lutte contre les forces impures prescrite par l'Avesta doit également tendre à détruire les animaux impurs créés par Ariman.

¹ Chardin, tom. iii. p. 131.

² Recueil de Matériaux Ethnographiques, publié par le Muséum Ethnographique de Daschkof, extrait iii. p. 92.

³ Vendidad, Fargard XVII.—I. ii.

⁴ Recueil de Matériaux Ethnographiques, tom. iii. p. 89.

Il faut avoir tout cela présent à l'esprit lorsqu'on cherche à expliquer les curieux usages suivants des Ossètes, des Tchetchen, des Ingouch, des Pschavs et des Khevsours. Potocki raconte dans son journal de voyages que chez les Ingouches un moyen fort employé de se faire rembourser d'une dette est de s'adresser à un ami ou "Rounak" avec cette déclaration : "Une telle personne de ton clan me doit une certaine somme ; cherche par conséquent à me faire payer, car j'ai amené avec moi un chien que je tuerai dans le cas contraire sur les tombes de tes ancêtres." Cette menace fait trembler l'Ingouche, et il consent aussitôt à faire ce qu'on lui demande.¹

Il n'est pas moins curieux de noter la cérémonie du serment servant à se purger d'une accusation tant chez les Khevsours que chez les Pschavs. On y reconnaît clairement, comme nous le verrons tout-à-l'heure, la croyance des Iraniens en la souillure inévitable, non seulement pour les vivants, mais encore pour les morts, chaque fois qu'ils rencontrent un animal aussi impur que le chat. "En 1881, raconte M. Choudadof, j'arrivai en qualité de médecin au centre de la Khevsourétie septentrionale ou Perikilitie, à l'aoul Gouli ; là j'eus l'occasion d'être témoin d'un spectacle curieux ; sur une hauteur non loin de la chapelle se tenait un Khevsour Djakola accusé de vol ; pâle, tremblant d'émotion, avec un petit chat vivant dans sa main gauche, et avec un bâton dans la main droite, il prononçait d'une voix forte mais mal assurée une malédiction contre celui qui savait qu'il était innocent, et qui ne le déclarait pas ; 'que cette chatte (il criait ces mots en touchant la tête du chat de son bâton) accompagne le corps mort de celui qui a volé le chaudron ; qu'elle souille aussi de sa présence et de ses miaulements les fêtes funéraires de celui qui connaît le voleur et ne le nomme pas ; que dans l'autre monde elle se place sur son épaule, sur sa tête.' Après avoir prononcé cette malédiction, il jeta la chatte et se dirigea d'un pas assuré vers la foule. L'effet fut instantané : 'Il n'est pas le voleur,' cria-t-on de tous côtés."¹

Une des superstitions religieuses des Pschavs est motivée par des raisons analogues à celles qui ont produit le serment justificateur des Khevsours. Les Pschavs se figurent que celui qui tue un chat et en cache les pattes sous son bonnet, mérite par là le pardon de tous ses péchés. De même que le serment des Khevsours, la superstition des Pschavs a pour base l'idée que le contact d'un animal impur comme le chat souille l'homme, puisque le démon est en cet animal. Quiconque tue le démon et l'animal qui lui sert de demeure commet une action pieuse. Si la compagnie perpétuelle du chat infligée aux

¹ Voyage dans les Steppes d'Astrakhan et du Caucase, Octobre 28, 1797 (p. 126).

² Choudadof, Notes sur la Khevsourétie, p. 20.

ancêtres, comme il est dit dans le serment des Khevsours, doit nécessairement amener des souffrances éternelles dans l'enfer, en revanche l'action de porter les pattes d'un chat sous son bonnet, en tant que preuve évidente de ce fait, que le devoir d'un véritable confesseur de la foi est de tuer les animaux impurs, une fois accomplie, ne peut en vérité avoir pour le porteur que des effets salutaires.

La découverte de certaines analogies entre l'antique loi des Persans et les mœurs actuelles des Ossètes, des Tchetchen, et des montagnards Kartvels de la Géorgie présente beaucoup plus de difficultés. Ces difficultés sont de deux genres : 1°. Les lois antiques, et principalement celles des peuples aryens, n'ont pas mal de traits d'un certain genre, qui se répète invariablement d'une nation à l'autre, et qui ont pour origine la similitude de leur état social. Dans ces conditions il est difficile de dire avec précision que telle ou telle autre coutume n'a pu qu'être empruntée chez tel ou tel peuple, qu'elle est essentiellement Iranienne et non généralement Aryenne, ou même commune à tous les peuples qui traversent la phase patriarcale. Une conclusion contraire ne serait juste que dans le cas où l'on pourrait prouver que l'analogie ne se borne pas aux traits généraux de la coutume en question, mais qu'elle peut être observée jusque dans les moindres détails. 2°. Une autre cause qui rend les recherches encore plus difficiles est la pauvreté et l'état fragmentaire des renseignements que nous avons sur la loi antique des Iraniens. Cette difficulté s'explique par le fait qu'au lieu des 21 volumes dont se composait le recueil des doctrines religieuses, morales et juridiques des anciens Persans, selon la tradition encore vivante dans l'Hindoustan, l'Avesta seule nous est parvenue. Les tomes 9 et 19, qui selon la tradition contenaient la loi processive, civile et pénale des Persans, sont perdus.

Dans aucune sphère cependant, l'influence de la civilisation iranienne sur la vie sociale des montagnards du Caucase, ne se fait sentir davantage que dans leur organisation de la classe sacerdotale. En disant cela, j'ai présent à l'esprit ce fait, que dans la vie des Khevsours, des Pschavs et des Touschins de même que dans celle des Svanètes, on peut remarquer l'existence d'une caste de prêtres nationaux renouvelée non par voie d'hérédité mais par voie de recrutement volontaire. Ces prêtres sont appelés en Pschavie, *chevisbers* ; en Khevsourétie, *decanos* et *dastours* ; en Svanétie, *papi*. Entre ces noms il y a un qui mérite une attention particulière comme étant littéralement le même que celui des prêtres dans l'Avesta ; je veux parler de "dastour."

"Ce terme, dit Hovelacque, désigne les principaux représentants de la classe des prêtres dans l'Avesta, dont le devoir était non-seulement

de connaître par cœur le texte des livres sacrés, mais encore de les expliquer à l'occasion."¹ Le dastour Khevsour, au contraire, n'est nullement la première personne de la hiérarchie ecclésiastique; il n'est que le serviteur immédiat du temple, obligé à rester constamment dans le voisinage de ce sanctuaire; une de ses fonctions consiste à préparer la bière ou "bouza" qu'on boit les jours de fête et qu'il verse dans des cuves placées dans l'antichambre de la chapelle ou temple. Dans la préparation de la bière, il doit suivre un rituel prescrit: il doit aller pieds-nus, sans bonnet et sans ceinture, maintenir la plus grande propreté et se garder de parler à qui que ce soit.² Les membres supérieurs de la hiérarchie ecclésiastique sont connus chez les Pschavs sous le nom de "chevisbers," c.-à.-d. moines des gorges de montagnes. Voilà comment le Prince Eristof nous décrit la façon dont ces chevisbers, ou autrement dit, decanos, sont nommés. Celui qui aspire à ce titre, feint d'être malade, après quoi il déclare qu'il a vu en songe un saint, lequel lui a promis la guérison à condition qu'il se consacre entièrement à son service; souvent aussi des devins et des devineresses, découvrent à celui qui doit être "decanos," la volonté divine; ces devins sont appelés "kadagi." Celui qui brigue le titre de decanos ou chevisber se rend au temple en compagnie d'hommes ayant déjà ce titre, il tue à l'entrée du temple une vache, l'animal consacré à Ormuzd, il en offre la chair à ses compagnons et fait le serment d'observer rigoureusement les cérémonies religieuses et de ne se nourrir dorénavant que de la viande de bétail à cornes. Contrairement aux Pschavs et aux Khevsours, les Touschins connaissent déjà l'hérédité des dignités ecclésiastiques. Le "decanos" est obligé de garder la pureté et l'innocence, il ne doit pas toucher aux corps morts ni aux enfants nouveaux-nés pendant un certain temps après la naissance; il lui est défendu de marcher sur la piste des femmes en état de menstruation; il ne peut faire usage pour sa nourriture de la chair de porc, ou de poules, ni consommer des œufs. Quand le peuple vient consulter un decanos sur la volonté divine ou les ordres de tel ou tel saint, le decanos commence par offrir un sacrifice; ensuite il entre en folie, il tourne sur place, il se frappe la poitrine d'une pierre, et finit par s'affaïsser sur le sol; après être resté couché quelque temps dans une insensibilité feinte, il se dresse subitement et l'écume aux lèvres, il proclame la volonté du saint ou de Dieu.

Chez les Pschavs la compétence des chevisbers, selon ce qu'en dit M. Chachanof, était autrefois très étendue; le chevisber cumulait les

¹ Hovelacque (Abel), *L'Avesta*, p. 442.

² Choudadof, p. 35.

fonctions du prêtre païen, du juge biblique et du prêtre chrétien; dans ses mains était concentré le pouvoir spirituel et temporel; en temps de guerre, il commandait les troupes; en temps de paix, il était appelé comme arbitre dans les affaires de justice. Ses devoirs religieux sont encore très variés; il tue les animaux amenés au sacrifice, il prononce les conjurations en cas de maladie et il bénit les mariages; enfin, il nomme les serviteurs du temple ou "dastours."¹

En comparant ces données avec celles que les écrivains antiques nous présentent sur les mages, nous pouvons facilement constater la ressemblance frappante des uns et des autres. Pareillement aux mages, les chevisbers, les decanos ou dastours se passent d'idoles;² ils tuent de leur propre main les animaux amenés en sacrifice par les fidèles, ils expliquent au peuple les volontés divines, ils observent toutes les prescriptions de l'Avesta par rapport à la propreté physique, ils se nourrissent uniquement de la chair d'animaux de sacrifice, des vaches et des bœufs consacrés à Ormuzd.³ Ils sont encore si imbus de leurs croyances païennes, que dans les mystères chrétiens célébrés par eux, notamment dans le baptême et la communion, il n'est pas toujours facile de distinguer la partie chrétienne de la partie païenne. La cérémonie du baptême telle que la font les chevisbers de la Pschavie, rappelle plutôt l'ablution du nouveau-né prescrite par l'Avesta dans le but de le débarrasser de l'impureté contractée dans le sein de sa mère que le baptême chrétien, et la bière distribuée par le dastour au malade demandant à communier, ne présente qu'une ressemblance très éloignée avec la communion chrétienne.

Dans les traditions nationales des Pschavs, les chevisbers et leur ancêtre Kopala, nous sont présentés comme faisant une guerre acharnée aux "devali" ou mauvais esprits, lesquels prennent souvent la forme de dragons, celle qui leur est attribuée dans la mythologie iranienne. Dans ces traditions la ressemblance entre les prêtres nationaux des montagnards géorgiens et les mages de la Médie et de la Perse est si frappante que toute insistance à ce sujet paraît superflue.⁴

¹ La littérature traitant des prêtres nationaux en Khevsourétie, en Pschavie et en Ossétie est assez étendue. Je renvoie aux Mémoires du District Touschino-Pschavo-Khevsour par le Pr. R. Eristof, 1854. Aux Mémoires par Tsiskarof, Le Caucase, 1849, No. 8. Voyage en Khevsourétie par Bagradze. Les Mémoires de Choudadof, et l'article sur les Pschavs écrit par M. Gaganof sur l'objet des articles du journal géorgien "Droeba" (Recueil des Matériaux Ethnographiques, édité par le Musée de Daschkof, extrait iii. p. 86 et 87), par MM. Dubrovine et Radde, et le livre de Macciabelli qui n'ajoute rien aux données déjà citées.

² Voy. à ce sujet le témoignage d'Hérodote sur les anciens Persans, vi. 9, v. 102, viii. 109, vii. 8.

³ Voy. Abel Hovelacque, L'Avesta, p. 444-449.

⁴ Voy. Aper u Ethnographique, extrait i. p. 738.

Il nous reste encore à nous occuper de la question de l'époque à laquelle il faut rapporter l'origine de l'influence iranienne au Caucase. Je suppose que la civilisation iranienne a mis son empreinte sur celle du Caucase à deux époques très distantes l'une de l'autre, et que son influence s'est montrée sur le versant septentrional de la chaîne du Caucase bien avant de faire son apparition sur le versant méridional. Si l'on remarque que les nécropoles décrites par nous et qui ressemblent beaucoup aux "dakhme" de l'Avesta sont situées sur le versant méridional de la chaîne du Caucase; si l'on observe que la caste des prêtres semblable à celle des "mages" de la Médie, ne se retrouve que chez les montagnards Kartvels et est inconnue des Ossètes; que le terme de "dastour," par lequel les Khevsours désignent les desservants du temple, est le même que celui employé par l'Avesta; que les prescriptions Khevsours quant à la propreté physique pareilles à celles du "Vendidad," sont inconnues des Ossètes, et que les Khevsours seuls peuplent de fravashis, ou esprits, le soleil et les montagnes, en conformité parfaite avec l'Avesta;¹—il ne sera pas difficile d'arriver à la conclusion que, contrairement à la partie septentrionale du Caucase, la partie méridionale a puisé à la source iranienne à une époque où la doctrine religieuse, morale et juridique de l'Avesta était entièrement coordonnée.

Le témoignage des chroniques géorgiennes nous inspire les mêmes idées, car ces chroniques parlent plus d'une fois de "mages et adorateurs du feu" comme étant venus de la Perse à l'époque où ce pays était gouverné par les Sassanides, ces zélateurs de la doctrine de l'Avesta.

D'autre part, en comparant le culte des ancêtres chez les Ossètes avec le culte que les Iraniens vouent à leurs "fravashis," on est porté à reconnaître que le premier a plus d'analogie avec le culte primitif des "pitris" Vediques. M. Harlez observe avec raison ce fait, que dans l'Avesta, les "fravashis" ne sont pas uniquement les âmes des morts, mais des génies dont sont possédés tant morts que vivants et même les générations à venir. Les personnages divins habitant le ciel ont aussi leurs "fravashis;" il en est de même des objets divers de la nature. Une telle doctrine s'écarte déjà considérablement du culte des ancêtres commun à tous les peuples aryens, la doctrine de l'Avesta est beaucoup plus subtile, plus spiritualiste.

¹ Dans la prière prononcée par le "choutsés" ou aide du "decanos" avant d'accomplir le sacrifice, il parle en même temps que du Dieu tout-puissant, de la mère de la terre et du soleil, du génie du soleil. Eristof et Macchiabelli parlent des génies de la montagne et de leur culte par les montagnards. C'est par cette croyance peuplant d'esprits tous les phénomènes de la nature, que s'explique le polythéisme des Khevsours, rappelé par Radde.

Quelle que fût la source de ce spiritualisme,¹ son absence de la mythologie Ossète rapproche cette dernière du culte aryen primitif. Également le manque complet chez les Ossètes d'un dualisme étroit, de la concentration des principes du bien et du mal dans la personne de deux divinités sans cesse en lutte, Agura-Mazda et Angra-Maniou, laquelle caractérise la doctrine religieuse de l'Avesta, nous confirme dans l'opinion que l'établissement au Caucase de cette tribu iranienne s'est effectué à une époque antérieure à la composition des livres religieux des Iraniens.² Le professeur Vsevolod Miller arrive à la même conclusion, en se fondant sur des données tirées de la langue Ossète. Il remarque ce fait, que les mots techniques se rapportant à l'élève du bétail, dans la langue Ossète, sont tous d'origine purement iranienne, et qu'au contraire, les termes désignant les instruments aratoires et certaines herbes, plantes et des arbres à fruits—sont d'origine incertaine, ou des mots empruntés. M. Miller arrive, en s'appuyant sur ces données, à la conclusion que jusqu'à l'époque de leur établissement au Caucase, les Ossètes étaient par préférence un peuple nomade. D'autre part, le fait que les termes Ossètes désignant l'argent, le cuivre, le plomb, sont d'origine Ouralo-altaïque, amène l'auteur des "Études Ossètes" à croire que "les Ossètes ont dû venir non pas du midi, d'où ils n'auraient pu apporter avec eux les termes Ouralo-altaïques désignant ces trois métaux, mais du nord, d'un pays riche en métaux, probablement de la chaîne de l'Oural, c.-à.-d. qu'ils ont passé en Europe par la grande voie qui passe entre la chaîne de l'Oural et la mer Caspienne, voie suivie par les tribus Ougro-finnoises et Ouralo-altaïques, en partie même dans les temps historiques."³

"L'archaïsme de la langue Ossète, qui, dans sa phonétique et dans ses formes, présente entre toutes les langues iraniennes les caractères de la plus haute antiquité,"⁴ lui suggère l'idée que l'établissement des Ossètes en Europe avait commencé longtemps avant l'apparition des premiers monuments de la langue de l'Avesta. Il regarde comme berceau des Ossètes, non la Perse ou la Médie, mais les steppes situés au nord, et qui offrent un terrain plus favorable à la vie nomade.

¹ Harlez croit qu'il est entré dans la mythologie iranienne en venant de la Médie, et qu'il a été élaboré d'abord par les Magés. Voy. Avesta, trad. par Harlez, Introduction, p. cxxv.

² À cette conclusion ne s'oppose nullement l'existence parmi les héros Ossètes ou nartes du nommé Amiran (c.-à.-d. Ariman), sa légende se trouvant, comme le dit Mourier, encore répandue en Mingrélie, d'où il lui a été facile de passer en Ossète. Comparez "L'Etat Religieux de la Mingrélie," dans la "Revue de l'Histoire des Religions," pour l'année 1887.

³ Études Ossètes, partie iii. pp. 11-35.

⁴ Ibid., p. 72.

C'est de ces steppes, qu'il regarde comme la première patrie des Iraniens, que les Ossètes sont partis dans la direction du sud-est de la Russie et vers le Caucase septentrional, en compagnie de cette masse de tribus de même origine que les anciens ont signalés sous les noms de Sarmates et d'Alains.

Ainsi les survivances de la civilisation iranienne au Caucase ont deux origines diverses : premièrement l'immigration des Ossètes, tribu iranienne, qui se donne encore aujourd'hui le nom d'Iran, immigration qui doit être rapportée à plus de 1000 ans avant Jésus Christ, et qui est par conséquent antérieure à la rédaction de l'Avesta ; et secondement l'importation du Mazdéisme et de la législation religieuse de l'Avesta par la force des armes, au temps des Sassanides tant en Géorgie, que dans toute cette partie du Caucase qui s'étend au sud de la grande chaîne.

V.

ANTHROPOLOGY IN INDIA.

BY

THE HONOURABLE H. H. RISLEY,

*Indian Civil Service, Member of the Bengal Legislative Council,
Companion of the Indian Empire, Honorary Member of the French Academy, President
of the Anthropological Society of Bombay.*

IN a paper read before the British Association at Newcastle in 1889, and in addresses delivered subsequently in London and Berlin, I ventured to draw attention to the neglect shown by European students to the great masses of anthropological data which India offers to the scientific inquirer. I pointed out (*a*) that the Indian races are in full vigour, and show no signs of dying out; (*b*) that observers are numerous in India, and nothing but organisation is wanted; (*c*) that observations can be multiplied, and repeated, and tested over large areas of country; and (*d*) that the caste system in its present form tends to maintain a certain persistence of types, and to eliminate in great measure the influence of crossing. For these reasons I urged that the anthropology of India deserved more systematic study than had hitherto been bestowed upon it. My appeal was not without effect. It led, as is stated in Dr. Tylor's recent presidential address to the Anthropological Institute, to the formation of the British Association Committee on the Habits, Customs, Physical Characteristics, and Religions of the Natives of India. I am now in a position to report for the information of the Congress some further progress recently made in the same direction—in what may be called the administrative branch of anthropological inquiry in India.

In November 1880, just before I returned to India, I had the great advantage of conferring with Professor Robertson Smith and Mr. J. G. Frazer, of Trinity College, Cambridge, as to the best means of organising anthropological researches in India so as to extend to the entire continent—or at any rate to all provinces under British rule—the methods of inquiry already adopted in Bengal. Our conclusions

were embodied in a letter addressed by me to the Government of Bengal, proposing that Honorary Directors of Ethnography should be appointed in every province of India; that they should be authorised to organise systematic inquiries through local correspondents in concert with the district officers; that a grant of public money should be made for the purpose of meeting correspondence and contingent charges; and that monographs on the tribes, castes, and sects of each province should be drawn up and published from time to time. These monographs should of course be framed as far as possible on a uniform model, so as eventually to take their place as articles in an Imperial glossary of the tribes and castes of India, which it is hoped may eventually be published on the lines of the Ethnographic Glossary recently compiled for Bengal. Copies of this letter were sent to the Boards of Biological and Oriental Studies at Cambridge, to the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and to the Anthropological Society of Berlin. The view taken of the scheme by the high authorities may be judged from the fact that the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge and the Council of the Royal Society of Edinburgh addressed the Secretary of State for India on the subject, expressing a hope that the ethnographic researches suggested might be carried out. Dr. Rudolf Virchow, President of the Anthropological Society of Berlin, wrote to the Government of Bengal to the same effect, laying stress on the necessity for uniformity of procedure and offering advice and assistance.

The scheme was approved for Bengal by Sir Charles Elliott, the Lieutenant-Governor, and forwarded by him to the Government of India, who commended it to the notice of the other Provincial Governments. The first province to follow the lead of Bengal was the North-West Provinces and Oudh. In 1885, when Sir Alfred Lyall was Lieutenant-Governor, Mr. J. C. Nesfield had been commissioned to draw up a sketch of the caste system in those provinces, and a grant had been made for the purpose of carrying out anthropometric researches such as were then being initiated in Bengal. The results, being eight indices and eleven measurements for twenty-three tribes and castes, have been published in the second volume of my *Anthropometric Data*, which forms the fourth volume of the *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*. In accordance with this liberal and enlightened precedent Sir Auckland Colvin, the present Lieutenant-Governor, has appointed Mr. Crooke, the author of the recently published *Ethnographic Glossary of the North-West Provinces*, to be Provincial Director of Ethnography, and has formed a strong Committee to assist him in his operations. The members of the Committee are Mr. E. J. Kitts, of

the Indian Civil Service, who has given much attention to anthropometry, and to the statistical aspects of ethnography in relation to the census; Mr. Vincent Smith, also of the Indian Civil Service, distinguished for his antiquarian knowledge; and Mr. J. C. Nesfield, of the Educational Department, whose work on the Caste System is well known. A grant of public money has been made and the co-operation of district officers has been invited. The Committee have already placed themselves in communication with me, and have announced their intention of working on the lines followed in Bengal. This is an admirable beginning, and I submit that the Congress might properly indicate their recognition of the action taken by the Government of the North-West Provinces and Oudh to promote the study of anthropology and ethnography in a part of India where the caste system is very strong and well organised.

I have mentioned already that the principle of my scheme was at once accepted by the Government of Bengal, and the intention was expressed of placing the work in my hands. It was thought, however, undesirable to take any further steps until the intentions of other Provincial Governments were known. Meanwhile a modification of the original scheme has been suggested, and is likely to be carried out at an early date. At a general Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, held on the 3rd August, Sir Charles Elliott, the newly elected President, being in the chair, I proposed to the Society the following resolution, which was carried unanimously:—"That a third section dealing with Anthropology, Ethnology, and Folk-lore be added to the Journal of the Society, and that the Council be authorised to enter into negotiations with the Government in order to obtain a grant in connection with Ethnography." In the letter of the Government of India commending my scheme to the Provincial Government the suggestion is thrown out that the objects in view might suitably be attained by inviting the co-operation of scientific and learned societies, where such exists. The resolution passed by the Asiatic Society seeks to give effect to this suggestion. The idea is that the Government grant for ethnographic inquiries might be placed at the disposal of the Society on the condition that the Director of Ethnography should become a member of the Council of the Society; that a Committee should be formed for dealing with Anthropology, Ethnography, and Folk-lore; that the Society's Journal should be made the medium for publishing monographs, notes, measurements, &c.; and that the form of all matter so published should be determined with reference to the Imperial Glossary of Tribes and Castes which, as stated above, it is hoped may some day

be brought out. The co-operation of district officers will of course be enlisted.

The arrangements described above seem to promise well for Bengal and the North-West Provinces. It may be hoped that other provinces will follow this lead. It is a matter for much regret that the Government of Madras, in its order of the 1st April 1892, resolved to inform the Government of India "that it is not possible to arrange for any systematic prosecution of inquiries of the kind in this presidency." From the anthropological point of view, the Madras Presidency is one of the most interesting and promising fields of research in India; it is almost wholly untouched, and there is every reason to believe it to be peculiarly rich in survivals of primitive culture. I trust that this Congress or the Indian Committee of the British Association may be able to induce the Madras Government to reconsider their decision. They seem to have been influenced in arriving at it by the opinion of the distinguished antiquarian Mr. Robert Sewell, of the Madras Civil Service. It is apparent, however, from Mr. Sewell's letter on the subject, a copy of which has been sent to me, that he has misunderstood the scope and practical working of my scheme, and, by suggesting that the officers engaged in it should be paid, has raised up an insurmountable obstacle which I was careful to avoid. In the present condition of Indian finance no Government could afford to pay the high officers who alone are competent to direct scientific operations of this kind. Nor is there any necessity for a Government to do so. Interest on the subject is keen, and volunteers are plentiful. Nearly two hundred correspondents came forward voluntarily to assist me in Bengal, and there is no reason to suppose that the same amount of intelligent interest cannot be looked for in other provinces.

But it is to inquiry in the Punjab and beyond the Punjab frontier that I look for the results of the highest interest, and I have little doubt that Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick, the present Lieutenant-Governor, to whose initiative when Home Secretary in 1885 the Lahore Ethnographic Conference was due, will find means to further similar inquiries within his own province. During the years 1887-88 a small but very interesting series of measurements, extending, I am sorry to say, to only nine Tribes and Castes, were taken under my supervision by Alá-ud-din, a Civil Hospital Assistant at Lahore. The results appear to be of the highest interest with reference to recent speculations concerning the origin of the Aryans. They are, I may add, confirmed to a remarkable extent by some measurements recently taken by me of a number of Káfirs, Hunzas, and Nagars who were

brought down to Calcutta in March last. These measurements I hope to publish in the Journal of the Anthropological Institute as soon as I can get time to work out their correlations with the measurements of the Punjab tribes. It was curious to find among these wild tribesmen, who had just been fighting against us at Nilt, confirmation of the statement quoted by Grote¹ from Ritter's *Erdkunde*, that "among the inhabitants of Kafiristan . . . there exist traditions respecting Alexander, together with a sort of belief that they themselves are descended from his soldiers." Among the men measured by me were two Nagar Chiefs with fair complexions, light-brown eyes, eyelashes, and moustaches, and limbs of perfect proportions, who looked as if the figures on a Greek vase had by art-magic been endowed with life. They claimed descent from no less a person than Alexander himself, and one of them bore the name of Iskandar Khan.

In conclusion I would beg the members of the Congress to bear in mind that the sort of "open-air bureaucracy" by which India is governed, which spends a great part of the year in camp, and has unrivalled opportunities for free personal intercourse with the people is the finest agency for carrying on anthropological and ethnographic inquiries that it is possible to imagine; that by engaging in such inquiries these officials render themselves more efficient for Government purposes and more popular with the people; and that the knowledge to be acquired in this manner throws the most striking light on the annals of classical antiquity as well as on the earlier phases of primitive human society. If the Congress can see their way to give influential support to these views, they will have done much to strengthen the hands of those who are endeavouring to promote the study of anthropology in India.

¹ History of Greece, x. 168, *note*.

VI.

SCIENTIFIC ETHNOGRAPHY IN
NORTHERN INDIA.

BY

W. CROOKE,

*Bengal Civil Service; Honorary Director of Ethnographical Inquiries,
North-Western Provinces and Oudh;*

I PROPOSE in the following paper to give a brief sketch of what has been and is being done to advance the scientific study of ethnography in Northern India.

It can hardly be said that special attention was devoted to this subject before 1881, when Mr. Denzil Ibbetson, in his Report on the Census of the Panjâb, made a most valuable contribution to existing knowledge on the subject of the origin of caste and tribal organisation and the popular religion of the province. Previous to the publication of Mr. Ibbetson's Report, the caste organisation of Northern India had been treated of in at least two noteworthy books, the "Supplementary Glossary" of Sir H. M. Elliot, and the treatise on "Hindu Castes as Found in Benares," by Rev. Mr. Sherring. Both of these books are, it is needless to say, of inestimable value to all students of the question of caste within the boundaries of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh. Unfortunately, little more than half of Sir H. Elliot's notes were published during his lifetime; and his latest editor, Mr. Beames, seems to have been able to discover little unpublished materials. The great treatise on "Indian Caste," by Dr. Wilson, of Bombay, remains also unhappily complete.

Valuable as all these works are, the student of modern ethnography now demands something more than their authors ever attempted to supply. Most of them were, in fact, written before the attention of scientific men was devoted to a series of new problems in connection with the sociological development of the human race. It is necessary only to mention the questions connected with the origin and

evolution of human marriage, the rise of the institution of caste, of the clan and family, the meaning and influence of totemism, the connection between European and Oriental folk-lore, and the link which exists between numerous agricultural ceremonies and much of our mythology. It is a somewhat humiliating confession that India has, as yet, done little to assist the scientific world of Europe in finding an answer to these and cognate problems. Any one who takes the trouble to run his eye down the bibliography and references of books like Mr. Herbert Spencer's "Principles of Sociology," Dr. Tylor's "Primitive Culture," Sir J. Lubbock's "Origin of Civilisation," Mr. Frazer's "Golden Bough," Dr. Westermarck's "History of Human Marriage," and many other works of the same class, will find, somewhat to his surprise, that while numerous illustrations of the beliefs and usages of primitive tribes are derived from fragmentary and (as it may be, perhaps, in some cases suspected) untrustworthy accounts by casual travellers of obscure races in Africa, Australia, and the islands of the South Pacific, little information has been obtained from India itself, which has been fully occupied and explored by generations of British officers. On the other hand, the extensive use which has been made by European scholars of authentic information from India contained in books like Colonel Dalton's elaborate account of the race of Assam and Chora Nâgpur, in the volumes of the *Imperial Gazetteer*, and in the folk-lore magazines edited by Major Temple and the writer of this paper, shows that there does exist a demand for information from India which scholars and inquirers of the present day can with some advantage supply to the scientific world of Europe.

It is the Province of Bengal which really enjoys the honour of having led the way to a more scientific study of Indian ethnology. All serious students of the subject are aware of the enormous advance in knowledge which is marked by the recently published accounts of the "Tribes and Castes of Bengal," prepared by Mr. H. H. Risley. It is hardly too much to say that we have here, for the first time, a fairly complete analysis of the sociological condition and popular religion of the greatest of our Indian provinces. No one is more fully aware than Mr. Risley himself that his "Ethnographical Handbook" cannot be regarded as perfect, and, in order still further to extend ethnographical study in Bengal, he has recently laid before the Asiatic Society of Bengal a proposal which amounts to starting an Ethnological Department in connection with the Society, which will from time to time issue special proceedings of its own. This proposal has met with the support of Sir C. A. Elliott, the Lieutenant-

Governor, who has, during a long service in India, interested himself in the subject. I think I need hardly say that this Congress will cordially wish success to the labours of Mr. Risley and his fellow-workers.

At the desire of the Supreme Government the inquiry thus opened in the Province of Bengal is now to be extended to the North-Western Provinces and Oudh. Bengal enjoys two very decided advantages as compared with her younger sister provinces. In the Asiatic Society of Bengal, with its museum and library and body of trained scientific workers at Calcutta, she finds an organisation already in existence, capable of almost indefinite extension, to meet the wants of any special branch of inquiry, and she possesses a much larger and more intelligent class of educated native gentlemen than the provinces in the interior of the country. Hence the Government of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, whom I have the honour to represent at this Congress, in its desire to meet the wishes of the Supreme Government, has been obliged to start a special organisation *de novo*, to which the task of ethnographical inquiry has been intrusted. The new Ethnographical Board will consist of three members—Messrs. Kitts, Nesfield, and Smith, with the writer of this paper as Director-General. Mr. Kitts has for some time specially devoted his attention to anthropometry, and has been in communication with the chief recognised scientific authorities in Europe with a view to settle the details of the scheme of operations, and to procure the most improved mechanical appliances. He has also, I understand, been devoting particular attention to nomadic and vagrant tribes, and the physical characteristics of the classes of habitual criminals. Mr. Nesfield, the author of a note on the Caste System, and of valuable ethnological articles contributed to the *Calcutta Review*, will, it is hoped, place at the disposal of the Board a valuable series of notes on the folk-lore and ethnology of some of the more obscure tribes, collected during an extended period of Indian service, and Mr. Vincent Smith, whose writings on numismatics are of recognised value, will advise us on historical questions. For the compilation of a special handbook, bringing together, on a definite system, all available information on the subject of existing castes—their history and traditions, their internal structure, social manners and customs and religion—the writer of this paper will be responsible. The Board hopes also, from time to time, to publish reports and monographs on special subjects connected with their general inquiries.

Before the establishment of this Board the writer of this paper compiled, for the special use of officers engaged in the recent Census,

a small ethnographical handbook, bringing together in a series of notes much information not readily accessible. It is needless to say that, besides the special caste-literature, to which reference has already been made, there is a large mass of information scattered about in a number of official reports, and a considerable body of periodical publications, such as the *Asiatic Researches*, the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society*, the *Calcutta Review*, the *Indian Antiquary*, and others. In particular, the large collection of Settlement Reports for the temporarily settled districts contain much information of value on castes and tribes, manners and customs, local history and antiquities. These are now being gradually unearthed and explored, and all the information connected with the special labours of the Ethnographical Board abstracted for future use.

Next, we have commenced the special inquiry now in progress, by requesting the officers in charge of each district to nominate a superintendent with whom we shall communicate direct, and thus relieve the already over-burdened district officer of all labour in connection with the Board's proceedings. These superintendents are, wherever it has been possible to secure their co-operation, independent native gentlemen whose education and intelligence qualify them to supervise such inquiries; others are native officers on the active or pensioned list; others, again, are members of the Imperial or Provincial Civil Services. But we have endeavoured to utilise as much as possible non-official native agency, and it is obvious that gentlemen of this class, from their own complete personal knowledge of the subject, are likely to be among our most valued correspondents.

We have, then, issued a regular catechism, which goes through the subject in detail. This list of points for inquiry is practically identical with that prepared by Messrs. Ibbetson, Nesfield, and Risley at the Ethnological Conference held a few years ago at Lahore. This has been reprinted as an appendix to Mr. Risley's book on "Bengal Tribes and Castes." If any member of the present Congress who takes an interest in this branch of inquiry will be good enough to go through this catechism and suggest any additional points upon which, in the interests of scientific ethnology, further inquiry is desirable, it is hardly necessary to say that we shall be only too pleased to have the matter investigated.

It has been objected, and not unreasonably, that this method of collecting ethnological facts involves more than one possible danger. On the one hand, it may be said that there is a possibility that really valuable facts may be lost in a mass of trivial detail, and that any

system of dealing with castes individually in glossarial form, which is that adopted by Mr. Risley, is likely to result in considerable repetition. This, no doubt, is all very true. But, at the same time, there is this much to be said, that we in India, who do not profess to be in any sense trained ethnological experts, are not qualified to decide what facts bearing on the manners, customs, and religion of the nations of the country as we find them may, or may not, turn out to be of value when treated in the comparative form by professed ethnologists. We may possibly, in our ignorance, weed out exactly that particular piece of information which may ultimately be found to fit in as a useful fact amidst knowledge already independently collected regarding other savage or primitive races. Again, the risk of vain repetition may perhaps be to some extent avoided by taking in a group of kindred castes or tribes, one to serve as a standard which can be dealt with in detail, and thus, in dealing with the cognate castes, it will be necessary only to arrange a system of cross references, and describe any point on which they differ specifically as compared with the standard. Again, when special attention must be paid to races which there is reason to believe are generally distinct, such as Jâts and Gujurs, nomads like Nats and Kangars, Dravidians like Kols and Cheros, these castes, which are purely occupational, and most of which are of comparatively modern origin by a process of fission from other castes, may be with advantage disposed of in a more summary manner. Aids, in the shape of a classified subject-index, need only be mentioned as possible helps to any one using the book. It may further be said that there is a danger of collecting facts as archaic survivals which are really not so. This is true, of course, and is a danger inseparable from every form of ethnological research. Thus we may find tribes or sections with names, or customs, or worship connected with some plant or animal, which may rashly be classed as totemistic when they are really based on some modern Brahmanical legend. This, of course, is possible, and it is perhaps in these survivals of totemism that most care is needed. As it has been said, it does not follow because a man lives in Acacia Villa, and has daughters named Rose and Violet, that he is in the totemistic stage. But here all we in India can do is to take the story or legend as we find it, and test its origin to the best of our ability. For instance, the Kachhwaha Râjputs may have nothing to say to the kachhwa or tortoise, no more than the Ahitan class have anything really to connect them with Ahi, the great dragon; but if the former keep images of tortoises in their houses, and the latter profess immunity from snake-

bite, both facts are worth recording, even if they are mere folk-lore. Our present idea is to follow with some modifications the arrangement adopted by Mr. Risley. If any expert in the present Congress will aid us in any way towards its improvement, he will confer upon us a valuable favour. I may here mention that we shall derive much assistance from the results of the recent Census, the statistics of which are now in process of tabulation.

Here a new departure has been made, by which an accurate record of the sub-castes and sections of castes will, it is hoped, for the first time be secured. The Census has shown a degree of minute subdivision of castes which was perhaps hitherto hardly suspected. By comparing these subdivisions with those recorded at previous enumerations, we shall, it is hoped, be able in some measure to gauge how far the process of evolution of new castes is now proceeding. This, as is the case with some of the more elementary forms of animal life, takes the shape of a process of fission from existing castes. Thus, to give an example or two; among many of the inferior castes widow-marriage is a recognised institution; widows, married by a much simpler form than in the case of virgin brides, are regarded, from a legal point of view, as wedded wives; their offspring are legitimate, and entitled to succeed to their fathers' property. But such castes, as they become gradually more completely Brahmanised, no longer permit widow-marriage, and the more advanced section has a tendency to part company with that portion of the caste which retains a custom offensive to high-caste opinion, and to form an endogamous entity of its own. In the same way sections of the menial or aboriginal tribes are always seeking for a rise in importance by pretending to Râjput descent. For example, the Kharwârs are a well-known Dravidian race, found along the eastern part of the Vindhyan range. Part of them now call themselves Benbans Râjputs, and have succeeded in forming marriage alliances with some septs of admittedly genuine Râjput descent. Changes of occupation, again, produce the same results. The Kunjras, or greengrocers, are gradually breaking up into two endogamous; one of which sells fruit and the other vegetables; and out of the original Kahâr, or bearer caste, a body of workers in stone, who call themselves Sangtarâsh, is being gradually eliminated. These new entities refuse to intermarry with their original brethren, become endogamous, and gradually rise to the dignity of a separate caste. Only quite recently a body of Barhais, or carpenters, in the western districts of the province, have begun to call themselves Brâhmans, wear the sacred cord, and refuse to perform any degrading occupation,

such as the repairs of the conservancy carts used by municipalities. The interest of such cases as these is obvious, as it shows us in actual operation a process by which, almost certainly, many of the existing castes were formed.

For the purposes of the survey, we have roughly marked out the habitat of the more important and interesting castes, and we are arranging for inquiries regarding them at their chief headquarters. Thus, we shall go to Meerut and Muraffurnagur for Jâts and Gûjars, to Gonda for Barwârs, Lalitpur for Sanaurhiyas, Aligarh for Aheriyas, and so on. The writer of this paper has been for the last two years engaged on an inquiry into the races of the Vindhyan plateau and the valley of the river Son. Anthropometry has in Bengal made one important correction as regards the classification of these tribes. It has hitherto been the fashion to class some of them as Kolarian and some as Dravidian. Anthropometry has proved that this distinction is no longer tenable, and that the differences between the various races are not so much physical as linguistic. Their affinity, again, with the races of Southern India is now fully established, and the term Kolarian may now be replaced by Dravidian. In the same connection we have collected, and are, we hope, in process of adding to our stock of facts illustrative of the growth of the family, sept, and tribe.

Here we touch one of the most important problems of modern ethnology. Is the family the primitive institution, or has the process of development been through the sept, with the stages of communal marriage, polyandry, and finally polygamy and monogamy, as they prevail at present? It is perhaps premature to attempt an answer to these questions, but it would rather appear that the really primitive entity is not really the family, but the sept, and that the undivided family, with incidents like that of the *patria potestas*, is, historically speaking, an institution of comparatively modern origin. However this may be, it certainly appears a fallacy to talk of the "Aryan household" as if it were an institution peculiar to races whom, in default of any better term, we may continue to denominate "Aryan." One thing is quite certain, that the undivided or joint family flourishes vigorously among the Kolarian or Dravidian races, to whom reference has already been made, and with whom conscious imitation of a distinctively Aryan institution is most improbable.

Again, we hope to inquire more minutely than has hitherto been done into the functions and origin of the *panchâyat* or tribal council, which, though considerably weakened under the individualistic pressure of English law, has still among the menial castes

considerable vitality. But this is not the only local organisation about which little tangible is known as yet. Many of the Mirzapur Dravidians have an organisation known as the *eka* or "unity," under which the chief men of two or three contiguous villages meet for purposes of consultation and defence. Many of the Kols, again, have a curious institution called the *tât* or "mat," which comprises all the people who are entitled to sit on the same tribal mat for purposes of consultation. This has one practical effect—that of limiting marriage expenses, because only the members of the *tât* of the bride and bridegroom are necessarily invited to the tribal marriage-feast. Both these organisations are perhaps a survival of the original sept which first occupied the country and cleared the jungle.

Next we propose to explore as far as possible the various forms of marriage now in vogue. This may be expected to throw some much-needed light on the vexed question of the origin of exogamy and endogamy. The rules regulating the list of prohibited degrees are very varied and intricate. Among some tribes, such as those of Dravidian, or at least non-Aryan affinities, exogamy is regulated by a well-established formula, which, with some slight variations, is practically of general application. This formula prohibits intermarriage between the descendants of the paternal and maternal uncles and the paternal and maternal aunts for a varying number of generations, sometimes three, sometimes four or more. This usually represents the period of tribal memory within which relationship is remembered and recognised. To this, among the cognate races in Bengal, is usually added a prohibition of intermarriage between two persons of the same tribal section. These sections are, it is interesting to note, in many cases of totemistic origin, and we thus catch a glimpse of the connection between totemism and marriage, a problem which is now receiving considerable attention. Unfortunately, from the point of view of the searcher after survivals of primitive culture in the North-Western Provinces, where the population has, as compared with Bengal, been for a much longer period exposed to more active Brahmanical influence, these totemistic sections appear to have been gradually shed off, and the section which probably once took its title from the hare, or the tortoise, or the snake, with which it was assumed to have some mystical connection, has now, under the influence of Brahmanical teaching, taken as its assumed eponymous founder some half-deified saint or sage. Meanwhile the sectional rule of exogamy has in many cases fallen into desuetude, and the caste has reverted to the formula of relationship to which

reference has already been made. When we come to castes like the Râjputs, we find a definite prohibition, with sundry other restrictions of marriage within the sept; and in the endogamous Brahmanical sub-castes exogamy is regulated by the Gotras with various calculations of the astrological affinities of bride and bridegroom. A careful collection of these varying rules of exogamy, which has hitherto never been attempted, can hardly fail to be of scientific value, and may help to solve the problem of the origin of exogamy. To attribute to primeval savages (who, on the analogy of modern savages, must have been profoundly ignorant of the laws of health and intolerant of any restraint of the erotic instincts) any definite conception of the evils of close inter-breeding, appears utterly opposed to all existing evidence. Further inquiry will probably establish the theory that the present races are survivals by a process of selection from tribes among whom some rule of exogamy was a condition, not only of progress, but even of actual existence.

We have, again, in Northern India, flourishing in full vigour, a number of marriage forms, some of which ethnologists are agreed in considering to be of a primitive type. It is, in the first place, very interesting to inquire whether, among any of these tribes, what is euphemistically called "communistic marriage" prevails at the present day. That among the non-Aryan and menial tribes great sexual laxity prevails is admitted. Among many of them pre-nuptial infidelity is regarded with comparative indifference: adultery is condoned by payment of a fine, and is not often a recognised ground of divorce. Among others, who pretend to deal with it seriously, the evidence required by the tribal council is so precise that the charge is seldom established. On the other hand, communistic marriage is everywhere regarded with abhorrence, even among the most degraded tribes, and if they ever did pass through this stage, it must have been at a period so distant that all recollection of it has passed out of memory, and popular sentiment has had ample time to crystallise in detestation of it. At the same time, we have recently come across some traditions of the existence of the *jus primæ noctis* within comparatively recent times in Rîwa, one of the native states bordering on Bundelkhand. The one, and, as far as I am aware, the single stock example of so-called "communistic marriage" derived from our provinces is that of the "Teehurs" of Oudh, which has been repeated over and over again in treatises on sociology. As far as our inquiries have gone at present, the Tiars are a tribe of boatmen, the male members of which absent themselves from their homes for long periods. It is probably true that sexual license prevails widely

among such people, but that anything approaching to "communistic marriage" is in any sense recognised, seems more than doubtful.

The same may be said of polyandry, which, according to one well-known theory, is the next stage to communism in the development of marriage. That we have polyandrous communities on the southern slope of the Himalaya, in Kumaun and Garhwâl, is well known, and to these people we shall, as far as the difficulties of communication permit, devote special attention. It would not be, perhaps, difficult to show that among these mountain races polyandry has been encouraged by special circumstances which do not prevail in other parts of the Province. There is also reason to suspect that the same custom prevails to some extent among the pastoral communities of the Jâts and Gûjars in the valley of the Jumna. Here, as among the Tiars, many of the male members absent themselves from their homes for considerable periods, and there are also grounds for believing that, perhaps as a result of infanticide, the bride-price is unusually high among these people. But among the other tribes, so far as inquiries go at present, what has been said regarding communistic marriage may be said of polyandry. In some cases it may prevail as a private social arrangement among struggling people to whom the amount of the bride-price acts as a bar to marriage, but in no case does it appear to be sanctioned by tribal custom. In fact, it is repudiated by public opinion, and it has left no survivals except perhaps that of the levirate, which is almost universal among the lower strata of the people, and can probably be explained on grounds quite independent of polyandry.

We next propose to investigate with as much care as possible, particularly among the more primitive tribes, the existing forms of marriage ceremony. Survivals of marriage by capture prevail almost universally. Among the Ghasiyyas, a degraded Dravidian tribe, as a recognised part of the ritual, the bridegroom rushes into the bride's hut, drags her out violently before the assembled clansmen, by whose order, with practically no religious ceremony and no intervention of Brâhmans, the marriage is concluded. Among more advanced tribes the fixing up of a spear or other weapon in the nuptial pavilion, the *barât* or armed party which accompanies the bridegroom to the house of the bride, the rule which forbids them to encamp in the precincts of the bride's village, the ceremonial marking of the road leading to the house to facilitate the escape, and in some cases the mock struggle between the partisans of the bride and bridegroom, all point to the same common origin. But these are merely survivals, and the form of marriage now prevailing among the lower tribes is

invariably marriage by purchase, the bride-price being fixed by well-established tribal custom. Thus a Korwa, one of the most degraded of the Mirzapur forest races, pays Rs.5, or, at the present rates of exchange, less than six shillings, and a bag of jungle roots for his bride. Among the Kols this rises to Rs.11; and among the Chamârs, in the eastern districts, any member of the caste may run away with the wife of a clansman if he pays Rs.25 damages in the presence of the tribal council, and feeds the brotherhood on a prescribed scale. It may also be noted that among many of the lower castes it is the rule, in the case of the second marriage of a widow, that her lover repays the bride-price to the relations of her first husband. We have, again, what may be considered the most primitive form of marriage by purchase when two families exchange girls and no bride-price is demanded on either side. It is only when we come to the higher castes that we leave the zone in which the bride-price is paid, and reach the stage in which the bride is provided with a dowry.

This summary account does not, it is hardly necessary to say, exhaust the interesting material to be found by an analysis of these marriage ceremonies. Everywhere we come upon curious modifications of tribal custom, quaint survivals of primitive usage, and remarkable variations of ritual, the origin and significance of which it is at present difficult to understand and explain. We must also clearly understand that the really backward and primitive races, who are ethnologically most interesting, are undergoing such a rapid process of Brahmanisation, that if we delay much longer to collect these scattered relics of primitive culture, we may be too late, and some of the materials for writing an interesting chapter in the history of human progress may be irretrievably lost to science. It goes, too, without saying that the other social customs of these races deserve inquiry. The belief, for instance, in the pollution consequent on parturition and the menstrual period is universal, and India will furnish numerous examples of practices similar to those collected recently by Mr. Frazer. There is, again, the custom known as the *couvade*, by which the husband pretends to share in the labour pangs of his wife. Instances of this are curiously rare in Upper India, where the popular birth observances have been largely replaced by a special Brahmanised ritual. One instance of the custom has been unearthed by Sir Monier Williams from Gujarât. Recently I came across a case among one of the Dravidian tribes in Mirzapur, where the husband has to take the first sup of the caudle or spiced drink which his wife receives after delivery. The people are quite

unable to explain the meaning of the custom, which seems to amount to an admission of paternity on the part of the reputed father.

We have, again, the various methods of disposal of the dead, ranging from what is little more than exposure as found among some of the lower Dravidian tribes, through earth-burial up to cremation. That earth-burial combined with partial cremation was the more primitive rite, seems, apart from archæological evidence, clear from the fact that even now-a-days some classes of holy men are interred, and this is invariably the case with those who die of cholera or small-pox. In these cases the corpse is understood to be directly occupied by the special deity of the plague, and not to require the purifying influence of fire. Various periods of pollution after a death in the family are universally prescribed, except among some of the lowest castes, during which a new body is being built up for the wandering spirit by the pious care of his surviving relatives; and if this duty be neglected, the spirit develops into a baneful ghost or demon of the most dangerous type.

This immediately leads to the question of popular religion, regarding which I can do no more than refer to a few leading points. We now understand that the religion of the masses of the people is in a great measure independent of Brahmanism. It is quite true that the higher classes of Hindus derive their religion in some form or other from the Vedas or Purânas; that they worship Vishnu, Siva, or the female energies; that they believe in some form of the doctrine of transmigration. But this is not the faith of the peasant. He will bow at the temple of one of the recognised gods; he will make occasional pilgrimages to sacred shrines; he will now and then feed a Brâhman. But his everyday faith is the belief in his local village god, his fetish shrine, and the religious business of his life is the propitiation of some of the myriad forms of evil which make unceasing war against him—the deity of plagues like the small-pox or cholera, he that withholds the rain or brings the hail or the locust, the demon who lurks in the *pîpal* tree, the ghost that haunts the cremation ground, the spirits of men who died by violence or whose funeral rites were neglected. He has, too, to guard against the witch that smites his oxen with the pestilence, or brings the blight upon his crops, and against her who casts the evil eye. To protect himself against these multifarious forms of evil he maintains a local priest, who is never a Brâhman, and whose ritual is most offensive to the official Levites of Hinduism. In the end, it often happens that Brahmanism has to temporise with this rustic deity, and enroll him in the recognised pantheon as one of the myriad forms of Mahâdeva

or Kâli Devî. Besides these, there is the full-blown worship of saint and martyr, many of them, curiously enough, importations from Islâm, like the Pâñch Pîr or quintette of saints, and Sâlâr Masaud, the protomartyr of the early Musalmân invasions. Popular, rural Hinduism, in fact, instead of being a definite, consistent creed, supervised by a regular State Church, is little more than a jungle of discordant beliefs. From the vague traditions of the Vedic creed it adopts one or two of the primitive deities, such as Indra, who rules the tempest, and Varuna, who in the degraded form of Barun is a minor god of the weather. Then it has some deities derived from the natural pantheon, Sûraj Nârâyan, the sun-god, to whom every pious Hindu bows at dawn, Gangâjî and Jumnâ-mât—the Lady Ganges and Mother Jumnâ; deities who impersonate the spirits of the mountain, like Kedârnâth on the Himalaya, or the Vindhyâchalâ Devî, the goddess of the Vindhyan range. At the recent Census every one was asked to give the name of his personal god—the *ishtadeva* which every Hindu specially worships. The result is a most formidable list of local gods, a mass of obscure beliefs which it will be the duty of the present survey to investigate and illustrate.

Lastly, comes folk-lore pure and simple. Into the vast subject of folk-tales we can, of course, make no attempt to enter. These are being gradually collected and published by another agency. It is hardly necessary to remind the folk-lorists of Europe that in India there is a vast harvest of folk-lore remaining to be reaped. Mrs. Steel and Major Temple, Mr. Knowles, Rev. Lâl Bihâri De, and recently Dr. Campbell with his collection from the land of the Santâls, have each done something to advance our knowledge of this branch of folk-lore. Pandit Ganga dat Upreti has a large collection from the Lower Himalaya, which it is hoped he may receive sufficient assistance to publish. These are only specimens of the tales, songs, riddles, and proverbs which abound all over the country. But the labourers in this branch of research are few, and most of them are men laden with the cares of official work or other absorbing occupations. At present, all we can do is to collect materials, and leave to other hands the task of examining and collating the incidents. This inquiry will in time settle the relation between popular folk-lore and collections like those in the Buddhist story-books and the Panchatantra, and trace the link which connects Oriental with European tradition. In this ethnographical survey we propose at present to devote our attention more to the collection of some of the current popular superstitions, such as the meeting omens, the various forms of oaths and salutations, the omens of weather, the lucky times and

modes of conducting agricultural operations and the like. Here again we shall gladly welcome any suggestions for inquiry on points which may assist European folk-lorists.

My object in preparing this brief sketch of what the Ethnographical Survey aims at attaining, as far as the North-Western Provinces and Oudh are concerned, will have been fully realised if I can enlist the sympathy and co-operation of the ethnologists and folk-lorists of Europe in the very difficult task which lies before us. These difficulties are of various kinds. To begin with, in Upper India at least we lack a body of experts with ample leisure and resources who can devote their whole attention to scientific research of various kinds. Most of the work hitherto done in India has been done by hard-worked officials, who have devoted their scanty leisure in an enervating climate to researches of this kind. What we particularly aim at in thus explaining the objects and methods of the new survey is to enlist recruits among the large numbers of highly-educated young men who yearly leave our Indian schools and colleges. If we could depend on the cordial aid of a body of correspondents of this class, we should attempt the survey with much less misgivings than we feel at present. In folk-lore alone the work done by men like Rev. Lâl Bihâri De and Pandits Natesa Sâstri and Ganga dat Upreti is sufficient to show what valuable aid might be afforded by this class. Next, we suffer from the lack of reference libraries and collections of ethnographical specimens, a want which, it may be hoped, will be supplied by the extension of the Public Library at Allahabad and the Provincial Museum at Lucknow. Lastly, we have to deal with a people exceedingly reticent and suspicious of inquiry concerning their inner life. The official with note-book in hand on a prowl after folk-lore is too often suspected of ulterior designs in connection with the income-tax and the like. In particular, the menial tribes, who furnish one of the most fruitful fields for inquiry, are exceedingly shy, and averse to giving any information, because their special usages and beliefs are generally of aboriginal, or at least non-Aryan origin, and are looked upon with contempt by their high-caste neighbours. The study of humanity in India demands abundance of tact and a temper not to be ruffled by stupid misconception or prejudice.

The Ethnographical Survey of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh has still to justify its existence; but while its responsibilities will be increased by recognition from the general body of Oriental scholars, its energies can hardly fail to be stimulated by their sympathy and encouragement.

VII.

ROSARIES MENTIONED IN INDIAN LITERATURE.

BY

ERNST LEUMANN,

Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Strassburg.

It is only at the request of our distinguished President that I venture to ask your attention for a while. Dr. Tylor, you all know, in his official capacity has charge of, and also himself possesses, marvellous collections of objects that bear upon the development of mankind. Among these treasures there is a collection of Indian rosaries, chiefly collected by Mr. Crooke, Collector of Mirzapoor, who represents the North-Western Provinces in our Congress. A few specimens of the collection are being put before you, so as to furnish something like a basis for our notes.

Among the questions that may occur to the mind when occupied with the sight of these objects, there are five to which I may be allowed to claim your special attention. We want to know—

1. How have the rosaries been called in India ?
2. To what time back can their use be traced ?
3. What are the materials out of which they have been fabricated ?
4. Who in India has been using rosaries ?
5. What are the numbers of beads that generally have formed a regular rosary ?

All these questions, of course, may also be put as regards the *present* time ; but as I myself, unfortunately, have no personal knowledge of modern India, and as I really to-day, and in this very room only, for the first time meet with specimens of Indian rosaries, I must leave it to others to describe what are the present customs relating to them in India. Perhaps Mr. Crooke will have the kindness to add a few remarks, in order to exhaust fully the present subject of inquiry.

One *printed* source of information as to *modern* Indian rosaries has

in these days only been pointed out to me by the above-mentioned meritorious collector—collector of revenues and of rosaries, as well as of many other things. It has appeared, I am told, in the last number of the *Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal*, which had not reached Strassburg when I left that place; so I must delay examining it until some leisure-time after the Congress. For the present, then, let me turn simply to the *past*.

There would be, we should think, *two or three different kinds of information* to be drawn from what has been spared to us relating to times gone by:—

1. *Technical works*, describing the different kinds of Indian rosaries, and stating, as Indian Sastras are always inclined to do, rather more how rosaries ought to have been, than how they really used to be.

A help of this kind, which, in spite of the typical deficiency mentioned, would certainly be the best of all, is entirely wanting. There are, it is true, a few small chapters bearing upon the subject in some encyclopædias of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. They contain, however, scarcely any distinct statement, and, after all, they must, according to what we know of the development of Indian literature, be nothing but very meagre extracts from particular texts relating to rosaries. Technical works, as a rule, especially if they are of some antiquity, have often been lost, or preserved only in a very few and incorrect copies. A work of this kind, for instance, is the *Vāstu-vidyā* (treating of Indian architecture), a text of which a single and bad copy only is, I believe, known to exist in Europe: it was brought over from Benares by Professor Kern of Leiden. It may well be that one day also a copy of some *Mālā-vidyā* treating of rosaries will turn up. An inquiry has indeed already been made, I hear; but this has proved unsuccessful, though it was undertaken in that eminent seat of Indian learning called Benares, and by a Pandit whose ability I have every reason to assume from his being favoured with the confidence of Mr. Crooke.

2. We then turn to the *second possible source of information* as regards rosaries. *Indian architecture*, as represented by religious buildings of various kinds, abounds in representations of *persons* and *objects* that are related to religious worship. Rosaries have, it is true, not yet been traced in architectural stone-work; but I believe we may well expect to find some occasionally, as, for instance, the *rajoharana* and the *mukhavastrikā*, two of the most characteristic utensils used by the Jainas, have been recognised by Dr. Bühler on some Jaina monuments lately unearthed. Of course, only *Brahmanical* temples, and

these only when more of them have been excavated, can in any case furnish some day representations of rosaries, as we shall presently see that in olden times only certain *Brahmans* were in the habit of using them.

So we have mentioned two possible sources of information, the one to be drawn from technical literature and the other to be obtained from architecture. Neither of these has as yet yielded anything at present; and if I continued in this negative manner, you would certainly think my love for results to be a merely platonical one. I have, however, been compelled to say a few words as to what we *expect* to know in the future.

3. For showing what we *already* know, I turn now to the *third source of information*, namely, to *Indian literature*. Here we read, in the first place, three or four different *names* of the rosary.

The two oldest names are only found in the older literature of the Jainas, in the canonical works, as well as in some post-canonical ones. Consequently they are given in Prākṛit, as the Jainas only in comparatively modern times, namely, for the last thousand years or more, have gradually adopted the Sanskrit as a literary idiom. Those two Prākṛit names are *gaṇettiyā* and *kañcaṇiyā*.

As to the first, the commentators and modern authors no longer exactly know what its Sanskrit prototype has been. They invariably transcribe it, when writing Sanskrit, by *ganetrikā* or *ganitrikā*, while but little linguistic thought suffices to put *ganayitrikā* instead, which literally means "the counter." This designation is most interesting, as it shows clearly enough, I think, for what purpose rosaries have from the very beginning chiefly been used. They helped the monks in counting, and what they counted by them was certainly nothing else than prayers.

The second of the above two names is not, like "counter," a name indicating the *use*, but one indicating the *substance*. As a rule we should translate it by "the golden one," *kāñcana* generally meaning "gold." Now we have every reason to believe that a monk who contents himself with a few entirely indispensable objects, and who has given up everything of any mundane value, will not use a rosary made of *gold*. Moreover, we shall see below that probably the tradition, in assigning to *kañcaṇiyā* the meaning "rosary," deserves no credit.

More clear are the third and the fourth names that appear in the literature. Both are found much later than the Prākṛit names specified before, and in *Brahmanical* works only. Accordingly they are given in Sanskrit: *mālā* (or *mālikā*) and *sūtra*. The first means

“garland,” the second means “string;” both therefore refer to the *shape* of the rosary, not to its use nor to its material.

These two names are, however, almost invariably more distinctly specified by some other word prefixed. We find—in historical succession—the terms *akshamālā*, *akshamālikā*, *akshasūtra*, *rudrāshamālā*, *carcakamālā*, *japamālā*.

Now *aksha* as well as *rudrāksha* means a bead. So the first four of these varieties of name are *nomina ex parte*; the last two (*carcakamālā* and *japamālā*) again, like *ganettiyā*, indicate the *use*, as *carcaka* and *japa* denote the prayers for the numbering of which the rosaries are used.

Among the queries from which we started in our discussion, the first three would then be answered fairly well. We have enumerated the names of rosaries used in India within the last two thousand years. We have pointed out that the first references to them are found in the Jaina canon, and I may add here, already in some of its oldest parts, which we must suppose to have been composed more probably *two or three* centuries than only one before Christ.

Moreover, as to the materials used in the manufacture of rosaries, we may state that generally *seeds* have been used. This can be proved from the same name being often applied both to rosaries and to a species of the *Elaeocarpus* plant, the seeds of which are apparently most fitted for being perforated and strung so as to form a rosary. Nay, the plant has even received its botanical name after the rosary; it is called *Elaeocarpus ganitrus*, the latter word being a rather ungrammatical Latin adjective formed on the basis of the Indian, badly Sanskritised, rosary-name *ganitri*, which is presupposed by *ganitrikā*, and, as Professor Kern of Leiden writes to me, is found in the old Javanic language (being borrowed from Sanskrit in about the sixth century of our era). In Java, the word *ganitri* or *genitri* has, up to the present time, retained its botanical application, though the rosaries themselves are now in that island called *tasbih*, which is the Arabic word.

We further want to know who has been using rosaries in India? The literature suggests that *certain Brahman monks* only have done so, and no one else. Indian Buddhist literature does not mention rosaries at all. The Jain literature ascribes them only to certain monks of the Brahman order. And in conformity with this, I am again told by Professor Kern, the old Javanic translation of the *Rāmāyana* more exactly attributes rosaries to the monks of the *Saiva* faith.

It remains only for me to say a few words as to the *number* of

beads used in the rosary. I am not quite sure, but I think I have read that there should be a "hundred and eight," as they sometimes have at present. "A hundred and eight" has always been a very mystical number. The oldest Brahmanical passage, however (which is found in the Atharvaveda-Parisista), simply speaks of a *hundred*.

I am quite sure that we, in our turn, might make up also the number of interesting questions connected with the history of rosaries to at least as many as there are beads in a rosary. I have to-day only ventured to tax your patience by the above remarks upon a few of them.

NOTES.

LIST OF PASSAGES

(Drawn up partly with the help of the Petersburg Dictionaries and of Weber's paper on the Kṛṣṇajanmāshṭamī, p. 341ⁿ).

1. *Gaṇettīyā*, named (*a.*) in canonical Jain works among the ten utensils of a Brahmanical ascetic (*parivrājaka* or *tridaṇḍin*).

Bhagavatī, ii. 1, 3, 8 (ed. fol. 152^f.), *jeṇ' eva parivvāyag'āvasahe teṇ' eva uvāgacchai*, 2 *tidāṇḍam*¹ *ca kuṇḍīyaṃ*² *ca kancanīyaṃ*³ *ca karōḍiyaṃ*⁴ *ca bhisīyaṃ*⁵ *ca kesariyaṃ*⁶ *ca channāliyaṃ*⁷ * *ca ankusayaṃ*⁸ *ca pavittayaṃ*⁹ *ca gaṇettīyaṃ*¹⁰ *ca chattayaṃ* *ca vāhaṇāo ya pāuyāo ya dhāurattāo ya geṇhai*, 2 *parivvāy'āvasahāo paḍinikkhamai*, 2 *tidāṇḍam kuṇḍīyaṃ kancanīyaṃ karōḍiyaṃ bhisīya-kesariyaṃ channāliyaṃ ankusayaṃ pavittiya-gaṇettīya-hattha-gae chattōvāhaṇa-samjutte dhāuratta-vattha-parihie* = "He (the *Parivrājaka* Skandaka) went to the *Parivrājakas'* abode, and taking the *tridaṇḍa-stick*¹ and the *water-jar*,² and the *kāncanikā-rosary*³ and the earthen vessel called *karōṭikā*,⁴ and the bundle of straw used as a seat,⁵ and the clout,⁶ and the six-knotted (or threefold) wood,⁷ and the hook,⁸ and the finger-ring,⁹ † and the *gaṇayitrikā-rosary*,¹⁰ ‡ and the umbrella, and the shoes and the slippers, and the copper-red clothes, he left the *Parivrājakas'* abode, carrying in his hand those ten objects,§ and being furnished with umbrella and shoes and clad with the copper-red clothes."

Aupapātika, § 86 (Indian ed., p. 281, Leumann's ed., p. 72), *tidāṇḍae ya kuṇḍīyāo ya kancanīyāo ya karōḍīyāo ya bhisīyāo ya chaṇṇālae ya ankusae ya kesariyāo ya pavittae ya gaṇettīyāo ya chattae ya vāhaṇāo ya dhāurattāo ya ēgante eḍettā* = "(The *Parivrājakas* headed by *Āmraṭa* say:) . . . let us

* v. l. °lay°.

† Elsewhere the Jains use the word in the sense of "earring" (*Āvaśyaka-cūrṇi*, iii. 143). The Brahmins, on the other hand, explain it in their lists corresponding to the one above by "strainer used to clean the water."

‡ Worn on the forearm (according to the commentary by Abhayadeva).

§ Named in full again.

throw away our ten utensils* and the umbrellas and the shoes† and the copper-red clothes.”

(b.) in post-canonical Jain literature among the four Parivrājaka objects.

Kathānaka on Āvaśyaka-niryukti, ix. 64, 3 (according to the unanimous text of the Cūrpi, of Haribhadra's Tīkā, and of Devendra's Uttarādhyayana-Vṛtti ‡), biie āsaṇe kuṇḍiyaṃ ṭhavei, evaṃ taie daṇḍagaṃ, cauttthe gaṇettiyaṃ, paṇcame jannōvaiyaṃ = “(The Parivrājaka Cāṇakya, seated on the first seat), places his water-jar on the second seat, his stick on the third, his rosary on the fourth, and his thread on the fifth.”

2. *Kancaṇiyā*, “the golden one,” named in the two passages given under 1 (a), and in a metrical repetition of the passage just translated. This repetition reads: § *kancaṇa kuṇḍiyā tidaṇḍaṃ ca* = “The gold, the water-jar, and the stick.” Though Hemacandra || apparently translates “the golden water-jar and the stick,” we may take it for certain that *kancaṇa* is here a metrical equivalent for *kancaṇiyā*, corresponding either to *gaṇettiya* or to *jannōvaiya* of the preceding prose list. After a careful examination of the facts, I venture to suggest that perhaps the second of these two alternatives is right: *kancaṇiyā* would then denote the *Brahmanical thread*, and not, as Abhayadeva (1072 A.D.) would have it, a kind of rosary (rudrāksha-kṛtā, rudrākshamaya-mālikā). This view removes the difficulty that the “thread” should not be mentioned at all in the very explicit list of Parivrājaka utensils as given in the canon, while it is always found in the much shorter lists of the post-canonical literature. As to the latter fact, I add here three enumerations taken from the *Kathānaka ¶* on *Āvaśyaka-niryukti*, viii. 52 :—

- i. juyala, kuṇḍiyā, chattaya, uvāṇaha, jannovaiya.
- ii. kaḍipaṭṭa, chatta, vāṇaha, kuṇḍiyā, bambhasutta.
- iii. chatta, kuḍa, jannovaiya, kaḍipaṭṭa.

We find here *full or reduced clothes* (juyala or kaḍipaṭṭa), the *water-jar* (kuṇḍiyā, kuḍa), the *umbrella* (chatta, chattaya), the *shoes* (uvāṇaha, vāṇaha), and the *Brahmanical thread* (jannovaiya, bambhasutta).

3. *Aksha-mālā*: Atharvaveda-Parīśiṣṭa, xliii. 4, 11, Gāyatrīyā akshamālāyāṃ sāyam-prātaḥ śataṃ japet = “Let him murmur his daily prayer (gāyatrī) in the evening and in the morning a hundred times with the help of a rosary.” Mbh., iii. 112, 5. Rāmāy., vi. 82, 84. Devīmāh., ii. 23. Hemādri's Caturvarg., ii. 1, 761. Nalacampū, i. 7. Purāṇasarv. Cf. akshamālin, “carrying a rosary,” Śiva, Mbh., xii. 10, 374. Akshamālā, N. of Vasishṭha's wife Arundhatī, Manu, ix. 23; N. of Vatsa's mother, Harshacar.

* Named in full again.

† Here, as in the repetition of the Bhagavatī passage, “the slippers” are omitted; the Indian edition inserts the word, but it is not found in Abhayadeva's commentary, nor in the Poona palm-leaf MS. (Kielhorn, Rep., 1889, No. 72°).

‡ Jacobi's ed. of Hemacandra's Parīśiṣṭa-parvan, Appendices, p. 14, 10f.

§ Jacobi, l. c., p. 17, 18.

|| Parīśiṣṭa-parvan, viii. 359 (Jacobi's ed., p. 247).

¶ Cf. Jacobi, l. c., p. 26f.

4. *Akshamālikā* : Kumārasambh., v. 63. Kathāsarits., xxiv. 102, lxxv. 175 ; also N. of an Upanishad.
5. *Aksha-sūtra* : Kumārasambh., v. 11. Var. BrS., lviii. 38f. Bālarāmāy., i. 53, ii. 2 (cf. Hemādri's Cat., ii. 12, 64). Subhāsh. (Boehtl., Ind. Spr². 7218). Kathāsarits., cv. 30. Used for arranging the Vedic Stotras and Śastras, according to the commentary on Kātyāy.'s Srautasūtra, xxv. 4, 23.
6. *Rudrāksha-mālā* : Harshacar., iii. ; Jānakīhar., vi. 4. Necessary for the Śivapūjā, according to a Śloka of the Linga Purāṇa.
7. *Rudrākshamālikā* : Kād., v. 1045.
8. *Rudrāksha-valaya* : Kādambarī, ii. 450.
9. *Rudrāksha* : Śiva Pur., i. 37. Rājat., ii. 127 and 170. Tantrasāra, iv. Purāṇasārv. Cf. Rudrāksha, "N. of an Upanishad." Also Rudrāksha-māhātmya and -varṇana are names of works.
10. *Carcaka-mālā* : Kuṭṭanīm., 66.
11. *Japa-mālā*, found only in very modern works.

VIII.

NOTES ON THE MARITAL RELATIONS OF THE NICOBAR ISLANDERS.

BY

ED. HORACE MAN.

AN exhaustive account of the somewhat complex conditions of marital relations among the Nicobar Islanders would demand a longer paper than circumstances permit of my preparing for the present occasion, when I am on the eve of my departure for the East: it is, moreover, a matter of some difficulty for a European, even after many years' residence in the midst of a semi-barbarous race, to form a just estimate of their code of morals, and to describe certain of the customs prevailing among them, in such a manner as to convey a correct impression of the principles, or, to speak more accurately, of the traditions and impulses, which regulate their mutual relations; especially must this be felt to be the case when treating of any such subject as that now under consideration. The following remarks must therefore be regarded as embodying certain conditions of their daily life, which have appeared to me to be primarily important and interesting, and worthy of notice, rather than as an attempt to deal with the subject in its entirety.

Although it must be allowed that in numerous instances marital affection and fidelity are markedly shown by these islanders, it is nevertheless a fact that, like other tribes of Indo-Chinese and Malayan affinities, the Nicobarese regard the marriage tie lightly, and place no limit to the frequency of divorce. The laws—in default of a better word—affecting the relations of the sexes are well-nigh restricted to a prohibition against the union of first cousins,¹ and, of course, therefore, of relatives of yet closer consanguinity. It is permissible for a man to marry his deceased wife's sister or his brother's

¹ A marriage between first cousins is cited as having occurred at Nancowry, which elicited much unfavourable comment. There are no restrictions in respect to marriages between individuals of the same name or tribe.

widow—or even wife if he have deserted her—but he may not form alliance with two women, at one and the same time, who are in any way related by blood to one another.

Instances of polygamy are comparatively rare; and though Père Barbe, writing in 1846, speaks of the “privilege of the plurality of wives” being permitted in Chowra—one of the islands of the Nicobar group—and offers as a suggestion that the preponderance of the female over the male element might explain the custom, there is nothing, so far as I have been able to ascertain during many years’ residence among them (in the course of which I made a census of the population of each island), to bear out his statement as to the disproportion between the sexes, or to show that, though polygamy is under certain circumstances permitted (vide p. 893), it is of sufficiently frequent occurrence to be reckoned among their regular institutions. As to polyandry, it may be considered to be practically unknown in these isles, for I was able to discover only a single case, which evoked no little merriment in the community where it occurred. On inquiry, I found that the conduct of the woman was due to her disappointment in having no children by her first husband; her second marriage was apparently fully justified by the event, at least from her point of view, in that she attained her desire, and both husbands continued to live together under one roof, with her and her child, in perfect peace and contentment, much to the surprise of their friends and neighbours.

Contrary to the almost universal custom among races, civilised and uncivilised, no nuptial ceremony is observed by the Nicobar Islanders, nor any appeal made to the Deity, or Powers of Evil, to ratify the marriage bond; it is not, therefore, wonderful that unions thus lightly contracted should be also lightly esteemed, and deemed capable of being dissolved at the wish of either party for any or no reason beyond fickleness of disposition, or incompatibility of temper.¹

As soon as a girl is marriageable—which fact is published by the celebration of a feast, styled *wī-ngaich-holiañ*—she becomes the object of attentions, more or less pronounced, from the bachelors of the community, who, in proportion to her attractions, vie with each other in seeking to gain her good graces; the swain whose suit receives the most favour is usually permitted to effect a secret entrance into the home of his inamorata after the family have retired to rest, and if at or before daybreak no effort is made by the girl to detain him until his presence has been discovered by the

¹ Divorce at Car Nicobar is rare, and is considered discreditable.

other inmates, he must consider his position as not yet assured. At Car Nicobar it is customary for a girl who is anxious to encourage any particular lover, and to testify to her willingness to accept him as her husband, to evince her reluctance to part with him, on the occasions of these nocturnal visits, by inflicting as many and as severe scratches as possible on his back, before he is able to make good his escape. These questionable love-tokens are not considered at all discreditable to either party, nor are they concealed even when the intentions of the gay Lothario are not serious.

Bastards and children of unknown parentage are unfavourably regarded, and are rarely heard of except at Chowra and Teressa, for a woman has seldom any difficulty in persuading the putative father of her child to accept her as his wife ; but in the event of his evincing any reluctance, the influence of the headman and others would commonly be exerted in order to make him accept the responsibilities required of him.

It is considered the duty of parents, before consenting to their daughter's marriage, to satisfy themselves as to the qualifications of the prospective son-in-law to maintain a wife, as, for instance, by skill in cultivation, fishing, canoe- or hut-building, or because he is the owner of extensive plantations.

Nothing in the nature of a dowry is bestowed upon the bride by her parents from their own resources, but they commonly make it a *sine qua non* that the bridegroom shall supply them with gifts of money,¹ calico, or jewellery, which are called *ina*, for presentation by them to their daughter, as evidence that he is in a position to support a wife in comfort. In the event of all these preliminaries being satisfactorily arranged, the relatives raise no objection to the match, and the girl, decking herself in her ornaments,² as it were in token of her betrothal, is regarded as virtually married, and no one would think, for the time being at least, of paying his addresses to her. The lover is then at liberty to take up his residence with his wife and her family ; but though it often happens that the woman continues to live in the hut of her father or brother, it is not *de rigueur*, and their future home is dependent on the wishes of the young couple, as well as on the convenience and relative merits, in regard to accommodation, afforded by their respective habitations.

As I have already stated, there is no actual marriage ceremony,³

¹ There is nothing in this practice of the nature of wife purchase ; they make no pretence of capturing their wives.

² When a bachelor or widower wishes to marry he too wears his best clothes and ornaments, and frequents villages where there may be eligible young women.

³ Fontana, writing in the last century, remarked that "They unite in matrimony

but it is usual for a newly-wedded pair, after living together for about a month, to invite their friends from far and near to a feast, called *odhnga-kamānshe*, which is given by themselves in honour of their nuptials. At this entertainment the bashful bride sits apart, but in no other way is the meal different from one of their frequent feasts. No decorations or additions are made to the appointments of the hut, and neither dance nor song nor wedding gift enhances the importance of the occasion.¹

In the islets of the central and southern groups when a woman becomes *enceinte*, it is not at all unusual for her husband to take to himself a temporary partner,² who is called *hitēak* (from *itēak*, to sleep). Should she also become pregnant while living in this capacity, she takes rank as a second wife, and is treated in every respect on terms of equality with the first wife, living either in the same or another hut, as may appear desirable in the best interests and happiness of all concerned.³

All the personal effects of a married couple, including the settlements (*ina*), plantations, &c., are regarded as joint property, *kāha-paich-ta-chūaha*, in which each considers the other to have equal rights so long as they cohabit; but if a divorce ensues in consequence of the husband's inconstancy, he at once forfeits his share of the *ina* as far as these are still recoverable; but if it be the wife who is in fault, the money and ornaments have to be restored to the man. Justice very properly requires a division of the said settlements when husband and wife alike desire a change. If children are born to them, it is possible that conjugal relations will be maintained in love and fidelity unto their lives' end, but in the failure of offspring a speedy separation is almost inevitable; the woman not uncommonly chooses for herself another mate from among the widowers or bachelors of her acquaintance, and the deserted husband consoles himself in like manner. In this way many of the Nicobarese, even before they reach their thirtieth year, have already had two or more partners, and a few others have been known to have transferred their affections even more rapidly. In one exceptionally flagrant case—that of an elderly headman—I found that of the twenty-two women he had in turn

through choice, and if the man is not satisfied with the conduct of the woman, either from her inattention to domestic concerns or sterility, he is at liberty to discharge her, and each unites with a different person as if no such connection had taken place."

¹ Both sexes are permitted to converse freely together after as well as before marriage, and no change is made by marriage in a man's conduct towards members of his own or his wife's family.

² This custom is not found at Car Nicobar.

³ The wife during her separation is called "hakoana-yae."

"married," eleven were still alive and cohabiting with others, his connection with them being completely severed, although two of them at least had borne him children. It should be added that his status in no way conferred any privilege in this respect, which might not have been claimed and exercised by any other member of the community.

From the foregoing remarks it will be seen that divorce is practically unrestricted, and as a matter of fact the marital relations of the Nicobarese are, and have doubtless been for many generations, in so low a state, that, in a large number of cases, they may fairly be characterised as amounting to little more than temporary pairing. It is significant of the temporary nature attaching in the minds of these islanders to the marriage tie, to find that the same word, *paiyūh-ta-kāha-paich*, is used to denote the mutual relationship subsisting between husband and wife, as would be adopted to express a partner in any trading operation.

When a Nicobarese woman considers herself aggrieved by the conduct of her husband in absenting himself from home, on what she regards as insufficient grounds—as, for instance, when, having gone to a distant island for purposes of barter, he remains there for pleasure, though opportunities of returning have presented themselves—she revenges herself, especially if their relations in the past have been at all strained and she be still in her prime, by laying herself out for a new alliance. To this end she discards the old garments which a faithful wife is supposed to affect in the absence of her lord, and, arraying herself in all her finery and silver ornaments, intimates thus to all whom it may interest that she is unwilling any longer to pose as a grass widow.

No special steps are taken to notify to the headman, or to the community in general, that a separation has been agreed upon, and no delay is, in their minds, necessitated by the circumstances of the case in contracting a fresh marriage. In most instances one or other of the *divorcés* would return to his or her former home, which also may be in another village, and thus the fact of the rupture in their relations would speedily become known to all who were acquainted with them.

The Car Nicobarese and other islanders of the group have, it would seem, as yet rarely intermarried, and alliances even with individuals of different islands are not at all common, except amongst those forming a single group, and who, through speaking the same or a similar dialect, are naturally better able to communicate freely. Connections have sometimes taken place between Nicobarese women

and Malay and Burmese settlers and traders; but a strong racial antipathy is entertained to unions with natives of India, and only one or two such marriages are on record to serve as exceptions to prove the rule.

One of the early narratives regarding the Nicobarese contains a statement to the effect that adultery was formerly punished with mutilation; but though I have made repeated inquiries in various quarters, I have failed in eliciting any evidence that such a custom was ever in force among them.

Widows¹ in these islands are well cared for, and there is no reason to suppose that the treatment which they in past times received differed in any respect from that accorded to them at the present day. It is optional with them to marry again, but it would be considered indecorous to do so until after the celebration of the several memorial feasts, which take place at stated intervals during the mourning period, which extends over two or three years. They do not, therefore, it will be inferred, necessarily pass to their husband's brother or other relative, but may in due course marry any man they please, not previously connected with them by ties of kindred.

A brief acquaintance with these islanders (which further experience only confirms) suffices to show that the position of a Nicobarese wife is regarded by her husband in all respects as that of a helpmeet and equal, who, if she happens to possess any special merit or claim to superiority on account of her personal attractions, skill in household duties, or proficiency in other respects, is usually able to assert her authority without exciting any anger or opposition in her husband, who is far too sensible of his good fortune in having won so excellent a wife to think of risking his happiness and comfort by offering any serious objections to her projects or desires.

The burdens and occupations of daily life are for the most part fairly divided, but the duties of the wife, if lighter and more diversified than those of her husband, yet make large claims upon her time and energies; for, in addition to her family cares, she has to prepare the Pandanus paste (their staple food), procure the firewood and water required for domestic purposes, cook the food, tend the live-stock, catch shell-fish and prawns along the foreshore, or in the jungle streams. She has also to make the coconut-shell water vessels, and the baskets, the flags and the gala dresses, the bark-cloth in the Southern isles, and the "hinong" skirts at Teressa and Chowra, at

¹ The widow and other near relatives of a deceased man share among them all the immovable property, such as fruit plantations and vegetable gardens, as well as the surplus portable property not sacrificed at the grave.

which latter place the monopoly of the manufacture of pots forms another of her industries. The husband will give assistance from time to time in some of these matters, but he is for the most part too much engaged with those pursuits which are regarded as his especial province, such as building or repairing the hut, making or procuring canoes, weapons, and various domestic appliances, tapping the coconut trees for toddy, hunting, fishing, or cultivating their gardens and plantations, and bartering the produce to traders and others, and thus their simple uneventful lives slip past with such diversions as are afforded by passing steamers, frequent social gatherings, memorial feasts, &c., &c.

In conclusion, I would mention the practice described in a recent communication I forwarded to the British Association, as in vogue among mothers in the Central and Southern Islands, of flattening the occiputs of their infants; but a consideration of this, as also of that other yet more curious custom known as "couvade," though closely connected with my present subject, would lead me far beyond the limits I proposed to myself in attempting these brief "Notes on the Marital Relations of the Nicobar Islanders."

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IX.

LE COCO DU ROI DE YUEH ET L'ARBRE AUX-ENFANTS.

NOTE DE MYTHOLOGIE POPULAIRE EN EXTRÊME ORIENT.

PAR

TERRIEN DE LACOUPERIE.

ON sait que la noix de coco est marquée à la base de trois dépressions inégales, que le vulgaire a sans peine assimilées aux deux yeux et à la bouche du singe ou de l'homme. Cette particularité a même été donnée comme explication de son nom *coco*. Les voyageurs portugais, en parlent à diverses reprises sous ce rapport, mais évidemment à tort. En effet une noix en égyptien se disait *kuku*,¹ et Theophrastes (m. en 286 av. not. ère) paraît avoir connu le cocotier d'Ethiopie sous les noms de *χυχας* et de *χόιξ* dans son "Histoire des Plantes."² Pline dans son "Histoire Naturelle" parle aussi des *cocas* d'Ethiopie.³ C'est le même mot sans doute que l'on retrouve dans le mot *jauz* de l'expression *Jauz-al-Hindi*, ou noix de l'Inde par laquelle la noix de coco était connue des Arabes.⁴

João de Barros, qui écrivait vers 1553, dans ses "Décades de l'Asie," s'exprime ainsi à ce sujet: "Nos gens lui ont donné le nom de *coco*, mot appliqué par les femmes à tout ce qui leur sert à effrayer les enfants; et ce nom est resté parce que personne n'en connaissait d'autre, bien que le mot propre fût, suivant les Malabars *tenga*, ou suivant les Comarins *narle*."

Garcia de Orta, quelques années plus tard (*i.e.* en 1563): "Nous

¹ Le cocotier s'appelait en égyptien *mama n Chanent* (P. Pierret, "Vocabulaire Hieroglyphique," p. 182), c'est-à-dire le "palmier de Khen." Or *Khen* était le nom du port de la ville d'Apollinopolis (*ibid.*, 396), par lequel sans doute il avait été introduit. *Mama* était le nom du palmier doum (*ibid.*, 182). Les cocotiers chargés de fruits sont figurés sur les peintures représentant l'expédition de la Reine Hatshop-situ au pays de Punt. Cf. H. Brugsch, "History of Egypt," (2), i. 353.

² "Historia et Causis Plantarum," edit. Sprengel, ii. 6, 10.

³ xiii. § 9.

⁴ Yule-Burnell, "Glossary of Anglo-Indian Terms," pp. 175, 176, et 178.

lui avons donné, dit-il, le nom de *coco*, parce qu'elle ressemble à la figure d'un singe, ou de quelqu'autre animal."

Christovão Acosta, dans son *Traité des drogues et médecines des Indes orientales*, publié à Burgos en 1578, dit que les Portugais l'appellent *cocco* à cause de ses trois trous.

Dans l'adaptation anglaise du Congo de Pigafetta en 1598, il est expliqué qu'un autre nom des noix de l'Inde est celui de *cocos*, parce qu'elles ont à l'intérieur une certaine coquille ressemblant à un singe; et à cause de cela on avait l'habitude de montrer aux enfants une *coecota*, quand en voulait leur faire peur.

Dans le glossaire des termes Anglo-Indiens de Yule et Burnell, où se trouvent cités les textes originaux des quatre citations précédentes, au milieu de beaucoup d'autres, un renvoi est également fait au "Dictionnaire Historique de l'Argot de Loredan Larchey, pour le terme *coco* pour tête dans l'argot du peuple en France.

Or l'un des noms de la noix de coco en Chine est *Yueh Wang-ton*, qui signifie "tête du roi de *Yueh*." L'origine légendaire de cette dénomination curieuse est indiquée dans la¹ description de la flore des régions méridionales que Ki-han, fonctionnaire de la dynastie des Tsin, composa vers 290-307 de notre ère.

La tradition racontait que le roi de *Lin-yh*² s'étant pris de querelle avec le roi de *Yueh*, envoya pour le tuer un émissaire sûr. Ce dernier parvint jusqu'au roi de *Yueh*, et le trouvant endormi par l'ivresse, le tua, et lui coupa la tête, qu'il suspendit à un arbre. La tête se métamorphosa en noix de cocotier, mais les deux yeux restèrent marqués sur la coque.

La légende a peut-être pour base une circonstance historique. Lorsque Kiu-lien, le premier roi de *Lin-yh*, proclama son indépendance en 137 de notre ère, ce fut après avoir tué ou fait tuer le chef

¹ *Nan-fang-ts'ao-mu-tchwang*; E. Bretschneider, *On the Study and Value of Chinese Botanical Works*, p. 24.

² Le *Lam-áp* des Annamites. 林邑, litt. Ville des bois ou Ville des forêts. D'après la géographie historique de l'Annam (*Hoang-viet dia du chi*, 1829, i. 1-9) le *Lin-yh* (Annam. *Lam-áp*) commença longtemps avant le rétablissement de l'autorité chinoise par la dynastie des Wu en 226. Un certain 區連 Kiu-lien, fils de Kung-ts'ao, en 137 P.C., mit à mort l'officier chinois du district et se proclama roi. Le *Lin-yh* occupait une partie de l'ancien *Yueh-tchang*, devenue le *Jih nan* (Nhut-nam en Annam) sous les Han, correspondant aux provinces modernes de Thuan-hoa et de Quang-nam. Au nord il touchait le district de Kattigara (*Kiu-teh Kiun*). Au sud il était borné par une rivière qu'il suffisait de remonter 200 lis pour trouver les barbares Si-tu (près de Hué, capitale actuelle de l'Annam). Cf. *Nan-she—Peh-she—Sui-shu—T'ang-shu—Tai-ping-yu-lan*, Kiv. 786, fol. 3 v.—Truong-vinh-ky, *Cours d'Histoire Annamite*, Saigon, 1875, i. 28.—Les premiers envoyés du *Lin-yh* sont arrivés à la cour chinoise des Wu (à Nan-king) en 268, et à celle des Tsin (à Loh-yang) en 284 de n. è.

du pays qui gouvernait au nom de son suzerain l'empereur de Chine.¹ Et il se peut qu'il ait fait suspendre à un arbre la tête de sa victime. L'ancien nom générique du pays entier, resté vulgaire et renouvelé plus tard, était *Yueh*, Annamite *Viet*, avec ou sans qualificatif.² En outre, il devait y avoir une différence de type physique entre le nouveau roi et le malheureux fonctionnaire ; l'un était chinois, par conséquent avait le nez écrasé, les yeux à fleur de tête, les cheveux plats, tandis que les habitants du Lin-yh, d'après la description que nous en ont faite les auteurs chinois, avaient les yeux enfoncés, le nez proéminent, et des cheveux relevés de couleur noire.³ La différence de race entre les deux personnages du drame, expliquerait, ou du moins justifierait la comparaison avec le noix du coco. Enfin, nous avons je pense dans ce qui précède tous les éléments de la légende.

Nous ignorons par qui elle fut tout d'abord mise en circulation, mais il n'y a pas à douter qu'elle se répandit facilement, et fit bientôt partie des fables racontées et répétées par les marins faisant le trafic entre la mer d'Arabie et les mers de Chine.⁴ Non seulement elle fut répétée, mais comme il arrive souvent en pareil cas, ce ne fut que pour donner lieu à d'autres fables mieux adaptées au pays et aux circonstances, où elles se développèrent. C'est l'Inde qui nous en fournit la preuve, chronologiquement la plus rapprochée. On sait que le *Mahabharata*, le plus grand poème épique du monde, contient des fragments de tous âges, tout au moins jusqu'au cinquième siècle de notre ère, sinon même plus tard. Or le premier chant l'*Adi Parva* contient deux épisodes dont l'une des particularités a été évidemment suggérée par l'idée populaire Indo-chinoise assimilant la fruit du cocotier à une tête humaine ; le reste du corps n'étant pas visible parce qu'il est pendu la tête en bas.

Gadura, de ses pieds puissants, ayant touché un grand arbre du genre *banyan*, une branche cassa, il vit à sa grand surprise que toute une tribu de Rishis, appelés Valakhilyas, s'y trouvaient suspendus la tête en bas.⁵

¹ Cf. *Annales des Han Postérieurs*, ou *Hon Han-shu*, Kiv. 116 ; A. Wylie, *History of the Southern and South-Western Barbarians*, p. 215, de *Revue de l'Extrême Orient*, tome i., 1882 ; et aussi le *Liang-shu*, en *Annales des Liang*, le *Nan-she* ou Histoire des Quatre Dynasties Méridionales en 420-589, à Nanking ; *Tai-ping-yü-lan*, Kiv. 786, fol. 3-4.

² Ainsi *Yueh*, *Peh-Yueh*, *Yueh-nan*, *Nan-yueh*, *Ta-yueh*, *Hwang-yueh*, sans oublier le légendaire *Yueh-sheng*.

³ Dans le *Peh-she*, ou Histoire des Quatre Dynasties du Nord, en 386-581 ; *Tai ping-yü-lan*, Kiv. 786, fol. 5 vers.

⁴ On sait maintenant n'en pas douter que le commerce maritime a commencé au 7^e siècle avant notre ère, et qu'il a continué sans autres changements que ceux des ports de départ et d'arrivée jusqu'aux temps modernes.

⁵ *The Mahabharata of Krishna—Dwaipayana Vyasa*, translated by Protap Chundra Roy, sect. xxx. p. 100.—C'est sans doute l'histoire qui fut racontée au Friar Odorio

Le second épisode concerne le célèbre ascète Jaratkâru, qui vit un jour suspendus par une corde, les rishis ses ancêtres, la tête en bas au dessus d'un abîme, et les pieds pointant vers le ciel.¹

Les géographes et autres écrivains arabes connus à partir du dixième siècle se montrent en possession d'une légende de ce genre.² Maçoudi, qui visita l'Inde, Ceylan et la côte de Chine en 915, aurait été le premier à en parler, d'après les allusions d'Edrisi à ce sujet, mais cette partie de ses ouvrages ne semble pas avoir été conservée.

Le savant Al Biruni, écrivait vers l'an 1000 ce qui suit : " Au nombre des îles Khmer est l'île des Waq-Waq, qui n'a pas été comme le croit le vulgaire, ainsi appelée à cause d'un arbre dont le fruit aurait la forme d'une tête humaine poussant un cri, mais (parce que c'est son nom).

L'information est doublement intéressante à cause de ses indications géographiques, et de la combinaison qu'elle montre de la légende primitive avec une de ses variantes ultérieures que nous allons rencontrer plus loin. Les îles Khmer formaient le grande royaume du Cambodge, dont Khmer était l'un des appellatifs. La péninsule Indo-chinoise, coupée par le Mékong et par le Ménam, à cause de sa forme étrange, était communément supposée par les voyageurs, et nous venons de la voir, aussi par les Arabes, être formée de plusieurs îles. L'île des *Waq-waq* était l'une de ces îles. Or le nom même du pays de Yueh, 越國 dans le dialecte des marins de Fuh-tchou, les plus entreprenants de l'extrême orient, n'était autre que *Wok-kwok*, dans lequel nous reconnaissons sans peine le *Waq-waq* des récits arabes.³

Dans le *Kitab Adjaib-el-Hind* ou " Livre des Merveilles de l'Inde," contenant nombre de récits des marins entre 900 et 950 de notre ère, se trouve une version de la fable qui nous occupe.

" Mohammed, fils de Babîchâd, m'a dit, d'après ce qu'il avait appris de gens qui avaient abordé au pays de Waq-Waq, qu'on y trouve un grand arbre aux feuilles rondes et quelquefois oblongues, qui porte un fruit analogue à la courge, mais plus grand et offrant quelque apparence d'une figure humaine. Quand le vent l'agite il en sort une voix. L'intérieur est gonflé d'air comme le fruit de l'*Ochar*. Si on le détache de l'arbre, il s'en échappe aussitôt du vent et ce n'est

de Pordenone, lorsqu'il arriva sur la côte de Malabar ; il entendit parler de certains arbres sur lesquels poussaient, au lieu de fruits, des hommes et des femmes d'une coudée de haut, attachés au tronc des arbres par leurs membres inférieurs.

¹ Sect. xiii. p. 74. Il est également raconté, mais plus longuement, sect. xlv. p. 132.

² Cf. M. J. de Goeje, *Le Japon connu des Arabes* (trad. franç. Annales de l'Extrême Orient, vol. v.).

³ Dans le pays même il était prononcé peu différemment de *Viet Cuoc*, qui est la prononciation d'aujourd'hui.]

plus qu'une peau. Un marin voyant de ces fruits, dont la forme lui plaisait, en coupa un pour l'emporter; mais il se dégonfla à l'instant, et ce qui resta entre les mains de l'homme était flasque comme un corbeau crevé."¹

Le savant orientaliste de Leide, M. F. de Goeje, a fait une étude intéressante de cette fable, dont il ignorait toutefois la version Indochinoise, de beaucoup la plus ancienne.

Il est évident que le raconter du marin rapporté par Mohammed fils de Babichâd contient un mélange de plus d'une source. La portion du récit concernant l'*Ochar* a été expliquée par de Goeje, qui a reconnu dans le fruit en question l'*Asclepias procera* ou *gigantea* des botanistes, bien connu sous le nom de pomme de sode.

On voit la légende se développer et s'accroître de plus en plus chez les auteurs suivants. Il n'est question que d'une tête d'homme chez Dimachqî; dans l'*Ikhtirak-al-afâk*, cité par Ibn Iyas, ce devient une tête de femme. Kaswîni et Ibn-al-Wadi en font une femme entière et enfin dans le dictionnaire persan Borhan Kâti, les fruits de l'arbre ressemblent non seulement à des hommes, mais aussi à des animaux.²

Toutes ces variantes comme la fable elle-même sont racontées à propos du mystérieux pays de Waq-Waq dont nous aurons à reparler un peu plus loin. Les auteurs arabes, ainsi que nous l'avons vu, ne commencent à la raconter qu'au dixième siècle, mais il a dû en être question chez des auteurs plus anciens, dont les écrits sont ou inconnus, ou perdus. En effet, tout étrange que cela paraisse être, les sources chinoises nous fournissent une version arabe de la même fable trois siècles plus tôt, et intitulée *Er-shu*,³ l'arbre aux enfants.

Elle se trouve dans les annales de la dynastie des T'ang, monographie des *Ta-shi*, qui est le nom donné aux Arabes par les Persans, et sous lequel ils ont été connus des Chinois. En 713 les Arabes qui avaient conquis la Perse le siècle précédent, et avaient solidement établi leur domination dans l'Asie occidentale, jugèrent à propos de se mettre en bons termes avec l'empire chinois, en vue de contre-carrer les demandes de secours que les Turks et autres nations attaqués par eux, faisaient à l'empereur de Chine. L'ambassadeur arabe Suleiman présenta des chevaux, des ornements d'or, une ceinture de grand prix, et autres objets. De même que Lord Amherst en 1816,

¹ *Kitab Abjair el Hind: Livre des Merveilles de l'Inde*, par le Capitaine Bozorg, fils de Chahriyâr de Râmormoz. Texte arabe publié (avec commentaires) par P. A. van der Lith. Traduction française par L. Marcel Devic. Leide, 1883-1886. Cf. pp. 65, 66.

² Dans *Le Japon connu des Arabes*, l'auteur a cité tous ces textes, mais il n'a pas fait remarquer la progression.

³ 兒樹.—*Tang shu*, Kiv. 258b. *Tai ping yü lan*, K. 795, f. 8; K. 961, f. 9.

il refusa de se conformer au cérémonial ordinaire d'obéissance devant l'empereur, par la raison que dans son pays, disait-il, ils ne s'inclinent que pour Dieu et jamais pour un prince. Après quelques difficultés on passa outre à cause de sa qualité d'étranger ignorant les rites de l'empire.¹

Ce fut par ce fier Suleiman, ou par l'un de ceux qui l'accompagnaient, que suivant leur coutume de demander aux ambassadeurs étrangers une notice descriptive de leur pays, les historiens de la cour chinoise obtinrent les renseignements sur le pays des Arabes qui figurent dans les annales de la dynastie des T'ang en 713, et notamment la légende suivante.

Un de leurs rois avait envoyé *en expédition commerciale* un de ses sujets sur un navire chargé de vêtements et de provisions. Après huit années consécutives de voyage, il découvrit presque à la limite extrême des côtes de l'ouest, et au milieu de la mer, un rocher carré. Sur ce rocher se trouvaient des arbres dont le tronc était rouge et les feuilles vertes.² Sur le sommet des arbres poussaient de petits enfants de six à sept pouces de long. Lorsqu'ils virent des hommes, ils ne firent que rire et remuer les mains et les pieds. Ils étaient attachés par la tête aux branches des arbres. L'envoyé du roi arracha une des branches et l'emporta, mais le petit enfant mourut immédiatement. La branche est encore conservée dans le palais du roi.—

Ma-Twan-lin, dans son grand recueil encyclopédique, qui est fort loin de mériter la réputation européenne que lui ont fait quelques sinologues, a reproduit cette fable en l'embellissant par quelques additions ci et là à sa manière. Cette version peu fidèle du treizième siècle est celle que M. de Goeje a connue comme originale, d'après la traduction élégante que lui en a faite le Dr. G. Schlegel.

Ma-Twan-lin a ajouté que le nom de l'arbre en question était *ye-mu*, qui en chinois signifierait l'arbre à *ye*; *ye-tze* est celui de la noix de coco, mais le nom le plus fréquent du cocotier est *ye-tze-shu*, ou simplement *ye-shu*.³ Le mot principal est donc *ye* qui s'écrivait aussi sans le déterminatif *arbre*, lequel est aujourd'hui partie intégrante du symbole complexe qui l'exprime. Or ce mot, avec ou sans déterminatif⁴ se prononçait à l'époque des Han *dze* au *dza*, ainsi que le

¹ Dr. E. Bretschneider, *On the Knowledge Possessed by the Ancient Chinese of the Arabs and Arabian Colonies*, 1871, a publié cette particularité.

² On remarquera qu'il n'est pas question de branches; le cocotier n'en a pas.

³ Les caractères chinois sont : *ye-mu*, 椰木; *ye-tze*, 椰子; *ye-tze-shu*, 椰樹; *ye-shu*, 椰. Michel Boym, en Chine 1643-1652, 1656-1659, parle des *Yaicu*, *Palma Persica* et *Indica seu Sinensis*, vulgo *coco*, vel *Nux Indorum*. Cf. E. Bretschneider, "Early European Researches into the Flora of China," pp. 11, 21.

⁴ C'est à dire 椰 ou 耶.

prouve le phonétisme archaïque du Sino-Annamite qui le prononce encore à présent *dza*.¹ Or en Annamite le mot parlé pour noix de coco est devenu *dzua* ;² il y a donc tout lieu de supposer que le mot chinois a été tout simplement emprunté à la langue de l'Annam et de Lin-yh. Cette manière de voir trouve une confirmation dans un mot plus ancien encore que contient la littérature chinoise pour la noix de coco.³ C'est tel qu'on le prononce à présent *Siu-yü*, mentionné par Szema Siang-ju (m. 126 av. notre ère) dans un poème intitulé *Shang-lin-fu*. Le même mot est écrit aussi *Sii-ye*.⁴ Le premier des deux symboles ne change pas, ce pourrait donc être un nom propre, tandis que le second serait une imitation phonétique approximative d'un mot étranger. Nous venons de voir que le signe *ye* se lisait *dze* ou *dza*, et comme le signe *yü* d'après les mêmes autorités se disait *dzü*, nous retrouvons encore là une imitation du mot annamite qui est devenu *dzua*. Remarquons en outre que ce dernier mot *dzua* et le Chinois précité *yü-dzu* s'écrivent avec le même phonétique. Quant au nom propre écrit *Sii*, nous croyons y voir un abrégé de K'ih-siu, nom d'un district de la région de Kattigara (Kiu-tek) d'où la noix de coco auraient été importées en Chine à cette époque.⁵ Notons que dans aucune de ces formes anciennes du nom de la noix de coco, idéographiques ou phonétiques, il ne paraît encore de trace du *coco* du roi de Yueh.

La légende arabe que nous avons citée d'après les sources chinoises d'environ 713 de notre ère, ne cite aucun nom de pays et se rapporte à l'extrême ouest. Le Waq-Waq n'y paraît pas encore. D'un autre côté la légende ne saurait être primitive puisqu'elle parle d'enfants entiers, et pas seulement d'une tête d'homme ou de singe, la seule comparaison qui pourrait se justifier. Toutefois la petite dimension des enfants, six ou sept pouces, montre la transformation qui s'est produite d'une tête de petite grandeur naturelle à un corps entier d'enfant. Il aurait donc existé une version plus ancienne de la même légende où le fruit de l'arbre merveilleux n'était encore qu'une tête. Or une telle légende a-t-elle existé dans l'extrême ouest ? c'est-à-dire à la côte orientale d'Afrique où se trouvent des cocotiers. Nous l'ignorons, car il ne paraît en subsister aucune trace. Mais nous connaissons en Indo-Chine l'affaire de la tête du roi de Yueh

¹ P. Legrand de la Liraye, "Prononciation figurée des caractères chinois en Mandarin-Annamite." Saigon, 1875, s. v.

² G. Aubaret, "Grammaire Annamite," s. v.

³ E. Bretschneider, "On the Study and Value," &c., p. 24.

⁴ Les caractères sont 𠂔 餘 𠂔 耶.

⁵ L'origine annamite du cocotier par rapport à la Chine est parfaitement connue. Cf. le *Khang-hi-tze-tien* s. v. *ye* (75 + 7 f. 41) citant l'ancien dictionnaire le *Kwang-yun*.

dans un auteur du iii^e siècle, c'est-à-dire probablement de cinq siècles antérieure au récit que l'ambassadeur arabe Suleiman fit à la cour chinoise.

Il faut donc voir dans la légende arabe de 713, une transformation et un déplacement géographique de la vieille histoire du coco du roi de Yueh, dont les marchands arabes avaient entendu parler dans leurs expéditions maritimes en extrême Orient. Nous savons par ailleurs que leur entreprise commerciale les y avait conduits depuis plusieurs siècles.

Al Biruni, au dixième siècle, en disant que le pays, où poussait l'arbre merveilleux dont le fruit avait été prétendu ressembler à une tête humaine, faisait partie des îles Khmer, c.-à.-d. du Cambodge, avait donc parfaitement raison, et ne s'était fait l'écho que d'un renseignement exact d'une date antérieure à son siècle. Mais il cite le nom de l'île *Waq-Waq*, qui de son temps ne pouvait être que celui même de l'Annam devenu indépendant et appelé le grand "royaume de Yueh," ou *Wok-Kwok* dans les récits des marins chinois de Fuhtchou racontant l'ancienne légende. Les voyages étaient devenus plus fréquents et les relations plus multipliées et plus étendues. Mais dans l'Annam même, les marins ne retrouvant plus le nom de *Wok-Kwok*,¹ puisque dans le pays même il se prononçait *Viet-Cuoc*, il fallut donc chercher plus loin. D'un autre côté les Arabes à Canton qu'ils avaient dû quitter en 758, y avaient sans nul doute entendu parler du pays de *Wo-Kwok*, le Japon, nom qui bien qu'interdit en 670 avait du avoir cours pendant quelque temps encore. La légende devenue de plus en plus merveilleuse, s'y localisait d'autant plus facilement, que son éloignement en rendait la vérification à peu près impossible par les esprits trop curieux ou indiscrets. Les détails fournis par les récits arabes s'appliquent assez bien au Japon, et nous ne pouvons qu'appuyer sous ce rapport les conclusions de M. de Goeje dans son intéressant mémoire sur *Le Japon connu des Arabes*, bien qu'ils ne paraissent pas y avoir jamais été.² La ruine de leur commerce à Khanfu en 878, mit fin de ce côté à leur esprit d'entreprise, qui sans cet arrêt les eût sans aucun doute conduits à quelque jour à établir des relations régulières avec l'Empire du Soleil levant (*Nippon*). Aussi tous les racontars sur le pays des *Waq-Waq* ne consistent-ils qu'en répétitions et oui-dires. Et ce ne fut que beaucoup plus tard dans un ouvrage intitulé *Ikhwan-*

¹ Ce même mot *Yueh* est prononcé dans les dialectes : *Ut*, Canton ; *Oat*, Usiang-tsiu, &c.

² "Que les Arabes et Persans n'aient pas fait de commerce direct avec le Japon, cela est à peu près certain." J. de Goeje, *g. c.*

al-Safá, attribué au xii^e siècle, que le nom du Nippon (Japon) apparaît pour la première fois *Al Náfún*.¹

Il résulte donc des faits, circonstances, fables et récits mentionnés dans les pages qui précèdent que l'origine ou du moins la version la plus ancienne de la fable de l'arbre aux enfants, *er-shu*, ainsi que les Chinois l'appellent eux-mêmes, se trouve dans celle du coco du roi de Yueh, et que des ressemblances de son avec le *Wok-kwok* ou pays de Yueh des marins de Fuh-tchou à Kan-fu au ix^e siècle ont poussé à y retrouver le Japon ou *Wo-kwok* des mêmes marins et de ceux de Canton le siècle précédent.

Cette légende est différente de celle des arbres ou bambous à l'intérieur des quels poussent des hommes ou des enfants, répandue dans la vieille Europe, l'Asie Centrale, l'Archipel Malais, et ailleurs.

¹ Cf. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, xviii. (1) 502.

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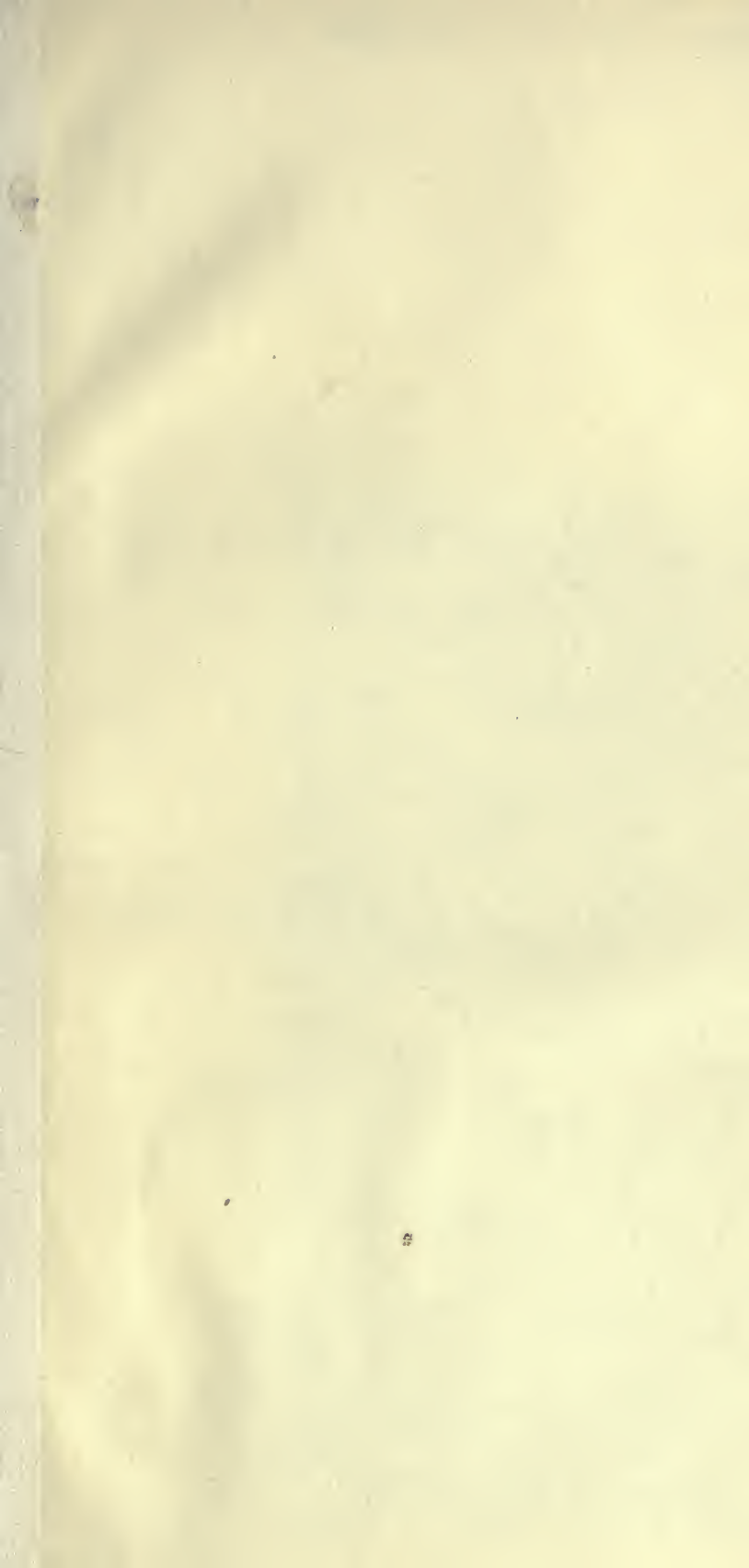
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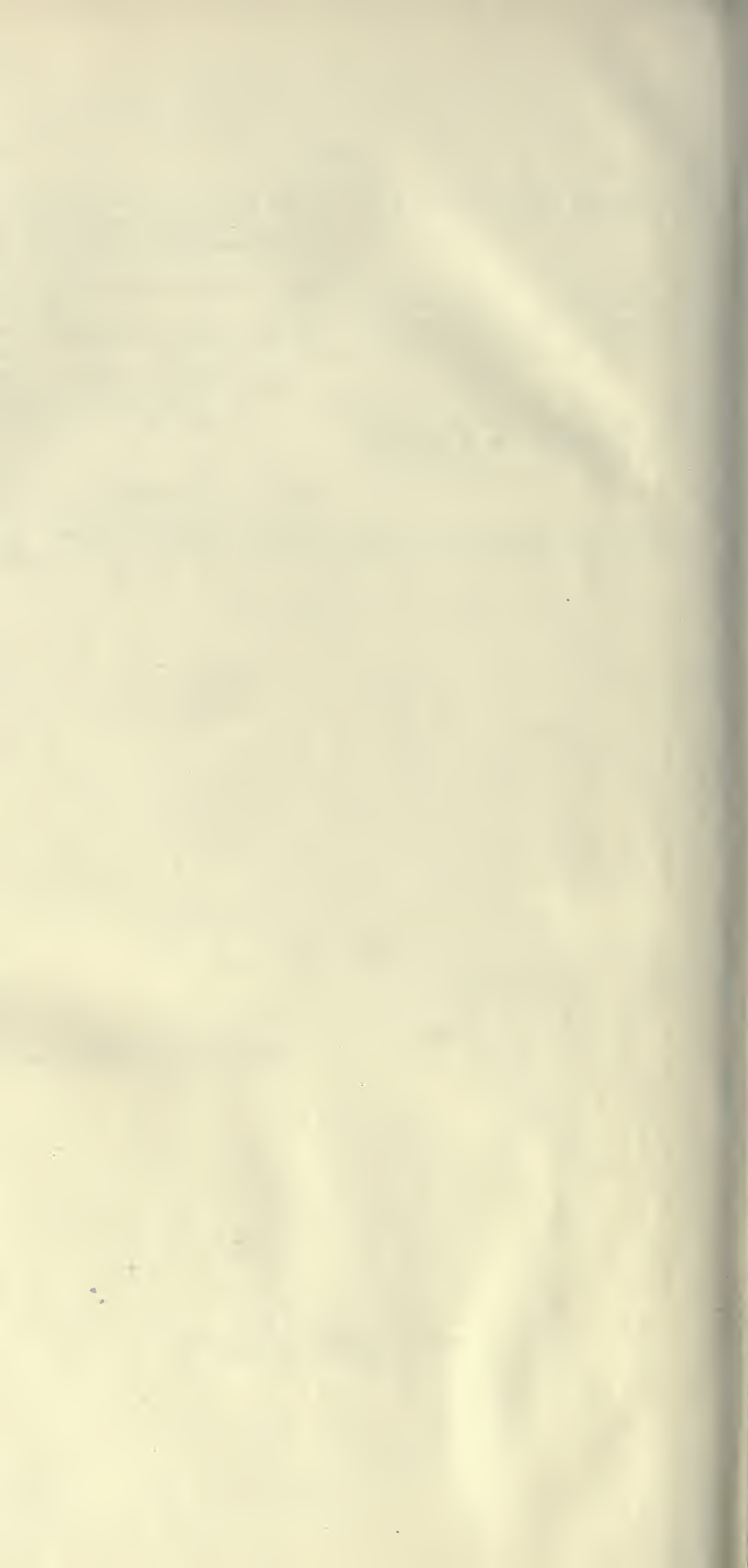
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